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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS
OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED
STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF
SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTI-
GATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN
AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERN-
MENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL
OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID
CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL
LEGISLATION

VOLUME 11

OCTOBER 28, 30, 31, NOVEMBER 1, 2, 3, 27, 29, AND 30, AND DECEMBER
1, 2, AND 3, 1939
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies (chairman), Starnes, Dempsey, Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The committee after hearing the testimony of Charles Cox, proceeded with the following witness:

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH CURRAN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL MARITIME UNION

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give us your full name.

Mr. CURRAN. Joseph Curran.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to wait for a few minutes as I have some material coming up.

The CHAIRMAN. You would prefer to wait before proceeding with your general testimony?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to wait for it. In the meantime would you object to proceeding with the preliminary question?

Mr. CURRAN. That is all right. And if there are any questions asked that require the use of this material I will say so.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. Joseph Curran.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever gone under or been known by any other name?

Mr. CURRAN. I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present address?

Mr. CURRAN. My present business address or home address?

Mr. WHITLEY. Both.

Mr. CURRAN. 126 West Eleventh Avenue, New York, is my business address, and 138 West One Hundredth Street is my home address.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. CURRAN. I was born in New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. CURRAN. I was born March 1, 1904.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CURRAN. Present occupation, president of the National Maritime Union; a sailor by trade.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, what maritime organizations were you a member of before joining the National Maritime Union?

Mr. CURRAN. I was a member of the International Seamen's Union of America at the time.

I was a member of the sailor's union on the Pacific; at one time I was a member, for the space of time while it existed, the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; and you stated you were a member of the Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, that is a matter of public record but I would like to check it before giving you a definite date; but it was in 1935, anyway.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; and you stated you were a member of the Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. CURRAN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long were you a member of that union, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe about a month or two. It dissolved; it was dissolved when the N. R. A. came into existence; there was a hearing held here in Washington.

It was agreed that the International Seamen's Union would be the representative of the seamen for the purpose of an N. R. A. code, and at that time, in order to get work, you had to be a member of the International Seamen's Union and all members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union joined the International Seamen's Union of America and dropped out of M. W. I. U. in order to follow their trade.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see; and was the M. W. I. U. a rank-and-file union?

Mr. CURRAN. I am afraid I do not know too much about that union, as my membership was of short duration and I couldn't give you any definite information. I was on ship when I joined, I was leaving port and did not return for 2 months, and when I had returned it was already dissolved and my book was worthless and I joined the International Seamen's Union and was given a book in that union on the same ship.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fact, Mr. Curran, that the M. W. I. U. was dissolved by its ranking officer, Roy Hudson, without a vote of the members?

Mr. CURRAN. As I told you, I don't know too much about that. I think it was dissolved, and I would state it as a fact, that it was dissolved by a body down here in Washington that gave recognition to the International Seamen's Union of America as the representative union of the seamen, although it only had 800 members as against 14,000 of the M. W. I. U.; that is what I was told, and I was told that I could not go out without being in the union and I joined the I. S. U., and I do not know too much about the dissolution.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you personally in favor of the dissolution, or would you have been in favor of it had you actually known it?

Mr. CURRAN. I am not in favor and I wasn't in favor if I had the say-so of a dissolution of any union organized by the members, by anybody or higher authority without consulting that membership, so I was not in favor of the dissolution of that union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, how long have you been a union member; or how long since you have been a member of any union—over what period of time?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I have been a steady union member since 1935 and before that, because of the various agencies created by the Government, Shipping Board, it was impossible—because you were discriminated against, put on a blacklist, and so forth—and I was a member of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific for about 4 months, and as a result of being a member I was discriminated against and was put off, fired off a ship because of the fact that at that time they had an organization operated by the ship owners that did the shipping and those who carried union cards could not ship through that organization, and could not stay on those ships. That was before the union was organized in 1927.

So that my union record, as far as being a paid-up member of the union is concerned, I have——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Been a member from 1925 to date?

Mr. CURRAN. I have to finish my answer to that question before I answer your question. I have always been a union man; but because of the way the maritime men, seamen, were treated, it was impossible to organize a union or have a union of seamen for any long, steady period of time.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, Mr. Curran, you have, since 1925, been a union man; that is when you started, as I understood?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, not a paid-up member. I have been a union member, not a steady member; I was a union member in 1927, and I was again a union member in 1932 or 1933; and again joined the union in 1935.

Mr. STARNES. 1935. I thought you said 1925.

Mr. CURRAN. 1927 was my first.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, has your union membership always been entirely voluntary, so far as you——

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). No; it has not; very definitely, no. As I told you before, and I can elaborate on it, in 1935 I was forced into the International Seamen's Union as a result of the action of the N. R. A. down here in Washington, without any say about the matter. So it was not wholly voluntary.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Curran, did the dissolution of the M. W. I. U. take place only a short time before the formation of the rank-and-file group which developed into the union, the N. M. U., which you now have?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I would say that it was dissolved before that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you——

Mr. CURRAN (continuing). You see, now, I do not know just how these things sound in the record, but I want to make it perfectly clear that lacking material on these subjects and not being too clear on them, having been a rank-and-file member, I don't want the committee or anyone to take the statements as exact facts; I can give you approximate answers to the questions, as well as I can.

Mr. WHITLEY. You can qualify your answers when you are not sure of dates and places.

Mr. CURRAN, did you leave the I. S. U. in order to go with and help form the group which is now the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Did I leave it voluntarily?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. It is a matter of public record that I and 18 others were expelled as a result of the situation that occurred on the *California* in 1936, expelled without trial, without a hearing, and only through notification in the newspapers.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is from the I. S. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; because we rebelled against an agreement that was signed between the shipowner and a group of American Federation of Labor officers without consultation with the membership, without any ratification, and that agreement took away what we already had the year before the crew of the vessel rebelled; and I, of course, was given the credit of leadership on that ship, charged with mutiny and other things—I think it is a matter of public record, and I do not have to explain. There is a record showing that I with 18 others were expelled.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. And in order to follow our trade we had to look about the forming of an organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. And so, with that nucleus, you and this group started the rank-and-file movement which became the N. M. U., with that small group?

Mr. CURRAN. With that nucleus of 65 men who were discriminated against by the company, and 18 of whom were expelled without a hearing or formal trial—we did not set up a union at that time; we appealed to everybody, to the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor and everyone else, for reinstatement and for a proper hearing on the grievances.

Not receiving any answer from them, being classified as outlaws and everything else, we had nothing to do at that time but to find another organization, since we had been given no trial and been unable to get a proper hearing; it was not until the fall of 1936, when we had another strike in the rank-and-file on the west coast when we were after better conditions, and that was when we set about forming an organization.

We knew by that time that not only was the International Seamen's Union bankrupt, but it was a shipowner-controlled union and that there was no hope of a rank-and-filer ever getting any voice in that union.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

Mr. CURRAN. And I can quote a portion of the constitution of that union by memory, in which it is stated that the executive board of the International Seamen's Union shall have the power to overrule any and all actions taken by the rank and file.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, were many of this original group that were expelled off of the ship *California* in the fall of 1936—that is, those who started the rank-and-file movement which resulted in the N. M. U.—members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I am afraid that you will have first—have to describe what a Communist looks like; I am not able to look at them and say

whether he is a Communist by looking at them. You may be a Communist for all I know.

Mr. WHITLEY. But if you had associated with many of them, you would probably know?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I would not. I am afraid I would not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You might know by their actions.

Mr. CURRAN. Because they act different from another person?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. That would not prove a person a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, if they told you, you would know, would you not?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, if I knew them to be truthful and honorable men.

Mr. WHITLEY. There would be no point in them telling you unless they were?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, some people do have a point in it; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. All you could do, then, was to take their word for it.

Mr. CURRAN. We have had people in our organization whose word you could not take many times, who were shown to be entirely different.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. CURRAN. But on that line, at the time you speak of, these men were bona fide seamen; and many of them, if not practically all of them, were American born and their people before them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not attempted to ascertain their political affiliations?

Mr. CURRAN. As a matter of fact, at that time I had not heard the word "Communist" applied to seamen.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. CURRAN. At that time it had not been.

Mr. WHITLEY. Subsequently did you have occasion to learn whether any members of that previous group, that took part in this rank-and-file movement later on, were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, at the time you joined the crew of the *S. S. California*, were you a member of the rank-and-file workers of the water-front organization?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I was a member of the I. S. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the *S. S. California* action a spontaneous action?

Mr. CURRAN. Absolutely. I don't like to take up the time of this committee reviewing that action, because I believe it was a central point of fire down here in Washington at the time. I think they were trying to discover ways and means of how they may hang about 365 members of the crew; there was quite a fuss raised about it.

But there was very much discussion about the agreement, about the I. S. U. renewing the agreement. We had already told them that if they renewed the agreement we wanted conditions improved on the west coast, that we were not going to stand for certain con-

ditions that had existed; and as a result our ship's crew of three-hundred-and-sixty-odd people revolted, and they refused to bring that ship back to New York. It was tied up safely in an American port, and we asked that we be paid off. All this is a matter of record. We were insisting on a proper raise in wages and proper working conditions, similar to the east coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, at that time——

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). And I was one of the leaders of this group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I was a rank-and-filer, you see; we were seamen.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time were you meeting with the members of the Communist Party——

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). As I told you before, the first time I heard the name Communist Party attached to a seaman was after the *California* arrived in New York, some 2 months 18 to 20 days later.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your answer to that question is "no"?

Mr. CURRAN. My answer is as I have just given it now.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your position on the S. S. *California*, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. My position was ship's delegate for the able seamen.

The ship delegate, of course, was an elected position. Even in the I. S. U. they permitted the crew to select a member from each department in order that each group would have a representative and the captain would not have a whole crew coming to his office, so they elected a delegate from each department, and I was spokesman of the sailors. It is not a paid position.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there a special committee on that boat, ship's committee?

Mr. CURRAN. No; there wasn't. As a matter of fact, it was very poorly organized, and we saw to it that it was organized.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, how were you selected as spokesman for the sailors on the *California*—how were you selected?

Mr. CURRAN. I was elected by a vote of the deck crew, as its spokesman; and the rest of the crew, having been intimidated as much as they were, they were a little afraid to elect a spokesman for the entire crew; and every time a "beef" came up to go to the captain—if you do not know what "beef" means, beef is a term meaning grievance, for your information—and in order to take the grievances to the captain, some of those were afraid, and they simply said, "Let Joe do it," so I was elected as the spokesman.

Mr. WHITLEY. So, at that time——

Mr. CURRAN (continuing). That is all; that is the only way I can explain it.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time did you meet Pyle, Harry Bridges, Shumaker, and Schmidt, of the west coast water front?

Mr. CURRAN. The men that I met out there on the west coast—at that time? I met Harry Bridges right after the 1934 strike; I was sailing, and I saw him, and I never did meet this man Shumaker; I have heard of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. And I never did meet Schmidt.

I met him several times last year, for the first time when they were having the trouble at the I. L. W. U. in San Francisco.

What was the other name?

Mr. WHITLEY. Pyle.

Mr. CURRAN. I met Pyle; he was at that time secretary of Local 2, of the A. R. T., the American Radio Telegraphists Association, which is now the A. C. A., when the *California* returned to New York after that fateful and eventful journey.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. CURRAN. That would be in March of 1936. I believe I met him—it was on March 20, at 10 o'clock, on Eleventh Avenue.

Mr. WHITLEY. In New York?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the first time you had met him?

Mr. CURRAN. You asked me if I met him—if I actually met him—while the *California* business was on. I also met J. B. Sullivan, business agent for the local maritime organization, at San Pedro, where the ship was tied up; and Joe O'Connor, business agent for the maritime group, while the ship was in port at San Pedro; and he came aboard ship to see if there was anything, any help, that he could give us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, did you attend a meeting which was held by the Communist Party at its headquarters in San Francisco on Rosa Street.

Mr. CURRAN. That would be stupid to imagine such a thing; I was in the port at San Pedro, and there was no shore leave, and the ship was about 365 miles south of San Francisco.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever attended a Communist Party meeting held at that place?

Mr. CURRAN. I have not and did not know that they had such a headquarters.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated you had met Harry Bridges during the *California* occurrence?

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Yes; when he was president of the local I. L. W. U.; president of the I. L. W. U., which was an international organization; and he was elected, I believe, on the Pacific coast as secretary of the I. L. A.—I am not sure about that. But he came on the ship when we had a lot of "beefs," when the sailors were emaciated from lack of food; I went to see Harry Bridges to see if we could get some better food. That was the first time I met him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, during the *California* incident did you give the Western Worker an exclusive interview of the incident?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I didn't know it existed. As a matter of fact, the only papers that I know of that interviewed anybody was the Los Angeles Times and the Los Angeles Examiner in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, on the maritime—

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). What is the "Western Worker," since you asked me the question? I don't know a damn thing about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never heard of it?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is the publication, daily publication, on the west coast, which is headed by the Communist Party.

Is the National Maritime Union a Communist Party front organization, used by it as such?

Mr. CURRAN. A what?

Mr. WHITLEY. A Communist Party front organization?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I tell you, I resent very definitely——

Mr. WHITLEY. I am just giving you an opportunity to answer these charges.

Mr. CURRAN (continuing). I resent very definitely any inference. And I am going to answer the question.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am giving you an opportunity to answer it.

Mr. CURRAN. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to know if you are going to give me an opportunity to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are afforded that opportunity. You were asked whether this was a Communist Party front organization. Go ahead.

Mr. CURRAN. Mr. Chairman, I am going to be polite to the committee, but I want to be permitted to have the same right——

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and answer the question.

Mr. CURRAN. Not only is the National Maritime Union not a Communist Party front organization, but it is an organization built by the rank-and-file seamen, after having become disgusted with the shipowners' control of the leadership of the International Seaman's Union, which was an American Federation of Labor organization, and I have maritime court cases and maritime Labor Board appeal cases and the evidence to substantiate that fact.

The organization is fully controlled by the rank-and-file seamen; it is an organization set up for the purpose of getting wage conditions and proper living quarters on vessels and is an organization built to retain those gains and to make it possible to have a proper place for the seamen in this country to live.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, will you——

Mr. CURRAN (continuing). And I resent very definitely the effort to compare a trade-union or even to unite a trade-union built by the rank-and-file seamen of this country with a Communist-front organization, which I think should be an adequate answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will repeat the question again. Is the National Maritime Union a Communist Party front organization, or is it being used as such?

Mr. CURRAN. It is not.

Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. You have answered the question.

Mr. CURRAN. I want to explain, if I may, Mr. Chairman. The material which I referred to is here now. I am prepared to make a written statement to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a rule which does not permit any witness to read a prepared statement. You are brought here to answer questions, and you are accorded full opportunity to explain any questions that may be asked you.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, before going into that——

The CHAIRMAN. We have a policy and, up to this point, we have made no exception, which does not permit witnesses to read prepared statements.

Mr. CURRAN. You have precedents established for this request up to this point. In the case of Riddick you permitted a written statement.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in last year's hearings.

Mr. CURRAN. The words of Representative Starnes were: "We would prefer to have you make a general statement; then we will ask questions." In the case of John P. Frey, August 13, 1938, you had a statement of over 100,000 words.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. That was the practice of the committee prior to its revival in January; but we found it was a bad practice, and it was discontinued and has been discontinued since that time.

Mr. CURRAN. Then why wasn't it bad for John P. Frey?

The CHAIRMAN. I am telling you what the situation is. We want to be courteous to you, Mr. CURRAN.

Mr. CURRAN. I want to be courteous to you, too.

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee wants to change the rule and make an exception in your favor, it is perfectly agreeable to the Chair. Do you want to make an exception in this man's case? If you do——

Mr. MASON. Absolutely not. I make a motion, if a motion is necessary, that no exceptions be made to the rules we have set up this year for this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, let us proceed with questions and answers.

Mr. CURRAN. Why——

The CHAIRMAN. We will proceed with questions and answers.

Mr. CURRAN. Why was the A. F. of L. permitted to make a 100,000-word statement?

The CHAIRMAN. I have already instructed you, sir, that you are here before a congressional committee to answer questions. If you will be courteous to this committee, the chairman and this committee will be courteous to you; otherwise——

Mr. CURRAN. I want to know, first——

The CHAIRMAN. And the Chair has stated that, and there is no occasion for any dispute.

Mr. CURRAN. May I be privileged to answer the questions, too?

The CHAIRMAN. You are having an opportunity to answer the questions.

Mr. CURRAN. My Americanism is as good as yours, or anybody else's, I want you to know. No one can question my Americanism, or my organization, either.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed. We are giving you an opportunity to deny statements that have been made by witnesses.

Mr. CURRAN. Made by what witness?

The CHAIRMAN. You are the one who sent a telegram to the committee, did you not, demanding the right to be heard?

Mr. CURRAN. I did. I received a telegram——

The CHAIRMAN. No; the other day—didn't you send a telegram demanding the right to be heard?

Mr. CURRAN. I received a telegram the other day.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not you send a telegram to the chairman of this committee, saying these statements were untrue, unfair, and there was not any basis for them?

Mr. CURRAN. Will you give me a chance to answer that? You asked me——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send such telegram?

Mr. CURRAN. You ask a question, and I will answer it. The other day, we received in New York a telegram saying a subpoena had been issued for me to appear before this committee. In reply to that telegram, I sent a telegram saying I would appear before this committee at the time specified, which was 10 o'clock Friday morning.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking of that telegram.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, that is the telegram I answered.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the telegram I am talking about. I am talking about the telegram you sent when a witness appeared before this committee and said you were present at a Communist meeting.

Mr. CURRAN. That telegram there, I pointed out, it was a lie and should be absolutely proven or retracted. I do not see——

The CHAIRMAN. You are here for that purpose, and we are giving you a full opportunity to answer these questions asked. Let us proceed.

Mr. CURRAN. What a circus!

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you are going to have some respect for this committee, or we are going to cite you for contempt. You are not going to come up here and talk to this committee in any such disrespectful terms as that. If you are prepared to answer these questions in a courteous way, I can assure you that the committee wants to be fair and courteous to you in every respect, and to accord you a full opportunity to be heard, in line with the policy of the committee.

All right; let us proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, has your union, in its various locals, from time to time, endorsed or ordered bundles of the Daily Worker for distribution?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know, for sure. Our constitution carries in it certain phases of democracy that are permitted to the branches and locals in which they can handle certain local matters and other things without being restrained by headquarters. I believe they may even order copies of the Hearst papers, and so forth, without being restrained. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed to another question. The answer is he does not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has your organization ever opposed its membership buying or distributing papers which you considered, or which were considered hostile to the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know; I do not believe so. In fact, I know they have not, now that I think of it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let us proceed. He says they have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, is it a fact that Communist front organizations have used the N. M. U. to further the Communist Party program of parallel policies?

Mr. CURRAN. Say that again, please?

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fact that the Communist Party front organizations have used the N. M. U. at various times to further the Communist Party program of parallel policies?

Mr. CURRAN. You will have to explain to me, I am afraid, what a Communist front organization is.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is an organization controlled by the Communist Party, Mr. Curran, made up of a membership the majority of which is not communistic but which is controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, again, I guess I can safely say no, because I know of no such Communist organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has the N. M. U., from its inception, Mr. Curran, endorsed from time to time, in its various local branches, and its headquarters, in conventions, many organizations that are known as Communist Party front organizations?

Mr. CURRAN. Again I say that, not knowing clearly what a Communist front organization is, except by your interpretation, I say no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has your organization ever endorsed in any way the I. L. D., for instance—International Labor Defense?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe our organization has sometime or other, in locals, endorsed the International Labor Defense, because of the fact it was the only way we could get some seamen out of jail. No so-called respectable people would have anything to do with the seamen. But I don't know the I. L. D. was a Communist-front organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether your organization has ever endorsed or sponsored the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. CURRAN. I cannot say for sure. I do not believe it has endorsed and sponsored it. I do not believe it has been asked to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has it ever made any contributions to it?

Mr. CURRAN. I would not be able to say. I have made contributions to it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have personally?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. I attended a meeting at Madison Square Garden at one time and there I donated a dollar to it.

Mr. WHITLEY. But, as far as you know, the organization as such has never made contributions, sponsored, or endorsed the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. CURRAN. As far as I know personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the Friends of the Soviet Union. Has the N. M. U. ever endorsed that organization, or made contributions to it?

Mr. CURRAN. Not that I know of. Who are the Friends of Soviet Russia?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is an organization with its headquarters in New York City.

Mr. CURRAN. You see, you ask me questions and you should give me a break on them, you know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, if you do not know the organization, you can say so, Mr. Curran.

Mr. CURRAN. Is that the one that Corliss Lamont is the head of, or something?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Mr. CURRAN. No; we have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, would you say that the Communist Party has a program in trade unions which it carries on, or carries out?

Mr. CURRAN. What Communist Party—the one in Russia, or the one in America?

Mr. WHITLEY. The Communist Party in the United States, Mr. Curran, I am referring to at the moment.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know whether it has a program for trade unions, or not. I know our program is a very definite program and very clear-cut program of wages, conditions, hours of work, and quarters to live in.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know, though, of your own knowledge, whether the Communist Party as such has any program in the trade-union field?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the Communist Party ever tried to carry out a program in your union, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I don't know whether they did or not; but I know that others tried and they were connected with the shipowners and we exposed and expelled several members.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are referring to labor spies?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; and we have since discovered that one of those who failed to show up for trial by the membership for his activities—we have discovered there was a shortage in the funds and mistakes in accounts—was Ralph Emerson, legislative representative here in Washington. And I have a telegram here on this matter to substantiate it, addressed to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, you have answered my question about—

Mr. CURRAN. This telegram reads:

We have completed examination, financial and other records Ralph Emerson, former N. M. U. representative in Washington. Locate Emerson's whereabouts for any action prosecuting authorities may decide to undertake.

That is signed by the vice president and chairman of the negotiating committee of our union.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. You make the statement as far as you know the Communist Party has never tried to carry on any program in your union?

Mr. CURRAN. Not as far as our union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not as far as your union is concerned?

Mr. CURRAN. We have only one program—

Mr. WHITLEY. If they had tried, you would know it?

Mr. CURRAN. We have one program; that is wages, conditions, and hours.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not say that everybody in there, of course, is 100 percent on everything?

Mr. CURRAN. On that program, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, as far as you know, the Communist Party never tried to carry on any activities in your union?

Mr. CURRAN. As far as I know, no; but, as I say again, there were several types of people who tried to carry on activities which we exposed, and which is a matter of public record.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did your organization ever endorse or make donations or contributions to the Workers Alliance?

Mr. CURRAN. The Workers Alliance?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know, unless it was a collection from the floor or an appeal, or something like that; but, as far as the treasury is concerned, I am pretty sure we did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. As far as the national organization is concerned?

Mr. CURRAN. You see, our organization holds meetings—I believe there is no other union in the country like it, like the Seamen's Union. We hold meetings of the organization three times a week and, at these meetings, always somebody from a striking union or somebody else comes in and makes an appeal and wants a collection for a justified cause, a legitimate cause. So that there are numerous collections and I would not be able to say what organizations they are, but they are all legitimate organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean to say they are just collections taken up at the moment, and not donations from the national treasury?

Mr. CURRAN. That is right; but they do make collections for strikes, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever made such a donation to the American Youth Congress?

Mr. CURRAN. The American Youth Congress?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know. I believe we sent a delegate to it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did?

Mr. CURRAN. In Pittsburgh, when they had a convention there some time back, I believe the organization sent a delegate there.

Mr. WHITLEY. What about the American Student Union?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever endorsed that organization, or made any contribution to it?

Mr. CURRAN. The American Student Union?

Mr. WHITLEY. The American Student Union.

Mr. CURRAN. I think our organization has endorsed but very few things, because it has not been called upon to endorse them, you see, as such, and our union is so constituted that before the national—before an endorsement from our organization can take effect, it has to be acted upon by all branches and agreed in.

Mr. WHITLEY. A very democratic organization?

Mr. CURRAN. I mean if any one local endorses something, that still does not mean the union has endorsed it, because the constitution permits them to endorse local things, but not to bring in the national union.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no knowledge when such endorsements are made by local organizations?

Mr. CURRAN. I do at times; yes. I certainly read the minutes from the various parts—especially from the Texas area.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has your organization ever made any contributions to the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe we bought an ambulance through popular donations; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You bought an ambulance?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; I believe we bought an ambulance. That ambulance, of course, as I said, was brought by popular donations—nickles, dimes, quarters, and so forth; not from the treasury of the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, have you personally, at various times, appealed for donations from the members of the union in meetings to aid these organizations I have mentioned?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or some of them?

Mr. CURRAN. Not the—I believe I did for the ambulance; I believe I did for the ambulance, for medical supplies, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has your union ever passed any resolutions which—

Mr. CURRAN. I appealed for collections for the Chinese medical relief, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has your union ever passed any resolutions emanating from any of these organizations I have mentioned, Mr. Curran—I mean prepared by and adopted by those organizations, likewise?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, is it true that today many of the original group which were active in the rank-and-file movement which resulted in the N. M. U. hold high official positions in the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. I would say that of the original group there is only one that holds a high official position; that is myself. I believe there are some holding positions. I believe that one is an organizer in the South and one is a patrolman in New York. They are pretty well divided up, some sailing and some—you must remember that in our organization, everybody from the president on down is elected by secret ballot, every member voting. Right down to the last patrolman is elected by ballot.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are no appointive positions, then?

Mr. CURRAN. There are some appointive positions that have to be approved by the membership, such as organizers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who does that appointing, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. The national council, and myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. But the appointments have to be ratified?

Mr. CURRAN. Have to be approved; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, is it a fact that there are many members of the Communist Party in positions of control within the National Maritime Union?

Mr. CURRAN. There are not. Our constitution is very clear on that point, and, when I say they are not, I am in an awful position, because I am like Henry Ford; I do not know what a Communist looks like. I said that before.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, is that your answer—the fact you do not know what they look like?

Mr. CURRAN. I know they are bona fide seamen.

Mr. WHITLEY. I know, but you do not identify them by their looks, if you worked with men?

The CHAIRMAN. If you ever worked with them, you do not know it.

Mr. MASON. His answer was they are not.

Mr. CURRAN. They are not; that is my answer. But, for the information of the committee, I want to state this, that the preamble in our constitution makes it impossible for me, as president, to go to each member and say "What are you?"

Mr. WHITLEY. No one suggests that you do that. No head of any other organization does it.

Mr. CURRAN. That would have to be the way to determine it, because you yourself said that.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you do not know, just say "no," if you do know, say "yes."

Mr. CURRAN. I am going to be permitted to do better than "yes" or "no."

The CHAIRMAN. You have explained that.

Mr. CURRAN (continuing). Because, even in the courts, where a criminal is brought in, he is permitted to answer questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been permitted to answer considerably. We have given you every possible latitude. Proceed.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, I suggest this, that I think the witness is an intelligent witness and understands the English language and, when he is asked a question, where he can say "yes" or "no," he should answer that way, and then let him go ahead and make a qualifying statement, so that we won't be misled; because the committee does not want any misleading information; we want correct information. And the committee is not intimating or charging anything. There has been testimony by witnesses—whether they are credible or not, we do not know—and we are giving this witness an opportunity to answer by these questions.

Mr. MASON. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And I think, in respect to the committee, that this witness should instantly cease his statements that this committee is intimating or trying to get him to say so and so. That is not true. We are trying to be as respectful as possible, and we want him to be likewise.

Mr. CURRAN. I did not say it was true that the committee was trying to do that.

Mr. STARNES. We want to know what is true, and let him answer "yes" or "no," if he can do it, if he understands the question; then, if he thinks that answer is misleading, or would be misleading, let him make any qualifying statement he wishes. Is that what you feel, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then let us proceed that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, do you know whether the Communist Party has any so-called fractions or groups working within the N. M. U. in an attempt to control it?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I do not. In qualifying that statement, I would like to say that the record shows, on your last question—you said, "Do I know of any high officials, officials of the union, that are communistic, or Communists?"—the record shows that John P. Frey, produced by this committee, produced receipts purported to be my dues receipts for the Communist Party, and I would like to see them;

because I suppose the committee has credible evidence and would certainly show it to an accused witness. It does not appear in the record—the receipts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, we are giving you a chance to give a full explanation of your organization at this time, Mr. Curran.

Mr. CURRAN. But you won't show me that?

Mr. STARNES. If it is present, I think we ought to show it to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure, we will show it to him, if Mr. Frey testified about that.

Mr. CURRAN. I would like to see them.

The CHAIRMAN. But we cannot interrupt the proceeding. You are now being asked certain questions.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will see if we can find them.

The CHAIRMAN. Show him anything he wants to see, but we are going to finish with this examination now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Incidentally, Mr. Curran, have you ever attended any meetings, Communist fraction meetings, of the American Youth Congress or Young Communist League?

Mr. CURRAN. No. I believe I am too old to be a member of the Young Communist League. I think it is a youth organization. I do not know anything about that, but I did not attend any meetings and I don't know anything about them at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, I will ask you if this is your signature on the back of this card [exhibiting]?

Mr. CURRAN (after examining). I would not be able to say whether this is my signature, or not, until I have had a hand-writing expert's opinion. Just a minute, sir, before you take it back. I want to explain, in answer to that question, that I have attended many conventions and I can show you people books and photographs that I have had autographed—that I have had autographed in all various places—books, photographs, and everything else. And I myself have autographed many books, cards, and so forth, from those people who like to collect autographs. So it would be perfectly possible I would autograph any kind of a card. This autograph, as I see it, is on the back of a plain card.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will describe it to the committee. You do not know whether that is your signature, or not?

Mr. CURRAN. Not until a hand-writing expert says so. You see, it is very easy to duplicate signatures. I saw that last night in the movies.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask you this question—first, Mr. Chairman, this is a card of the international convention of the Young Communist League, introduced in evidence by Delegate Kenneth Goff (see p. 5592, vol. 9, testimony of Kenneth Goff), who attended that meeting as a delegate from Milwaukee, Wis., at Webster Hall, New York City, and Mr. Goff, when he introduced this card, which was his credential for the convention, identified Mr. Curran's signature on the back of the card: stated that Mr. Curran autographed the card for him, along with other autographs, and that Mr. Curran attended meetings at that convention—Communist Party fraction meetings.

Mr. CURRAN. When was that convention held, please, if I may inquire?

Mr. WHITLEY. I am not sure of the date. It is in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you ever attend any convention? You would know if you did.

Mr. CURRAN. But, Mr. Dies, I want to know, because I move so rapidly and I am all over this country, and I think I can safely say I have never attended a meeting at Webster Hall since 1937, when we had a meeting there when Joe Ryan and others were there. But I want to answer that question by saying he is an unmitigated liar.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. You won't say that is not your signature, though?

Mr. CURRAN. I say I will not say that, but I say this, that this committee, if it is going to say that that is my signature, that I do not know until you produce a handwriting expert.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not know; we are just asking you.

Mr. WHITLEY. We have his testimony on it; now we want yours.

Mr. CURRAN. I want that clear.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not recall the incident, or anything about it; is that your answer?

Mr. CURRAN. Now, just a minute. On the question of the convention, and my attendance at it, on that point, he is a liar. And the fact that he may have been able to carry that card to any place where I may have been out in a crowd, where people might have asked for my autograph, and he presented the back of this card for my signature—that I cannot be clear on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever attend a meeting of the Young Communist League?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never attended a meeting of the Young Communist League?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or a convention?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or a small group meeting or fraction meeting of the Young Communist League?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if this is your signature, he found you at some place else entirely?

Mr. CURRAN. I say he might have. I am not sure that is my signature.

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not say it was; I said "if it is"?

Mr. CURRAN. I am not saying it is my signature.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made that perfectly clear.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, he is a liar, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we understand you said you would like to have the opinion of a hand-writing expert. [Laughter.] Let us have order.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Whitley, may I ask a question?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Curran, do you know your signature?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe I do; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Well, when you look at the signature on that card there, does it resemble your signature; or, in your judgment, if it is a fraud, just say so.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I would say that it resembles it, just the same as other signatures can be made to resemble yours, and it may be my signature.

Mr. STARNES. It may be your signature?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. It is on the back of a blank card.

The CHAIRMAN. You have explained that. Let us proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, is it a fact that in the N. M. U. the Young Communists have been extremely active, and you have warned them at various times that they must curtail their activities?

Mr. CURRAN. I have warned from time to time all groups of the N. M. U. that attempted in any way to undermine its principles and fundamentals, which are wages, hours, conditions, and economic freedom for its members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that include Communists, too?

Mr. CURRAN. It included all groups, and if the Communist Party was doing anything, it would include them.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you did not single out any one group, or the representatives of any one group; you just warned all?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I did not. At one time I singled out a group very definitely—a group known as the Mariners' Club. I singled them out at that time because they had invited in baseball bat squads, and so forth—

Mr. WHITLEY. I want to get your answer to that question: Have you at any time ever warned a Communist group of the union to curtail their activities?

Mr. CURRAN. Not exactly in those words, I do not think. Those are your words.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the way I worded the question.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, at various times I have warned all groups, and I included the Communists—I made it very clear I was not singling out any one group, but if there were any Communist groups, the Communists were included—interested in undermining or taking control of the Maritime Union away from the rank and file, that they had better desist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, do you know whether groups of Democrats or Republicans have ever tried to gain control of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, the Mariners' Club had its headquarters located in the Cornelius Broderick Association, that, I believe, is a room in one of those district headquarters—

Mr. WHITLEY. The Mariners' Club was an opposition club in the union, is that it?

Mr. CURRAN. The Mariners' Club was a shipowners' group and has been since exposed, and the record is here, and it is a matter of public record, and the people have since been looked up and the names are right here. Here are the companies and the ones they employed—photostatic copies of the one now in jail, Walter Carney. Can I submit this in evidence—the confession of Walter Carney?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but we will wait until you get past the questions that are asked, and confine your answer and make it responsive. You can identify it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Curran, to get your answer, you say you have warned all groups. Have you ever warned the Communists specifically as such?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; I believe I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. You believe you have?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe I have. And, in order to be perfectly sure on this, I would have to have the minutes consulted; but, offhand, I believe I have.

I want to make one thing clear, before I place some person in a difficult position and he may not be what I say: I am not too clear on this Cornelius Broderick Association, but I know it is a political organization and believe it is attached to the Democratic Tammany Club in New York; I believe it is a Tammany outfit. So I do not want to put him down as a positive statement.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Curran, do you know of any individual Communist Party members of the N. M. U. that you have warned?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you do remember individual members of some other groups that you have warned; is that correct?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I warned a group as a whole, and I did not warn any single members until they organized a baseball-bat squad to come up and take over the hall, and one woman I recall specifically, because she fainted and had to be carried down the steps, and then something had to be done and I warned that group specifically.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that a Communist organization group?

Mr. CURRAN. It was a shipowners' group bent on destroying the union, and I have the confession of one of the parties in it, that I want to produce in the record to substantiate it. May I offer this in evidence?

Mr. WHITLEY. That has nothing to do with the question I asked, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let him offer it.

Mr. STARNES. Let him offer it as an exhibit. Do you want to include that?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. He said "groups"—

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, as I understand Mr. Curran, he is very hazy as to whether he warned any Communists, or who those Communists were, but he is very definite and specific in his statements as to certain other groups he has warned, and who they were.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I am not hazy about having warned that group. Let me explain that this way: This group I speak of, that I warned specifically, was standing in front of me with baseball bats in their hands, and certainly I could point them out specifically, and I did. Now I have told you repeatedly that the Communists of whom you speak—that I don't know who are Communists, but I have no right, under the Constitution, to inquire into the political beliefs or racial origin, and so forth, of our members.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Mr. CURRAN. Because of the preamble; but if one of them had been in the same position as this baseball squad, and men carrying marlin spikes, and so forth, I would have named them specifically and pointed them out; yes.

Mr. STARNES. That answers it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, do you believe in legislation insofar as it applies to trade-union workers or any other activity?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe in legislative activity—do I believe in that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. You bet your life! Now, look, the reason—

Mr. WHITLEY. That is an answer, Mr. Curran. If you want to make a speech about it, it is a simple question.

Mr. CURRAN. I do not want to make a speech about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I just asked you if you believed in legislation.

Mr. CURRAN. And I say I believe in legislation, which would lead to the inference that I believe in anti-labor legislation, and I do not believe in that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let him explain.

Mr. CURRAN. I believe in remedial legislation, such as the Wagner Act and so forth, Social Security and so forth, and I believe in unions, and I believe the seamen, as such, should have taken part in it; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, did you make a statement before a congressional committee some time ago that the Communist Party had done more for American labor than any other force?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I do not believe I made the statement in exactly those words.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were the words?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe I made that statement in this way: I said that if the seamen, and I meant our seamen, because we approached Democrats and Republicans and everything else, and they laughed us out in the street, and I certainly—my stomach, when it comes to looking for a pork chop in it and I am out on the picket line, does not know whether a dollar bill is red or green, as long as it buys a pork chop. And our respectable citizens would not give us anything and I did not question the character of each individual which offered me the price of a meal when I was on strike to better my conditions. And it seems to me that those people that fed us at that time were so-called Communists. Nobody else evidently fed us; but I won't say they were, or were not.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that statement?

Mr. CURRAN. The statement was that so far as we were concerned the Communists brought us more aid there than any other agency. I mean by that more than any other agency.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you know that they were Communists?

Mr. CURRAN. I have since heard they were. I assume that they were Communists. I was told they were.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you accepted that as being correct?

Mr. CURRAN. I did not accept it. I was told that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I asked that because you said that you did not know what a Communist looked like. You said you did not know whether I was a Communist; that you did not know what a Communist looked like, and that if a man told you that he was a Communist, you would not know whether he was telling the truth or lying; yet, you accepted the statements of these people that they were Communists.

Mr. CURRAN. That is because they were listed at meetings held during the strikes of 1936 and 1937. It was listed in the spring strike of 1936, when we were nearly starved. They were listed as donations

from the Communist Party, so I would certainly know it was from the Communist Party. As for individual Communists, I did not know them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member of the Communists Party?

Mr. CURRAN. In the first place, I want here and now to deny any and all charges that I am or ever have been a member of the Communist Party, and any such charges, or charges of a similar nature, such as signing membership cards for other people, are outright lies, and I hereby brand any person making such a charge as a liar.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you believe in the tactic which is referred to by Communists as "red" baiting? In other words, if anybody disagrees with the Communists, I believe they call it "red" baiting.

Mr. CURRAN. I do not believe in any kind of baiting. I believe in the civilized debating of any question in an open forum.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever condemned the practice of "red" baiting?

Mr. CURRAN. I may have condemned that as well as any other kind of baiting.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are opposed to that? You thought that was hitting below the belt.

Mr. CURRAN. I do not believe it proper to deny any man or group an opportunity to discuss questions in an open forum.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that practice made an expulsive offense by the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has anybody in the N. M. U. been expelled because of so-called "red" baiting?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a common practice, or has it been your observation as a seaman, active on the waterfront for many years, that the Communist Party invariably brands, labels, or designates anyone who opposes them on the waterfront as a shipowners' stooge or labor spy?

Mr. CURRAN. I would not know anything about that, because I am not a Communist; but I have branded men as shipowners' stooges, spies, and labor spies, and I have proved my point.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you complain to the La Follette committee?

Mr. CURRAN. I have complained to the La Follette committee, and I have written letters to Dewey, in New York, about violations of the bribery statutes. I have sent communications to the Maritime Commission that have been referred to the Department, but nothing has been done about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you mean that the La Follette committee has not done anything?

Mr. CURRAN. Nothing has been done about it by them, nor by Commissioner Dewey.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether or not your secretary, Dorothy Schneider, is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not. I know she is a highly efficient secretary, and that is what I require. She is a member of the bookkeepers' union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Roy Hudson?

Mr. CURRAN. I was acquainted with Roy Hudson in only one way. He was formerly a member of the M. W. I. U. He was formerly the

secretary of that organization, and when I came in, after being in trouble in the California incident, we sought advice. We believed that he had had experience with the M. W. I. U., and I conferred with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. I inquired a little while ago if you granted an exclusive interview to the Western Worker during the period of the California incident. The name of that publication was subsequently changed to the People's World about 5 or 6 years ago. Did you grant an exclusive interview to the People's World at that time?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with David Leeds?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir. The name does not sound familiar to me at all. I do not know him. That is not one of the millionaire Leeds, is it? They would not know me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether David Leeds is financial secretary of the New York district of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know that he is anything in the Communist Party. If he is in that position, I would not know. I know there is one in jail who is supposed to be the secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not sure about that?

Mr. CURRAN. The papers say that he is the secretary. I am not in that, and do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with John Robinson?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was, I believe, section organizer of the water-front section of the Communist Party in 1936 and 1937.

Mr. CURRAN. I know a John Robinson who is a member of the National Maritime Union, and I know another named Joe Robinson.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am asking about John Robinson.

Mr. CURRAN. I know a John Robinson who is a member of the National Maritime Union, but I do not know any John Robinson who is an official of the Communist Party, because I do not know any officials of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know a John Robinson who is a member of your organization?

Mr. CURRAN. I would go further and say I believe there are several John Robinsons in the organization. I believe there is an old saying "quicker than you can say John Robinson."

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there a certain John Robinson who has frequently been with you at the Welcome Inn in Greenwich Village?

Mr. CURRAN. John Robinson has never at any time been with me at the Welcome Inn in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Homer Brooks?

Mr. CURRAN. There is a John Robinson in the union. I do not know what John Robinson you specifically refer to, but I have not had any John Robinson present with me at the Welcome Inn.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know any John Robinson who is an organizer of the Communist Party in the water-front section?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Homer Brooks?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe I met that gentleman when we had an agents' conference, or something of that kind, sometime back, down in Texas.

Mr. WHITLEY. What position did he occupy?

Mr. CURRAN. He does not occupy any position that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is a Communist Party organizer in Texas?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir. I believe I have seen some newspaper talk about him. Yes, sir; I believe I read something about him. I believe it was in connection with the meeting at San Antonio. He is not a seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are any of the persons I have just named, Hudson, Leeds, Robinson, Brooks, and so forth, to your knowledge members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know that they are.

Mr. WHITLEY. If they were self-proclaimed Communists, you would know it, would you not?

Mr. CURRAN. Just as well as you would, if they were self-proclaimed.

Mr. WHITLEY. If they were self-proclaimed Communists, you would have no reason to doubt it, would you?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir. If they said they were Communists, I believe I would know it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever met Roy Hudson other than at the time you have mentioned, when you sought his advice?

Mr. CURRAN. I have not met up with him since the spring strike of 1936, when I sought advice from him as the former secretary of the M. W. I. U. Roy Hudson and Jerome King were there, and we sought his advice, as green sailors would.

Mr. WHITLEY. By whom was that meeting with Roy Hudson arranged?

Mr. CURRAN. It was arranged by me. I have not seen him since.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he discuss with you the possibility of your joining the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. Probably 150 people did. One followed me around for 6 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. I asked about Roy Hudson particularly.

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; he did not, or not that I remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Patrick Codyre?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; he was in the spring strike. I think he was my secretary during the spring strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he the publicity director of the strike?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he a member of the Communist Party when you became acquainted with him?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know. I think afterward there was some talk about it. There was something in the papers about his being expelled from it for working too closely with me, and not paying attention to his duties in the party. I think that is the way I got to know he was a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Thomas Ray?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; he was a member of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he hold any position in the union?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; he never did.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his present occupation?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know of any now. I believe some months back when we had a meeting of the C. I. O. maritime committee, of which I am chairman, and a representative of the National Maritime Union in the C. I. O., we had a job to do in connection with the National Maritime Commission, and at that time it was suggested that Thomas Ray be employed for some special work in handling the membership in the N. M. U. He was formerly secretary of the National Maritime Workers Council, and we thought he was the man to do the work. I believe he has completed that job. I was attending the convention in San Francisco, and the job has been done, I understand. I do not believe he is there any more.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Thomas Ray is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with an attorney by the name of Glickstein?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your association with him?

Mr. CURRAN. My association with him was in the spring strike. In the spring strike there was a spontaneous group of a few hundred men, and in the course of the strike our men would be arrested, and some of them were in jail every day. Glickstein and another man named Blinker helped us. That is the only association they had with us. They appeared for us in court, and helped in getting people out of jail.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was that strike?

Mr. CURRAN. It started March 18, 1936, and ended around May 23, 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not believe that Mr. Curran's legal adviser has been identified for the record.

Mr. STANDARD. My name is William L. Standard, general counsel for the National Maritime Union, and attorney for Mr. Curran.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it true that Mr. Codyre advised you during the first part of the spring strike of 1936?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; he was not a man you could depend on for advice. He was too flighty for that, but he did have a hand for writing, and writing leaflets, and so forth, was his use. I took to him somewhat at that time, as a man I admired individually. He just stuck to me. He followed me all around to places, and prepared leaflets, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Albert Rothbard?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; he is a member of the National Maritime Union. He worked on our publication, the *Pilot*. He was there for some time. He left that job and went to sea on the *President Harding*, and I believe he was on the *President Harding* for some years, or up until a few months ago. Several months ago he left that ship and went on another ship of the Panama Railroad Co.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he hold an official position or office in the union?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Al Lannon?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; he is a member of the National Maritime Union. I believe the last ship he was on, or the last I saw of him, was on a Shepard Line ship, 6, 8, or 10 months ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether either Albert Rothbard or Al Lannon is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Ted Lewis?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; he is a member of the National Maritime Union, and is now organizer and assistant secretary of the marine cooks and stewards division.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he hold a position in the union?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; assistant secretary and organizer of the marine cooks and stewards division.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Ferdinand Smith?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; he is a division president of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know a man named Haskell?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir. I want you to understand that we have 65,000 members, spread out all over the country, and there may be several Haskells who are members of the union. When I say I am not acquainted with him, it does not mean that he is not a member of the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Pat Flaherty, sometimes known by the name of Lambert?

Mr. CURRAN. I know that Flaherty was a delegate to the National Maritime Union at the time of the formation of the constitution, and the subsequent election, or the election that followed that. When we adopted the constitution, we held an election under the constitution, and we had a group of volunteers. They were volunteers who boarded the ships and took literature to the members of the crews. That was in the forming of our organization. He did that work, but he did not run for any office or anything like that. Since that time, I understand he has been on a ship. I do not know that he had an alias or anything like that. He was a member of the union, and he was one of the patrolmen of the patrol set up and organized by Judge Hulbert, after Judge Hulbert ruled, when the I. S. U. was formed, that they could have patrols. He was one of the patrols.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with a party in the union named Conrad Jones?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir. He is a patrolman in the kitchen division of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Joe Russell?

Mr. CURRAN. Joe Russell is a member of the National Maritime Union. He is a seaman, who has been going to sea since Noah built the ark. I met him on the west coast during the convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that the first time you met him?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; I have known him a long time. I have been shipmates with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Pat Lawrenson?

Mr. CURRAN. He has been a union member for 15 or 20 years. Lawrenson came in during the tanker strike, and worked on the tanker organization committee. They had had a company union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any of the persons I have just named who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it true that during the course of the spring strike in 1936 Pat Codyre began to work against the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. Codyre disappeared from the front all of a sudden. I had no further word from him, but I got an unsigned post card a few months ago that I believe is from him. It was from some place in South America.

Mr. WHITLEY. So far as you know, during that strike, he did not actively work against the Communist Party? Did he work against the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know. I do not know how the opposition worked against it, or anything else. I was too busy out there trying to get some place, or trying to get some conditions on the ships. I had no time for that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether Codyre was a member of the party, or whether he worked against or with the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; I do not. I know that he was a seaman, and was interested in getting better conditions on ships. That is what we were interested in. We were trying to get a place to work and to eat.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know, or did you learn, that Codyre was expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; that did appear in the Daily Worker, and it was brought to my attention. That is the way I got hold of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was expelled during the time of the spring strike, was he not? That is when you saw it?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; the strike was over. I think it was some time later.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Codyre a member of the strike committee?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; he was not a member of the strike committee. He was a publicity man.

Mr. WHITLEY. That would not make him a member of the strike committee?

Mr. CURRAN. We elected the strike committee at a mass meeting, with a thousand men. They would put a man up on the platform and nominate him, and the chairman would call for a vote. That is the way they were elected.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know why he was expelled from the Communist Party, or whether it was because of any activities against the party during the 1936 strike?

Mr. CURRAN. I will tell you frankly, gentlemen, that I am not interested in why he was expelled from the Communist Party. My interest, so far as I was concerned, was in getting better conditions. I was busy out there trying to build something up. What did I have to do with the Communist Party or their expulsions? We were working day and night, sleeping on benches, and we had no time for that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had no way of knowing anything about that?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; I read it in the paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the Daily Worker?

Mr. CURRAN. They brought it to me; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Daily Worker branded them as character assassins?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; and they made me look pretty lousy, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Codyre still active in the union?

Mr. CURRAN. Codyre, I suppose, is a member of a west coast union now. He disappeared. I got a post card that I believe was from him. It was from a ship down in South America.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did this article in the Daily Worker say anything about Codyre not working in cooperation with the Communist Party during the strike?

Mr. CURRAN. They claimed that he worked too closely with me, and did not attend their meetings, and so forth. I believe that was it. Then they went into details about the character assassinations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following the expulsion of Codyre from the Communist Party, did anyone tell you that you had to go down the line with the Communist Party or that you would have to get off the water front?

Mr. CURRAN. Nobody ever told me that I had to go down the line with anything or anybody or get off the water front. I was born and raised on the water front, and nobody has ever told me that, and nobody ever will.

Mr. WHITLEY. I think that answers the question. At various times during the strike were you given any money for your personal use?

Mr. CURRAN. During the spring strike?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; I was given a quarter now and then to get something to eat. On one particular day they elected a committee to go out and buy me a suit because I did not look presentable to meet the ship owners.

Mr. WHITLEY. By whom were those funds supplied?

Mr. CURRAN. By members, right off the beach.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Al Lannon give you any regular sums?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; I never received any regular sums.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever receive any contributions during that time from Tom Ray and Al Lannon?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you furnished an automobile for your personal use during the spring strike of 1936?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; we got a little green flivver from David Clendenning, which was given back to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were automobiles made available by the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. It was made available by David Clendenning.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it for the use of any persons in connection with the strike, or was it for your own personal use?

Mr. CURRAN. It was available for use by our officials on the strike committee, but principally for my use.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who owned the automobile?

Mr. CURRAN. David Clendenning. We returned it to him after the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were opposed to the ending of the spring strike, were you not?

Mr. CURRAN. I opposed it?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I do not think I opposed ending the strike. I would have to go into the records on that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you perfectly agreeable to ending the strike at the time it was called off?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir; we have the records for that at some place in New York showing where I agreed to the ending of the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not feel like calling the strike off at that time, when the seamen were losing everything?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir. I do not know. As a matter of fact, we had degenerated down to the point where we either had to have more support or stop. It was like a dog barking at the moon.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fact that prior to the meeting, when it was voted to call off the strike, you were told you could either remain leader of the strike by advocating that it be called off at that time or else lose that title?

Mr. CURRAN. No, sir; that is not a fact. I had supposed it was understood that this questioning that is going on now deals with the matter of un-American activities. Is that correct?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, statements have previously been made before this committee with reference to the N. M. U. and I think it only fair that you should be given an opportunity to come here and give your side of the story. That is what we are trying to do.

Mr. CURRAN. I mean, I want to be clear that I am being charged with being un-American?

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody is charging you with anything. You are being asked questions to give you an opportunity to present your side.

Mr. CURRAN. That is what I want to know.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, in that connection, do you or Mr. Standard have a copy of the resolutions or the minutes of the convention down in New Orleans on July 13-14, I believe, of this year?

Mr. CURRAN. Which resolution?

Mr. STARNES. There were copies of resolutions that were sent out. I recall receiving a copy. I am trying to locate it. I have called my office for it. You mailed it out evidently to all Members of Congress, the resolutions adopted at the convention down there dealing with legislation and other subjects. If you have something like that, I would like to have a copy to examine while this examination is going on.

Mr. STANDARD. I am sorry, I do not have it.

Mr. CURRAN. I do not have it. They were mailed to you and you have them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Prior to the meeting at which the spring strike was called off, did Tommy Ray have any conversation with you as to what your position should be?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe he did. He was a member of the rank and file, and he was a seaman; why shouldn't I have conversation with him?

Mr. WHITLEY. At that meeting, or that conversation with Tommy Ray, did he tell you what position you would have to take?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Insofar as calling the strike off was concerned?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe I said before that no one ever definitely tells me what position I have to take. People may advise—all kinds may advise me—but no one definitely told me that I have to do this or

that, except the membership of my union. They tell me what position I have to take.

MR. WHITLEY. I see. Did they, following the termination of the strike, Mr. Curran—you have already testified on this subject, but I think it is only fair to get it into the record as many times as you wish to repeat it—the day following the termination of that spring strike—that is, the spring of 1936—did you join the Communist Party with the understanding that you were only to attend meetings of the top fraction of the party?

MR. CURRAN. I did not.

MR. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party ever guarantee you—

MR. CURRAN. What do you mean, that I was to be made a top official of the Communist Party by joining?

MR. WHITLEY. No; only meet with members, with the top officials.

MR. CURRAN. That would be Joe Stalin and Earl Browder, wouldn't it?

MR. WHITLEY. I am referring to the Communist Party of the United States, Mr. Curran. Did the Communist Party ever guarantee you your personal and living expenses?

MR. CURRAN. They did not. I don't get them yet.

MR. WHITLEY. Following the strike, the termination of the spring strike, did you make a tour of the Atlantic and Gulf ports?

MR. CURRAN. Following the spring strike?

MR. WHITLEY. Yes.

MR. CURRAN. I made a tour, yes; and I went to the west coast; yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Did you tour the Atlantic and Gulf ports, also?

MR. CURRAN. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. How long was that tour, Mr. Curran?

MR. CURRAN. I imagine it lasted about a month, a month and a half.

MR. STARNES. How did you travel?

MR. CURRAN. We traveled in an old, grey Packard that we bought for \$150.

MR. STARNES. Do you travel by air on any of these trips? You say you are constantly on the go.

MR. CURRAN. Now?

MR. STARNES. No; at any time; do you travel by air? Because you have repeatedly said in response to some of Mr. Whitley's questions that you could not tell him all these details, because you were constantly traveling.

MR. CURRAN. I can tell him the details at that time, because they are very lurid, and we were only a small group. From the time the N. M. U. has become a big organization, I could not tell him all the movements unless I had the material here with me.

MR. STARNES. But you do travel by auto, by train, by air, by sea?

MR. CURRAN. That is right.

MR. STARNES. You use all methods of transportation?

MR. CURRAN. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of that tour, Mr. Curran?

MR. CURRAN. The purpose of that tour, after the spring strike, when we went back to the ships, the membership voted to leave a committee ashore, of which I was the chairman, known as the Sea-

men's Defense Committee, of which Ralph Emerson was the secretary, and it was decided that that committee would be the committee to do the work to build up the rank and file, and to throw out these fakers in the I. S. U. I made the tour on that basis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who else went along on that tour?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, there was Joe Kane, who is now the secretary of the deck division. There was David Ramos, who was a member of the crew of the *California*, and there was a man by the name of McCuistion.

Mr. STANDARD. Who has since been kicked out.

Mr. CURRAN. Worse than kicked out. I believe that is all that started from here. Then we sent a crew down on a tanker, the only ship we fully organized. We sent a whole crew down there to meet us down there. The ship was going to lay up in Mobile. David Ramos went down on that ship as boatswain and they met us, and we cruised through the Gulf trying to build up the rank and file.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you briefly for the record indicate the principal points that you went to on that tour, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. We went to New Orleans. We went to Port Arthur. We went to Houston.

Mr. WHITLEY. You went to Mobile first, I presume?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. We met them at Mobile.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then you went to New Orleans and Port Arthur and Houston?

Mr. CURRAN. Houston.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other points?

Mr. CURRAN. I am not too clear. I think those are the principal points.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are on the Gulf. You said you went to the west coast.

Mr. CURRAN. I came back to New York and then went to the west coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. Immediately or within a short time?

Mr. CURRAN. Within a short time.

Mr. WHITLEY. On your way to the west coast, did you visit the Lakes, the Lake ports?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. What ports did you visit on the west coast?

Mr. CURRAN. I visited San Francisco, and that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. At those various places that you have mentioned, did you and the group you were with meet with the local Communist organizers?

Mr. CURRAN. We did not. As a matter of fact—

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you at any time on that tour?

Mr. CURRAN. As a matter of fact, in the port of Houston, our car was confiscated by the police, and I had to jump through a window to get out of the place. I had to come back the next day to get the car from the police. We did not have any time to meet with anybody.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why was that?

Mr. CURRAN. The police took the position that we were a group of New York "reds" come down to overthrow the democratic government of Texas. Those are exactly the words that were used when they questioned me at headquarters; those were the words they used.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, at no time on that tour did you or the others with you have meetings with the local Communists?

Mr. CURRAN. No. We had meetings with seamen.

Mr. WHITLEY. With seamen?

Mr. CURRAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether they were Communists or not?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, are these persons officials of the N. M. U., and if so, what positions do they hold? Ted Lewis?

Mr. CURRAN. Ted Lewis is the assistant secretary of the stewards' division.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a national organizer?

Mr. CURRAN. For the stewards.

Mr. WHITLEY. For the stewards. John Rogan?

Mr. CURRAN. John Rogan is an organizer in Puerto Rico.

Mr. WHITLEY. Frank Jones?

Mr. CURRAN. Frank Jones, I believe, is in Miami.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he an organizer?

Mr. CURRAN. A local organizer.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Frank Stoudt?

Mr. CURRAN. Frank Stoudt holds no position in the N. M. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is not an organizer?

Mr. CURRAN. He is a member.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is not an organizer in Panama?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Hays Jones?

Mr. CURRAN. He is up on the Great Lakes and carries on the advertising and the writing material for the Lakes, for the Pilot, our organization's paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are these individuals all appointed by you, selected by you?

Mr. CURRAN. All of them?

Mr. WHITLEY. The ones I have named.

Mr. CURRAN. In the case of Ted Lewis, we found that our constitution did not give proper representation for the stewards' division. There were many complaints from the stewards that they wanted more representation on the district committee in the Atlantic, and on the basis of that, the national council met and Lewis was appointed, and approved, as assistant secretary pending the next election when we could rectify the representation in the constitution.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have explained Mr. Lewis' status. How about the others? Rogan, the two Jones, Frank and Hays—were they selected or appointed by you?

Mr. CURRAN. Hays was elected on the Great Lakes. The constitution provides that each district can elect their Pilot correspondent.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he selected by them?

Mr. CURRAN. By the Great Lakes membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or was he selected by you and approved by them?

Mr. CURRAN. He was selected by the Great Lakes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about the others, Rogan and Frank Jones?

Mr. CURRAN. Rogan was appointed by me under the constitution and was approved in the usual manner under the constitution. Frank Jones has only lately been sent down to Miami, and he was approved.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many of the present officers, approximately—I realize that this is a question you probably have to qualify—how many of the present officials of the N. M. U. were selected by you subject to approval of their local memberships, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. How many of the present officials?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; or organizers, those holding any official position.

Mr. CURRAN. The only ones that I know of are David Ramos, Rogan, Frank Jones—Frank Jones was a selection of the stewards' division; that is about all I know of now without consulting all the records. You have got to go away down the line.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you at any time, Mr. Curran, consulted with Tommy Ray, Al Lannon, or Roy Hudson relative to appointments made by you?

Mr. CURRAN. I have not. I have not seen Roy Hudson—I do not know where he is—since that time I told you about.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are these persons either present or former officials of the N. M. U.: Jerome King, Frederick Phillips, Arthur Thomas, and Charles DeGress?

Mr. CURRAN. Arthur Thomas, Jerome King—that is not his right name, his right name is Jerome Maderos. His alias is King. Arthur Thomas' alias is Haslop. He is a Welsh citizen now being held for deportation. He is on \$2,500 bail on perjury, for perjuring papers coming into the country.

What were the other names?

Mr. WHITLEY. Charles DeGress.

Mr. CURRAN. Charles DeGress is an expelled member of the Gulf district committee, expelled by action of the convention and by subsequent trial and concurrence of all, for manipulating and mishandling of funds, and there is an action now pending in the Louisiana courts for misappropriation of funds and many other things against DeGress. Who were the others?

Mr. WHITLEY. Frederick Phillips.

Mr. CURRAN. Frederick Phillips is one of the group that was working with the shipowners and is listed with King and Maderos, or Maderos and Lemmon, who is now working for the Maritime Commission. He was accused of taking a thousand dollars or more from the Standard Oil. King is now employed by the Standard Oil and working in Radio City as a reward for his good work in the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. What positions did those individuals formerly occupy in the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Jerome Maderos, known by you as King——

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not ask you about that——

Mr. CURRAN. That is his alias, King, was the national secretary elected. Phillips was the Atlantic district secretary elected, and Emerson was an appointment of the national council.

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not ask you about Emerson.

Mr. CURRAN. He is listed among this group. He was asked to come to trial and instead of coming to trial he resigned, and we have since discovered his reason. He is short a great deal of money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Phillips, Thomas, and DeGress.

Mr. CURRAN. Thomas, as I said——

Mr. WHITLEY. You have already identified him. I just want to know what position he held.

Mr. CURRAN. I was going to do that. Thomas was the district chairman of the Gulf, elected. DeGress was the secretary, elected, in the Gulf.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question? This group of men, most of them were elected by the membership to the positions they held; is that right?

Mr. CURRAN. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. But at the present time they have been expelled?

Mr. CURRAN. By the same membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did those positions that they held make them members of the national council?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the organization?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. Were they?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether they opposed the Communist Party or not?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know. I believe they did. I believe Thomas, who is an alien, and King, who is also a Puerto Rican—and I believe also under an alias—opposed all people who they thought were Communists. They were paid by the Standard Oil to oppose everybody in the union that looked like they were beating the Standard Oil.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Felix Siren of the Inland Boatmen?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify him for the committee?

Mr. CURRAN. Felix Siren? How—by his clothes, or what?

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not have any difficulty identifying him.

Mr. CURRAN. I can identify Siren; in what way do you want me to identify him.

Mr. WHITLEY. What position does he hold in the union?

Mr. CURRAN. In the National Maritime Union?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. He is a member of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has he been a member?

Mr. CURRAN. He has been a member of the National Maritime Union I believe since its inception or close to it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he hold any official position in the union?

Mr. CURRAN. In the N. M. U.?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Mervyn Rathborne?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is Mervyn Rathborne?

Mr. CURRAN. Mr. Rathborne is the president of the American Communications Association.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you known him, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I have known Rathborne since the *California*. He was at that time secretary of the District Council No. 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and I went to him for advice when the *Pennsylvania* was tied up in San Francisco.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have already stated, I believe, you were acquainted—or did you so state—with Roy Pyle?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. He was the secretary of local 2 of the A. R. T. U. which subsequently became a part of the A. C. A.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Communications Association?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, did you attend the Pittsburgh convention of the C. I. O. together with Jerome King, Charles DeGress, Frank Rinaldo, and Frederick Myers?

Mr. CURRAN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they all official delegates of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe they were.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Thomas Ray present at the same convention?

Mr. CURRAN. Was he present at the same convention?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I am not too sure. There were several people present.

Mr. WHITLEY. If he was there, you would have seen him?

Mr. CURRAN. There were hundreds present, and he might have been there; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you don't remember him?

Mr. CURRAN. You see, Pittsburgh is pretty close to New York, and I think there were several seamen there to see what a convention looks like, as long as they were able to muster up the carfare. So he might have been there too.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Thomas Ray has ever been arrested?

Mr. CURRAN. Oh, no; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Roy Hudson at that Pittsburgh convention?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Jack Stachel?

Mr. CURRAN. If he was I never saw him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Jack Stachel?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know who he is, so I would not know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know him?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I have never seen him.

Mr. WHITLEY. By name?

Mr. CURRAN. The name does not strike any familiar chord at all. I don't know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. If I tell you he was a high official of the Communist Party of the United States, would that help to identify him for you?

Mr. CURRAN. No; it would not, because I do not know the high officials of the Communist Party; and I don't care.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that Pittsburgh convention, did you, Bridges, Pyle, Siren, Rathborne, and Myers meet privately away from the convention at any time, on any occasion?

Mr. CURRAN. Did we?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I will tell you; I had a room at the hotel and I believe they did, and we got together. We were marine delegates, and it is the custom of any convention for delegates of any particular group or union to caucus and go over the approach to the convention, whether as a unit or separate votes, and so forth, and so on. So I

guess we got together; yes. I believe in the Democratic convention and all the rest of them they caucus, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. I was not questioning the procedure. I just wanted to know whether you did.

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; we got together as delegates.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were Rinaldo and DeGress and King present at any of those meetings?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't believe so, because one night I had to track King down. He was running around town with a basket in his hand and going from gin mill to gin mill. I had to make sure that he got back and got to the convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about DeGress and Rinaldo?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know where they got to. They showed up each morning at the convention late. Where they went at night, I do not know. We did not even know what hotel they were registered at.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you, Myers, and Rathborne, meet with Hudson, Tommy Ray, and Stachel in a private room at the Roosevelt Hotel at any time during that C. I. O. convention?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not?

Mr. CURRAN. I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, you are speaking only for yourself.

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; I cannot speak for others.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you had, you could say whether the others were there.

Mr. CURRAN. I could say whether I was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you did meet with them, you would know who was there?

Mr. CURRAN. I cannot tell you who was there if I was not there. And I was not there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you and Bridges meet with Frankenstein or W. Ruether and Hudson?

Mr. CURRAN. No. We met with Frankenstein. I, myself, met with Frankenstein, yes; on the floor.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Bridges present?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Bridges met with Frankenstein or not.

Mr. CURRAN. I would not be surprised. They were both delegates to the convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet with Reuther?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know Reuther. I do not know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you and Bridges meet with Roy Hudson at any time?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were there any plans laid at that convention, Mr. Curran, to rid the union of all officials not in agreement with the policies which you represented?

Mr. CURRAN. Do you mean at the C. I. O. convention?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. What would the C. I. O. convention have to do with that? No. Do you mean a convention or a caucus?

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, these meetings. Did you have any private meetings with individuals during that convention at which plans were made to purge everyone not in agreement with you?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. At any meetings, during the period of that convention, was it decided to abandon the campaign which had been directed against "red" baiting for the purpose of substituting a campaign whereby the opposition would be called labor spies?

Mr. CURRAN. No. The place that that happened was when the United Electrical Workers identified a famous labor spy in our union for us, and from that point forward it started; Carlucci, a paid representative of the Railway Audit Co., and a constant companion of Maderos, alias King, and Thomas, and the others; the pay-off man for the Railway Audit.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you known Tommy Ray, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I knew Tommy Ray on and off for the last 4 years, I believe since that spring strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his occupation, or how was he earning his living when you first met him?

Mr. CURRAN. He was earning his living the same as I was, on the picket line, and on the ships, as far as I knew. We were not earning any living.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever known Tommy Ray to be an active seaman?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I don't know; I could not say.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if he was, you do not know about it.

Mr. CURRAN. I am not sure. I have not got the material at hand. I have seen some discharges that he had, and so forth. I know he shipped out of San Pedro on west coast ships. I know that. But likewise, I do not know that the whole 75,000 members that we have are all seamen.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was prior to the time that you knew him?

Mr. CURRAN. I say, I know him for the last 4 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that time, if he shipped out of any west coast ports—has he shipped out of any west coast ports?

Mr. CURRAN. Neither have I. I have not shipped in the last 4 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Tommy Ray could qualify to be a candidate for office in the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know; no. He did not ever attempt to run, so I do not know. I know some that did run—that ran on somebody else's discharges.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fact that Tommy Ray is constantly in conference with and attending the higher councils of the meetings of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, if not constantly, does he do it occasionally?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, no. Once in a while he may pop in, and so may others.

Mr. WHITLEY. But it is not a regular procedure?

Mr. CURRAN. This guy, Carlucci, attempted to. You see, we have a rank-and-file union. A man comes in to the president's office and

says, "I am a dues-paying member and part of the furniture in this office is bought by me, so I have a right to come in here."

Mr. WHITLEY. So anybody can attend these meetings, the council meetings?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. They are open. There is a man at the door and he lets them in, so as not to interrupt business, and then when they are through with their business they would go out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Tommy Ray a self-proclaimed Communist?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know. I do not know because I have never heard him proclaim, and I have not had it brought to my attention.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he has never so proclaimed himself in your presence.

Mr. CURRAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever heard him or anyone else state that Tommy Ray occupied a position of leadership in the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. No. I have heard accusations made of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard him accused of that?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. As a matter of fact, this Carlucci made the accusation, and it was carried in our official organ.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you stated previously that Ray has not to your knowledge worked as a seaman since you have known him.

Mr. CURRAN. To my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Do you know whether or how long he has been on the official pay roll?

Mr. CURRAN. Of what?

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the union.

Mr. CURRAN. He has never been on the official pay roll.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has never been on the official pay roll of the union?

Mr. CURRAN. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he ever been on relief, that you know of?

Mr. CURRAN. I think you will have to ask him those questions, I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you do not know——

Mr. CURRAN. That is personal. That is his business.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he attend all of the meetings and conventions of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. If he is in good standing in the union, he does.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he to date?

Mr. CURRAN. The conventions; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he been in good standing?

Mr. CURRAN. He was secretary of the first convention elected.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was secretary?

Mr. CURRAN. During the convention period you elect a secretary, you know, and he was elected from the floor as secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he, as far as you know, attended all of the conventions?

Mr. CURRAN. We have only had two; yes, he has attended them, I believe.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he attend meetings in various parts of the country?

Mr. CURRAN. Meetings in various parts of the country of the N. M. U.? If he is a member of the N. M. U. in good standing, he has a right to attend the meeting of any branch, any local, anywhere, in whatever part he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he taken advantage of that opportunity?

Mr. CURRAN. I presume he has if he roves like other seamen do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what Mr. Ray's source of funds is?

Mr. CURRAN. That is a question you will have to ask him; I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know of any pay roll he is on?

Mr. CURRAN. No; of course not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did Mr. Curran say he was elected secretary?

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the first convention.

Mr. CURRAN. That is not a paid job. The convention starts on Monday and may end on Saturday, and it elects a secretary and a chairman.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean secretary for the convention.

Mr. CURRAN. Just for the period of the convention, while it is in session, he was secretary then.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you familiar with or aware of an organization known as the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers?

Mr. CURRAN. International——

Mr. WHITLEY. International of Seamen and Harbor Workers?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever hear of that organization?

Mr. CURRAN. No. I have heard of various organizations. I have heard of one organization that Joseph P. Ryan sponsored and that was started by a man by the name of Joseph Murphy in opposition to the N. M. U. and it was that group that caused to be printed and thrown by the thousands onto the ships and onto the water front these pink cards that were supposed to be applications for membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Getting back to this particular organization, though, you never heard of that and know nothing about it?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never heard it discussed as being the marine section or the maritime section of the Red Trade Union International?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which is known as the Profintern in Moscow?

Mr. CURRAN. What "tern"?

Mr. WHITLEY. Profintern.

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know anything about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Tommy Ray and Roy Hudson are members of the executive committee of the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Al Lannon is a member of the Communist Party or not, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe he got up in meeting once and said he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. He was at that time. He holds no position in the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. If he made that statement you have no reason to doubt it?

Mr. CURRAN. That is his word; you asked me and I told you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Do you know whether Al Lannon had been in the Red Army in Moscow?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether he had ever served a training period in the Soviet Red Army?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never heard him make any statement about that?

Mr. CURRAN. No. I only know him casually; I know that he is a seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Thomas Ray was a delegate of the N. M. U. to the second convention which was held in July of this year; was he a delegate?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, it is a fact, is it not, that Thomas Ray drafted the original constitution of the National Maritime Union, together with William Standard?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. The constitution that was submitted to the National Convention of the N. M. U. was the result of suggestions, and so forth, sent in from the ships and then compiled into a draft from those things sent in in order to have a constructive working document in the convention.

You understand the action of the convention which we elect, or of an executive group, which studies and brings in the draft of a document, and that was done here; that was work done here by Thomas Ray and William Standard; that was done after meeting with others who advised on that, and that was brought into the convention to be talked over on the floor, to be passed on, to be built up and acted on by a vote of that convention of the elected delegates from the ships. That is similar to any convention held by any progressive union, not by some of the branches of the American Federation of Labor which only hold a convention every 30 or 40 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. But the fact remains that Thomas Ray did take part in drafting that constitution?

Mr. CURRAN. So did I.

Mr. WHITLEY. What?

Mr. CURRAN. So did I and many others.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 1 o'clock.

Mr. CURRAN. Do I understand, Mr. Chairman, that we can submit these documents for the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The documents referred to were accepted as exhibits.)

(At 12:05 p. m. a recess was taken until 1 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The hearing was resumed at 1 p. m., pursuant to the taking of a recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Whitley.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH CURRAN—Resumed

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, are you acquainted with George Mink?

MR. CURRAN. No.

MR. WHITLEY. Did Thomas Ray act as an intermediary between the anti-Communist Gulf district committee, yourself, and the Atlantic committee at any time?

MR. CURRAN. No.

MR. WHITLEY. At the subsequent convention in New Orleans, for instance?

MR. CURRAN. No; not that I know. I was pretty busy with the convention.

MR. WHITLEY. Have you ever had a meeting with Thomas Ray and Clarence Applewhite, of the Gulf district committee, in the Jung Hotel in New Orleans?

MR. CURRAN. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of that meeting?

MR. CURRAN. The purpose of that meeting? They asked for the meeting with me, and they came up, and they told me that they have all made a mistake; "We think the present fight should be dropped," and that they should be reinstated in the convention.

So I told them that that was a matter for the convention and that Applewhite, who I knew was employed by the Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., should come on the floor of the convention because, after all, it was the convention that had taken action, and ask for reinstatement because I had no power to override the convention.

Mr. Applewhite said that he would come up, and as a matter of fact, he subsequently appeared, I believe; if you have the record there—and you must have, in order to get that question out of it.

MR. WHITLEY. Did the N. M. U. pay the expenses of Thomas Ray to the New Orleans convention, Mr. Curran?

MR. CURRAN. Absolutely not.

MR. WHITLEY. Did you register a protest against the Maritime Commission's plan for training American seamen?

MR. CURRAN. Did I register a protest?

MR. WHITLEY. Did you originally protest?

MR. CURRAN. I can say very definitely that even to date I oppose the methods employed, and I have always opposed it. The principle of training I approved all of the time but the methods in which the Commission intended to apply it I disapproved and still do so.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, you did not later approve the Maritime Commission's plan and you never have approved it?

MR. CURRAN. I never have approved the Maritime Commission's plan. And there is a record made by the Commission and also made by a committee, which is available at any time, where we said that if certain things were done by the Commission which seemed to us should be done we might be able to cooperate, that is, if they would consult with the union and they would keep out youngsters and avoid such things as the *Morro Castle* by having inexperienced youngsters as seamen. But we never did approve the methods used of their taking in green men and crowding out the old men.

MR. WHITLEY. The New Orleans convention, Mr. Curran, indorsed the establishment of an educational committee?

Mr. CURRAN. It endorsed the principle but the work of the committee is now being voted on.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the purpose of the educational committee of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. For the purpose of educating men in unionism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. And also workmanship, and so on, which is a part of almost every union in the country today.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is head of that committee?

Mr. CURRAN. Right now there is only a temporary committee—no one is head of the committee. However, we have established a temporary department for the purpose of putting libraries of union books on ships, and so forth, along with other books, and that is being conducted by a seaman by the name of Keith.

Mr. WHITLEY. Charles Keith?

Mr. CURRAN. Keith; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Charles Keith is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know. I know him to be a seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Charles Keith has recently returned from Spain where he was present for a number of months—

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). I know that about 500 others did.

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He is asking you about one man.

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; and 500 others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it correct that the educational committee is to sell or lend books to seamen; is that a part of its function?

Mr. CURRAN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are those books purchased or are they donated for that purpose?

Mr. CURRAN. You see, we purchase a great many books along the line of labor books and then other people donate books along at times, and we have, you see, already a library that is established, the American Merchant Marine Library, and along with those books we also had these labor books that we haven't had available and we have had to buy them from time to time, and others were donated. We cooperate with the American Merchant Marine Library.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those books the national organization buys?

Mr. CURRAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are any of the books purchased from the International Publishers Corporation?

Mr. CURRAN. International Publishers Corporation?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know. I can name the books; I can name most of the books. Labor on the March; Acts in the Field—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). But you do not know from whom you purchase them?

Mr. CURRAN. You see, I am at a loss on that question as to where they would be purchased. I suppose we purchase some line of books from stores that are licensed publishers in this country, licensed under the laws of the American Government; I do not know where we get them, but I suppose from many publishing houses—

Mr. WHITLEY. I was just asking about the one in particular, the International Publishers.

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. I do not know about the International publishing house, and I do not know whether it is one or not, but I know the type of books.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Who is the national auditor of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. The national auditor?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. William Dickman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is a Communist or has ever worked with the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know. I know he was recommended by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and also recommended by the president of the Hartford Indemnity Insurance Co.; he was recommended by both of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is the editor of the publication *The Pilot*?

Mr. CURRAN. Corby Paxton. Of course, the editorial body is myself, the vice president, and the secretary-treasurer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mr. Paxton a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, is the crew of the *City of Flint* members of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. I think the best part of them are. And, that is a very strange incident. A great deal of fuss is being made of the ship and no activity being made of the seamen; mostly of the ship and the cargo. And I know of 10 or 15 ships being held and being unloaded and interned by France and England and not a word is being said about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has the N. M. U. registered a protest?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; we are registering a protest.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have?

Mr. CURRAN. Of course, we have no contractual relationship whatsoever as the men on the *City of Flint* are under the Maritime Commission.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you are registering a protest with regard to it?

Mr. CURRAN. The *City of Flint*?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. We register a complaint on any ships.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where the members are N. M. U. members?

Mr. CURRAN. We have not registered any complaints about the west-coast ships which were fired on by the Japs.

Mr. WHITLEY. But were those your crews on those ships?

Mr. CURRAN. No. Just like I am where other American seamen are aboard.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you have in the past, in former years where you had a crew, registered protest, have you?

Mr. CURRAN. Definitely.

Mr. WHITLEY. But in this instance of the *City of Flint* you have not registered any protest?

Mr. CURRAN. The inference being that we are pro-Nazi; is that it?

Mr. WHITLEY. You can draw your own inference; I simply asked the question.

Mr. CURRAN. No; I am not drawing any inferences. But, I just returned from San Francisco 3 days ago and have not had an opportunity yet. But I expect to register my protest and I also intend to protest about the 10 or 15 other ships that are being held, unloaded, where the seamen are being treated in all kinds of manner in French and British ports, without leave.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have registered protest in those cases?

Mr. CURRAN. I intend to. I just returned from San Francisco and was met with a subpoena to appear before this committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. And I have not had an opportunity to.

Mr. STARNES. In order to keep the record straight I think the representation, if I correctly understand the witness, that protest about the vessel and the cargo of the *City of Flint* has been made but nothing with reference to the crew: I know it is a fact that greater concern has been shown with respect to the crew than for the ship or the cargo.

Mr. CURRAN. I am very glad to see that. Up to this point they haven't done much for them.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the organization known as the Brotherhood of the Sea, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I heard something about that organization. I understand that it is being sponsored in Cuba for better relationship between the Latin-American Republics and the American Republics in line with the President's Latin-American relationship program. I think it is an informal get-together group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is a new organization?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. How recently was it organized?

Mr. CURRAN. I think last summer sometime.

Mr. WHITLEY. With headquarters where?

Mr. CURRAN. I received some communication from Cuba around July, and that is about all I know of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. The headquarters are in Cuba, so far as you know?

Mr. CURRAN. That is where its starting point was. Whether it has its headquarters there or not I cannot say, but the stationary that I got came from a Habana, Cuba, address.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you hold a office in that organization, of any character, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I do not, that I know of. I may have been put into it; I am a member of the Pan-American committee of the C. I. O.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you were you would know of it, would you not?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, as I say, I got a communication in July.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. Since July I have been traveling; I went to the west coast and I came back and I don't know whether there are any other communications or not. In that communication we got information that it had started and that is all, and I may be in it but I have not accepted anything as yet.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you permit organizations to use your name without permission?

Mr. CURRAN. No; they have to get permission.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you have not given permission in this instance?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know who the secretary, the financial secretary of the organization is, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know an individual named Eddie Gordon?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; he is a member of the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is secretary of that organization?

Mr. CURRAN. He is the Pilot's distributor in Cuba.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is connected with or secretary of the Brotherhood of the Sea?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Could he hold such a position and still be a representative of your union?

Mr. CURRAN. If the union takes the position that the organization is O. K., yes; he can.

I understand that one of the members is also a member of a dairy farmers' union in New York State and there was something of a strike connected with it.

I understand another member is a member of the auto workers' union. The members of the seamen's unions have scattered around to many places.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of credentials does Eddie Gordon have?

Mr. CURRAN. He holds credentials that were given him to represent the Pilot.

Mr. STARNES. You say one of them is a member of a dairy union?

Mr. WHITLEY. He said dairy union; yes.

Mr. CURRAN. Of the dairy farmers' union, which is an organization in New York, and a seaman is one of the officers of that organization.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I wanted to know; I could not see the connection between milking cows and running a ship.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, do not forget how the Shipping Board, with its black-listing methods back in the twenties, threw out thousands of seamen, many of whom went back to the country where they are today as a result of those methods.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type credentials does Eddie Gordon hold?

Mr. CURRAN. He holds credentials authorizing him to get advertising for the Pilot and distribute it. He also gathers news of interest to be printed in that paper from the Latin-American countries.

Mr. WHITLEY. By whom are those credentials signed?

Mr. CURRAN. They are issued by the Pilot, I believe, Corby Paxton, as the editor. I may have countersigned; I do not know for sure, but sometimes I countersign them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has the N. M. U. taken any official position to either approve or disapprove the Brotherhood of the Sea?

Mr. CURRAN. I have to answer that I am not in position to say. I have not been back long enough to go through all the records. I came back on Wednesday and I was notified to be down here today.

Mr. WHITLEY. This organization was formed back in the summer-time?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard from them from time to time; have you not?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. As to the position you would take——

Mr. CURRAN. I myself asked a crew on one of the ships to make an investigation when coming through Habana concerning this organization, and to bring back the information as to just exactly what it was. That correspondence is all I know. I believe we had a report back from it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what the purpose of the organization itself is?

Mr. CURRAN. My understanding from the communication which I got was that the organization was formed to bring about better relations between the United States Maritime Workers and others of Latin-American countries and in line with the Pan-American policy of good neighbors, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a maritime organization, made up of seamen?

Mr. CURRAN. The Brotherhood of the Sea?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. And from your knowledge of it would you describe it as a dual organization?

Mr. CURRAN. I think you are asking a premature question. I said we are investigating it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. And haven't yet endorsed it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you learn, when you received that communication, enough information to form an opinion about it?

Mr. CURRAN. The letter that I received did not give me enough information and I asked the crew to investigate it, and after an investigation is made we will form an opinion, but until such time as that is done I cannot form an opinion.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. CURRAN. And when I say that, I realize I am speaking for an organization of 75,000 members.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you do not know whether the organization is a Communist organization; you do not know whether it is an opposition organization, a subversive organization, or what kind of an organization it is?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I do not; I can't say.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the Mariners Club, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. The Mariners Club was a group that was established by a small group led by Carlucci, who has since been discovered as an American labor spy and pay-off man of the Railroad Audit Co. And all that is contained in that confession. And, I have with me a list of the names of the members of the Mariners Club, and that statement shows that it was formed for the purpose of destroying the unions and turning them over to Standard Oil; it was also sponsored by Frank J. Taylor, of the Railway Audit, and Hague, of Standard Oil; all of this is listed in the confession, and many others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that a voluntary confession made by one of the members?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; one of the men that was in it. These companies that were listed in this confession show that they received subsidies

from the Government to operate the ships, and I imagine the money which they used for that purpose came from the subsidies.

However, this group first sponsored a popular issue in order to disrupt our organization, and that popular issue at that time was the one that began with this committee, when the committee started to function, the anti-Communist proposition, and they fanned the membership and issued red and black ballots with the red names on the ballot of those they figured were Communists, and chose the members of the union to vote against; and issued a rank and file ballot. This was an opposition paper to the officers of the organization which was paid for by the shipowners. This was brought out in the confession.

Mr. WHITLEY. All of this has been reported.

Mr. CURRAN. All of this has been reported, yes; it was reported to Dewey, of New York, under the bribery act of the State of New York; the State law has a bribery statute. Nothing has been done about it. We have made several complaints about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have complained to the Commission?

Mr. CURRAN. We have complained to Dewey; many times myself and Mr. Standard wrote a letter on this very question and have gotten no action whatsoever.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran—

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). Also to the Maritime Commission.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, what is the emblem used by the Brotherhood of the Sea?

Mr. CURRAN. I think it is a pair of hands, shaking hands; I believe that is it; I am not sure of it; whether it is in a circle I am not sure—in fact, I would like to have that stricken because I am not sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether it is a hammer and sickle?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know?

Mr. CURRAN. It may be a paint brush and a soogy bucket. That is the emblem of a sailor.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the emblem of the Mariners Club?

Mr. CURRAN. I think it is a sea gull. That is a bird with one gut.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever receive any official recognition by being placed on the honor roll in Moscow?

Mr. CURRAN. The honor roll in Moscow? I have never been to Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you had been so placed and notified why, of course, you would have known, would you not?

Mr. CURRAN. If the basis of that question comes from some record you may have, but I have never received any notice.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never been so notified?

Mr. CURRAN. I have not; I have never been to Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would have been notified if your name had been placed on the honor roll, would you not?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know; I have never been to Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. As president of the N. M. U. I believe you said, a moment ago, that you were a member of the editorial staff of the Pilot?

Mr. CURRAN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is a large section of the Pilot, your official publication, devoted to correspondence from members of the organization?

Mr. CURRAN. It is known as the voice of the membership and depends, for its volume on the correspondence, the letters that come in from the membership; these letters express their individual views and we ask them to send personal letters to us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the policy of the Pilot to encourage letters of a political nature?

Mr. CURRAN. It is not.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is not?

Mr. CURRAN. No. But it is certainly the policy of the N. M. U. to encourage political activity on the part of the membership so as to prevent a recurrence of the Maritime Commission's activity in our not having anything to say as labor representatives on that committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you, as a member of the editorial board of the Pilot, approve the letter which was received by B. J. Gavin, of the N. M. U., in which Mr. Gavin vigorously defended the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. CURRAN. When? Give me the date.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that a fact or not?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, give me the date of the letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you remember it by the date or by facts?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, as I told you before, I am away a good deal of the time and it may be this paper went to press when I was not there; it goes whether I am there or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. I just asked you as a member of the editorial board.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I want to know the date. If you will give me the date I can tell you if I did approve it; or if I did not approve it I will tell you, and that is the best answer for you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Without the date you cannot answer the question?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I have a lot of business and I am busy with the international affairs.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. When was the pact ratified?

Mr. WHITLEY. It was in the latter part of August 1939.

Mr. CURRAN. In the latter part of August. I don't know whether I was in New York or on the Gulf.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have been in New York since August, have you not?

Mr. CURRAN. But I don't edit that part of the Voice of the Membership. If you will read the heading you will note we disclaim responsibility for much of the stuff that comes in, in which the membership expresses its own voice, except where there may be some libelous material which we will strike out. But if you can give me the date I can tell you. We allow the members to give their views as far as possible, and in that way we do not edit too much there, you see; the articles, and so forth, coming in to the editor.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had any articles or letters in the Pilot condemning the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know anything about the pact, in the first place.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard of it, have you not, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I have been so busy—

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard of it, have you not?

Mr. CURRAN. I have been so busy trying to keep this union together, as a result of the attacks made upon it by the Maritime Commission, the shipowners, this committee, and other committees, I have not even had time to read the paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard of it, though?

Mr. CURRAN. I have heard of it; yes.

Mr. STARNES. You say "this committee"—

Mr. CURRAN. I mean—

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute. You want to keep the record straight about this committee.

Mr. CURRAN. I am keeping the record straight about this committee.

Mr. STARNES. Do you say this committee has made any sort of statement or attack on your union?

Mr. CURRAN. Oh, no; not attack, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. Maybe I misunderstood you, but I want to get it straight—

Mr. CURRAN. I will clear that up.

Mr. STARNES (continuing). Because I want to say now, as a member of this committee, I have made no attack and I have heard no other member make any attack on either your union or any other union of the United States of America.

Mr. CURRAN. I do not mean this committee has attacked us.

Mr. STARNES. I think the most of us who have been in Congress long enough—the most of us voted for the Wagner Act, the wage-and-hour bill, and all of the rest of them that have been presented to us, and we are not going to attack any of our own handiwork. We have enough trouble trying to defend the committee, and we are not attacking ourselves. I just want to keep the record straight.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, the record is straight; but I insist this committee, in its activities—

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, this is an act of un-American activities reflecting on your organization?

Mr. CURRAN. John P. Frey and all the rest of them attacked the seamen, and that caused it to be my job to defend myself in relation to the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know, Mr. Curran, as a member of the editorial staff or the board of the Pilot, whether Al Lannon wrote a letter which was published approving the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know; he might have. He is a member of the union and is entitled to a voice in the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. Only seafaring men and women are eligible for membership in the N. M. U.; is that correct?

Mr. CURRAN. That is correct; except in a case where we have no seamen available, in simple jobs where it is not necessary to have "able" certificates, we have a provision in the constitution which permits them to permit a card for one trip, where no certificate has been issued. And the operator can take him, if he wants to; otherwise he must be a bona fide seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you can make exceptions under that provision?

Mr. CURRAN. We can make exceptions only when there are no seamen available for the job.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Al Lannon an official of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he ever an official of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Not that I know of, no; he was never an official of the N. M. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he ever hold any official position? In other words, was he ever other than just a rank-and-file member?

Mr. CURRAN. Oh, he was active in the strike, of course; because, after all, he is a seaman and not a scab; therefore, he was active.

Mr. WHITLEY. What position did he occupy in the strike?

Mr. CURRAN. I think he was on the strike committee; I am not sure. As a seaman, he was elected, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the average time a man must remain ashore between ships, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I think the record shows there are times of the year when a seaman could get a ship in a week; there are other times of the year when he won't get a job for 6 months. It depends on the flow of commerce. Right now, of course, we are enjoying pretty good shipping everywhere.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has Al Lannon remained ashore?

Mr. CURRAN. That is a question you will have to ask him, because I have not seen him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any trips he has made recently, in the last year?

Mr. CURRAN. I have not seen Al Lannon in the last year, that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not seen Lannon in the last year?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no idea whether he is an active seaman or not?

Mr. CURRAN. No. You see, in the position I occupy now, where I am around all over the place, and we have a lot of members in the organization, it is pretty hard for me to trail one individual member—and I do not think he would like it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not suggest your trailing him, but I thought you were associated with him and interested in business affairs.

Mr. CURRAN. I am not—no more closely than with any other member.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you are more closely associated with some than with others?

Mr. CURRAN. Naturally.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what I thought.

Mr. CURRAN. Naturally.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is not one of those?

Mr. CURRAN. No; he is not one of those.

Mr. WHITNEY. Has the N. M. U. anything to do with the Marine Training School of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know of any such training school.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know of the existence of such a school?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever at any time make an issue of active strikers being taken off of the waterfront and sent to this training school—the Marine Training School of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. The Marine Training School?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever make an issue of active strikers being taken off of the waterfront and sent to any kind of training school, during the 1936 strike?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe I did, but not to a training school.

Mr. WHITLEY. What school was that?

Mr. CURRAN. I made an issue of them getting off of the strike—out of the active work of the strike, several hundred of them, but not for training-school purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were any being taken off?

Mr. CURRAN. Some went to the hospital, some here and some there. I took issue with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were not being ordered off of the waterfront to attend a training school?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know what ordered them off. I took issue with them getting off—hundreds of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You took issue with the men of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. With the men; I don't know whether of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know there is a Communist Party, don't you?

Mr. CURRAN. If I did not, you sure have enlightened me, have you not? I read the papers. I know there is also a bund, and we may have bund members in our union, but I do not hear any questions on the bund, though.

Mr. STARNES. Well, do you have any bund members?

Mr. CURRAN. I think we do; I think we have some ex-Ku Klux Klanners, and all.

Mr. STARNES. You have some ex-Ku Klux Klanners?

Mr. CURRAN. I think so.

Mr. STARNES. And you probably have some Communists in there, too, do you not?

Mr. CURRAN. I suppose so.

Mr. STARNES. All right; we are glad to hear you make the confession or admission that you know something.

Mr. CURRAN. In this sense——

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute; I am asking you a question. In those schools what do you teach these people; do you teach them how to work, or how to strike?

Mr. CURRAN. What schools.

Mr. STARNES. The marine workers' schools.

Mr. CURRAN. How do I know, when I have just got through telling him I don't know of any such schools?

Mr. STARNES. I am not talking about Communist schools; I am talking about the one you have.

Mr. CURRAN. We have not any school; our school is the school of hard knocks on ships.

Mr. STARNES. Yours is the school of hard knocks on ships?

Mr. CURRAN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You do not conduct any school or have any part in conducting any school?

Mr. CURRAN. The Government issues certificates and examines the men who go on the ship, and they issue a Government certificate.

Mr. STARNES. What is your educational committee?

Mr. CURRAN. Our educational committee issues pamphlets on trade unionism, and the efforts of the Maritime Commission to stab us in the back, and other committees, and so on. Then it issues labor books and information to the men. That is the purpose of the education committee.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the United States Government itself has set up an agency to stab the marine workers in the back; is that your contention?

Mr. CURRAN. The United States Government?

Mr. STARNES. Is that what I understood your statement to be, that the United States Government has set up an organization to stab the marine workers in the back?

Mr. CURRAN. You are putting words in my mouth.

Mr. STARNES. Read what he said, Mr. Reporter.

The REPORTER (reading):

* * * and the efforts of the Maritime Commission to stab us in the back.

Mr. CURRAN. The Maritime Commission, I said; I did not say the United States Government had set up an agency to stab us in the back. I say and am prepared to prove that the Maritime Commission——

Mr. STARNES. Well, the Commission is an agency of the Government, however, is it not?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes. I say the marine agency is spending the most of its time hammering down the seamen, instead of building a merchant marine, and we have proof of that and have a pamphlet we will submit here in evidence, that we have issued on it, if you want that.

Mr. STARNES. We will be glad to have it.

Mr. CURRAN. Here is a pamphlet that is coming off of the press now.

Mr. STARNES. We will be glad to have it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Joe Russell?

Mr. CURRAN. I think I answered that question this morning.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Robert Meers?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; I know Robert Meers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of the union?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, definitely; he is a seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he hold any position, or has he held any?

Mr. CURRAN. He did hold a position with the Gulf at one time, as the agent in New Orleans, and as the result of the activities of Applegate, Thomas, and a few more, he was let go from that position, and he has since cleared up on that and is now working with the organization committee at headquarters. And he is a bona fide seaman, holding a certificate, and is an American citizen born and raised here.

Mr. WHITLEY. In instances where those men are active seamen, you seem to remember very clearly, Mr. Curran; but in several instances, when I inquired about Lannon, for instance, you did not know, and said I would have to ask him about that. How does it just happen you remember about some and not others?

Mr. CURRAN. You said yourself there were some seamen I know better than others, and I answered that question by saying "certainly."

Mr. WHITLEY. These happen to be two that you know better than some of the others?

Mr. CURRAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Better than Tommy Ray, for instance?

Mr. CURRAN. I suppose so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were Russell and Meers active in the spring strike of 1936?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Meers and Russell?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they active in the 1936 strike?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Meers in charge of finances during the spring strike of 1936?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; for a part of the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. For a part of the time?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Meers and Russell to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, did the Communists try to call off the strike at a meeting in the Manhattan Lyceum in April 1936?

Mr. CURRAN. The Communists?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, I don't know any Communists at the meeting, but I do know the strike committee tried to recommend the calling off of the strike, yes—the strike committee. I was one of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did the Communist Party, with reference to that strike, oppose the calling of it as being premature?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know what the Communist Party had to do with anything—

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, is it known?

Mr. CURRAN (continuing). Because I don't know why you lead these questions off with "The Communist Party." I don't know the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know who is a member of the Communist Party in the marine industry.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no idea about that?

Mr. CURRAN. I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether anyone tried to oppose—whether anyone opposed a general strike during the spring of 1936?

Mr. CURRAN. I was one that opposed the general strike. Now, I want to qualify that by saying we had no union in that strike; we were a group of rank-and-filers and were going to call a general strike of the International Seamen's Union, and we knew it was impossible and would be doomed to failure.

Mr. WHITLEY. The membership, however, voted otherwise, as far as that strike is concerned, is that correct?

Mr. CURRAN. The membership voted to call the strike off. At that meeting, there was a great deal of discussion, such as there is in any democratic meeting, and some fights, and so forth, in it. The sailors are notorious for fighting, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Shortly after that, was Robert Meers—did he disappear from the water front and cease his activity, and it was discovered he had gone to the Communist marine training school?

Mr. CURRAN. We never discovered where he went to.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did disappear from the activity?

Mr. CURRAN. Now, just a minute. Are you going to give me a chance to answer the question?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; if you will answer it.

Mr. CURRAN. That is my purpose. We did not discover he had gone to any Communist training school, as you call it, but we did discover he went to the hospital.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. CURRAN. And I raised a lot of hell about it, and that is in the records up there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you oppose dual organizations—trade-union organizations, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. It looks like I organized them once, don't it; so that you are asking the question there that you yourself will have to qualify. Under what circumstances?

Mr. WHITLEY. Under any circumstances.

Mr. CURRAN. Under any circumstances? I certainly do approve them under some circumstances; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Under others, you do not?

Mr. CURRAN. And under the circumstances we were in, I approved them, and under some others, I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were aware of the fact, Mr. Curran, that the Communist Party maintains a water-front section at 230 Seventh Avenue?

Mr. CURRAN. I am aware they have a waterfront section, but the address of them I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know?

Mr. CURRAN. No. I have seen some periodicals and leaflets that were signed "Waterfront Section"; so I am aware of that, but not the address.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the Communist Party and the Young Communist League maintain a club called Fo'castle Forum?

Mr. CURRAN. I saw a leaflet with that heading on it, but that is as much as I know about it. I think you will find me in the record some place up there in New York as having raised the devil about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Al Lannon as having been a director, or was a director in 1939 of the marine training school of the Communist Party?

Mr. CURRAN. In the first place, I have repeatedly told you I did not know of any such training school. Now you ask me if I know anybody was director of it; so, if I did not know the first, I cannot know the second.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct. Do you know whether the Communist Party maintains regular contact aboard ships—contact with the crews?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know; but I know that we maintain contact, the N. M. U. We have, in our contracts, the right to pass aboard ship, for our patrolmen, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you do not know whether the Communist Party does that?

Mr. CURRAN. I would not be surprised if the bund does it, too, and the Ku Klux Klan and others; but I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with J. Flaherty, a former firemen's delegate?

Mr. CURRAN. I told you yes, that I was acquainted with him. I told you he was a patrolman—he got to be a patrolman.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you said you had never known him to use the name of Lambert?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know where Flaherty is now?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or have you had any connection with or seen him or met him recently?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I have not since he was a patrolman. I have heard he was on a ship.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether he resigned his N. M. U. job to become an official, or active for the Communist Party, do you?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, is the Pilot, your official publication, on sale in foreign countries?

Mr. CURRAN. Oh, it is not on sale, but it is distributed in foreign countries.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is?

Mr. CURRAN. Our boys carry it down there to foreign ports and leave them, and other ships coming through get them and pass them back and forth like that. And in some places where the men go more frequently, maybe there are some Pilots on hand, and where some seamen do not get back for 5 or 6 months, and a ship passes through, it leaves some for them.

Mr. WHITLEY. How are they transmitted to the seamen?

Mr. CURRAN. I suppose they are left in a gin mill in some cases, and in some cases they are left at some seamen's house. Seamen's Y. M. C. A. are scattered throughout the world, under different names, you know. The English have the Prince of Wales' Institute for Seamen, and that has copies of the Pilot right in it, and we have them right on the tables, you know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean the seamen take them along with them on their voyages?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; and drop them here and there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a general practice, Mr. Curran, for seamen to be subjected to search for documents in any countries other than Germany and Russia?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe in Cuba we had difficulty with the Pilot, and two men were arrested, I believe, for bringing the Pilot ashore. We took it up with the department down there and they afterwards admitted the Pilot in, and it is now being admitted. That is the only country I know of—no; I think in Brazil, also, there was some difficulty.

Mr. WHITLEY. I did not have reference to bringing the Pilot in so much as I did to countries that search the seamen when they come in for documents, or contraband of any kind.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, all countries go through somewhat of a search. Some are a little more rigid than others. You take it right here in the United States, on some trips the seamen come in for a dozen trips and will not be searched, and all of a sudden the F. B. I. get evidence that dope is being brought into the country, and every seaman will be searched. The same thing takes place in other countries.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there any countries where it is a regular routine practice to search the seamen rigidly?

Mr. CURRAN. Any countries?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I believe Germany, and now at this time I believe France, England, and Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is in a condition of war. I mean under normal conditions, not under war conditions.

Mr. CURRAN. Some countries search for given articles, like France; they have a habit of searching there for cigarettes, and they fine you a franc for every cigarette you bring in. They search pretty rigidly for those, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, you know that the National Socialist Party, the Nazi Party of Germany, maintains an international organization, or what is known as an international organization, do you?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you also know that the Communist Party is an international organization?

Mr. CURRAN. I have heard so; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it common knowledge on the water front that both the Nazis and Communists maintain cells or units aboard American-flag passenger ships?

Mr. CURRAN. Is it common knowledge?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; is it generally known on the water front?

Mr. CURRAN. No; we submitted some information—I believe it was to the Department of Justice—of some activities on the American ships, passenger ships, running to Germany. We heard nothing more about that, of course. And, as a result, when those ships docked, when this war broke out, you notice the disappearance of almost the entire galley crew on each ship.

The members also discovered over in England an ex-German U-boat captain was on one of them as chief cook.

Mr. WHITLEY. But that is not a matter of general knowledge?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are these American ships you are talking about?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; they are naturalized American citizens. The British and French took them off as the war broke out and, as a result, I think they felt they were safer in getting off, and disappeared.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are talking about naturalized American citizens working on boats that ply between the United States and Germany; is that right?

Mr. CURRAN. And Great Britain and France. The United States Lines have favored at all times German cooks, bedroom stewards, and so forth, on passenger liners, because of the better service, they claim.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, from your knowledge as a seaman, would you say it would be difficult for the member of a crew of an ordinary freighter to carry money or letters from one port to another without being detected?

Mr. CURRAN. I think it would be fairly difficult.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are speaking from your knowledge and experience as a seaman now?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And would you say, from your knowledge as a seaman, it would be difficult for one member of a crew in either the engine or deck departments, by an act of sabotage, to change the whole schedule of that boat?

Mr. CURRAN. One seaman?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, you have a case now where it is possible for one person to sabotage almost the entire world; so "one person" is limitless when it comes to a case of sabotage. Hitler is doing a pretty good job all by himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, we are talking about boats.

Mr. CURRAN. You are asking me how far one person—

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think Stalin is doing a pretty good job, too?

Mr. CURRAN. I think they all are; but he is asking about one person and limits the question to sabotage.

Mr. WHITLEY. We will say an experienced seaman in either the engine or deck department of a boat: what would be your opinion as to whether one person, with such intentions, could sabotage that boat to the extent, at least, of changing its schedule?

Mr. CURRAN. What is your opinion?

Mr. WHITLEY. I am not qualified; I am not a seaman, Mr. Curran.

Mr. CURRAN. Could one man ashore do the same thing to an industry?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the reason I am asking.

Mr. CURRAN. An experienced man could do it to an industry ashore, could he not?

Mr. STARNES. Then your answer is he could aboard ship?

Mr. CURRAN. One man can do many things. The Black Tom explosion and all those things—they are one man's work, and so forth. Yes; they could sabotage a ship, certainly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Lawrence Simpson?

Mr. CURRAN. Lawrence Simpson?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; he is an American seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of your union?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I don't think so. I have not seen him since I came back. He went to sea on an east coast ship and was a bona fide seaman and if he applied for membership in the N. M. U., he certainly was entitled to it. He is an American seaman, and a bona fide seaman, and that is our constitution.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether he is such a member now, or not?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know; I think he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of his arrest and imprisonment in Germany?

Mr. CURRAN. Certainly. I took an active part in trying to get him free, and it was through the efforts of the marine organizations, I believe, that we were successful in getting him free.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was an incident which caused the longshoremen of San Francisco to strike in protest, I believe?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know; I could not say.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know about that?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't; no. I know what our activities were in it; I can tell you about them, that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Simpson pled guilty to the charge?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know; but I know we figured it was a frame-up, and have never lost that conviction, the same as in the case of a lot of people. I believe he is still in prison; I don't know. Has he been released?

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't know. Mr. Curran, do you know whether it is a common practice for Communist crew members to carry stickers aboard ship to be used in other countries?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know whether it is a common practice for Communist members aboard ship, but I happen to know of a group that carried other stickers abroad because I got some of them. I don't know of any Communist stickers.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know of any Communist stickers?

Mr. CURRAN. No; the only sticker I know of was a big yellow one which was plastered on the front of buildings and everything else in New York, that had a big "Y" on it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether or not Nazi crews carry literature and stickers aboard ship for distribution abroad?

Mr. CURRAN. I have heard a good deal about it. Personally, I have not seen it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Personally, you do not know about it?

Mr. CURRAN. No; but there are various members of crews that have reported that to the United States Department of Justice.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any similar reports with reference to Communist members of crews?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know of any of those?

Mr. CURRAN. I believe there were some reports made; I am not sure. I think there were.

Mr. WHITLEY. As to the N. M. U., do you consider it, or is it considered to be both a political and economic organization, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. Now, you are getting down to my place in life. The N. M. U. is an organization that is established for the betterment of the welfare of the seamen, in wages, hours, conditions of work, and, if it becomes necessary, for political action in order to obtain and keep these benefits that we have gained, certainly we recommend political action—as it is constituted in America, of course, under this form of government, and we approve it.

Mr. CURRAN. So your answer would be it is both an economic and political organization?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; because you see I consider our seamen to be American citizens and I think they are entitled, under the Constitution, to those rights.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, are the Great Lakes officially a geographic district of the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. They are.

Mr. WHITLEY. With autonomy equal to that of the Atlantic and Gulf districts?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, not quite. You see, the Great Lakes district is considered as "under organization" and at the last convention held in July in the Gulf they were officially constituted as a district—having reached the stage of organization where they could reach that state. And that is what they are at present—a district.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that district self-supporting financially?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they do not have to be subsidized?

Mr. CURRAN. They are better than the Atlantic and the Gulf.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are what?

Mr. CURRAN. They are better off than the Atlantic and the Gulf.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is the present chairman of the Lakes district?

Mr. CURRAN. We have no chairman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mr. M. Hedley Stone? What is his position with the Great Lakes organization?

Mr. CURRAN. Secretary of the Great Lakes district.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever know Stone under the name of Murray Stein?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is a Communist, either by his own proclamation or otherwise?

Mr. CURRAN. No; and I know that his name is legally what it is—M. Hedley Stone. He showed me the legal documents.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he using the name "Murray Stein" as an alias?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know. There is something in the family, I think. They went to court and had it legally changed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he the first organizer assigned to the Lakes by any of you, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. Well, there is an Adrian Duffy, Ralph Rodgers, and Hedley Stone.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then, they were assigned at the same time?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know any of them to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. CURRAN. No. Why don't you ask me whether they are members of other organizations? It looks like you are partial to this one group. They may be dangerous members, or members of the bund, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. But, if they were you would let us know about it?

Mr. CURRAN. Certainly I would, if you asked it; see.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are most of the branches of the N. M. U. on the Great Lakes affiliated with the Workers Alliance?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were the Lakes called on strike during the 1934 west-coast strike, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. No; the Lakes at that time were not organized. They were in company unions; the Lake Carriers' Association.

Mr. WHITNEY. Were they called out during the 1936 spring rank-and-file strike?

Mr. CURRAN. No; they were not.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1936—1937 strike?

Mr. CURRAN. They were not organized as yet.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it true that the Lakes have been organized to a greater or lesser degree continuously since 1921, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. The Great Lakes?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know. They were organized into company unions. The Lake Carriers' Association, if that is what you mean, sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the N. M. U. activities in the Lake region were in the matter of a dual, hostile union to the A. F. of L.; is that correct?

Mr. CURRAN. I said company union. I did not mention the A. F. of L. You did. I said our aim and purpose in life is to smash all company unions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were those unions out there A. F. of L. unions?

Mr. CURRAN. There is no A. F. of L. union in operation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not at that time?

Mr. CURRAN. There may have been a couple of stooges up there for the purpose of disruption.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. Hedley Stone has attended the past three conventions of the Communist Party as a delegate?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know; and I don't believe he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever visited the Lakes region officially?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet John Williamson in Cleveland?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know John Williamson?

Mr. CURRAN. It does not strike a familiar chord. I know a lot of Williamsons, though.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know whether you have a John Williamson in your organization out there?

Mr. CURRAN. There are 75,000 men. You might dig up one or two out here and there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the Reuther brothers?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; I have read a great deal about them.

Mr. WHITLEY. They are with the United Automobile organization in Detroit?

Mr. CURRAN. They are around there some place.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet with the Reuther brothers, or Frankenstein while you were in Cleveland?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. At Pittsburgh?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I told you this morning that I do not know Reuther when I see him; but I did meet with Frankenstein who was a delegate to the convention in Pittsburgh; a member of the United Auto Workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever made an address from a Detroit station under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The present Lake editor of the Pilot is Hayes Jones. Was he a former member of the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Yes; he is one that brought me in the M. W. I. U. We were shipmates together.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is editor of the mimeograph known as The Dog House News?

Mr. CURRAN. The Dog House News; that is right. And I was a distributor.

Mr. WHITLEY. Also editor of the mimeograph Unity?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I only know of two. I know of the Dog House News and the Marine Workers Voice. Those are the two and Hayes was on both of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, do you know whether he worked on the I. S. U. Pilot? The mimeograph I. S. U. Pilot?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was a correspondent on the west coast of The Daily Worker?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has he been an active seaman, to your knowledge, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. Oh, he has been an active seaman I think—I am not too well qualified, but I have known him for 15 years; known him 15 years ago on ships abroad.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he ever, to your knowledge, go to Moscow, to Soviet Russia, as a marine delegate from the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Not him. He and I both worked together. You have got something there.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean as a delegate.

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. I thought——

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). We were shipmates together on the *Exporter*, of the American Export Line, which traded regularly in the Black Sea ports and touched at Odessa.

Mr. WHITLEY. I was inquiring whether you——

Mr. CURRAN. So, we went to Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. I was inquiring whether he attended as a delegate.

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. A meeting of the M. W. I. U. in 1933.

Mr. CURRAN. M. W. I. U.; did it have a meeting?

Mr. WHITLEY. As a delegate from the M. W. I. U. to the Great International Trade Union's meeting?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know about that; but he was a shipmate with me on the American Export Line and we ran to Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. You appointed him to his past position?

Mr. CURRAN. No; the Great Lakes elected him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you sign his credentials?

Mr. CURRAN. I think his credentials were signed by the Pilot editor.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has written some books, Mr. Curran?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't know whether he has or not. He is a pretty good writer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever heard of the Seamen Under the Red Flag?

Mr. CURRAN. No; I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, do you know or did you ever hear of an incident wherein the crew of the S. S. *Patores*, of the United Fruit

Line, hoisted a home-made Soviet hammer and sickle banner on that vessel's flagstaff?

Mr. CURRAN. I don't remember it; no; but I do remember something about a painting on the side of the ship down in a Central American port of the hammer and sickle by somebody.

Mr. WHITLEY. But, you do not recall of the instance where the hammer and sickle banner was flown from that vessel's flagstaff?

Mr. CURRAN. I remember a painting; I do not remember of it flying from the staff; but I remember of an instance of a painting on the side of one of the ships that I was working on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were the men who painted that hammer and sickle on the side of the ship members of your union?

Mr. CURRAN. I do not know. I just heard vaguely there was a painting on the side.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had no official notice of it?

Mr. CURRAN. We had plenty of official notice about it, my God.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever check up on it?

Mr. CURRAN. Checked up as far as we could, and we learned that it was done by a shore gang down in Central America. You see they have shore gangs paint the sides of the ships. That is as far as it got. It was dropped by the company immediately.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never heard any complaint about the crew running up a red flag on the United Fruit vessel?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. If it had been done on the ship——

Mr. CURRAN (interposing). I got that; yes; we got that complaint and we jointly with the company went into it, into an investigation of it. We found no occasion for further investigation and the company wanted to drop it; see.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you did not do anything further about it?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, one last question. I believe that you said that you were a member of the M. W. I. U. at one time?

Mr. CURRAN. For 1 month; or a little more; I believe a month and a half, or so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that organization under communistic control?

Mr. CURRAN. I did not know at the time if it was. It had something like 14,000 members in it; all American seamen.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had no reason to know that it was?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say, so far as you know, it was not?

Mr. CURRAN. So far as I knew it was not.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. CURRAN. We asked this morning for those supposed receipts of my dues paid into the Communist Party that were submitted here by Mr. John Frey, and we would like to have the courtesy of seeing them.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already been told that you can see anything the committee has.

Mr. CURRAN. Now; while I am on the stand?

The CHAIRMAN. No; you are going to answer questions.

Mr. CURRAN. We cannot see that?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any questions to ask?

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a couple.

Mr. CURRAN. We will not be permitted to see them?

The CHAIRMAN. I have already told you you could see them; you have been given your answer, Mr. Curran.

Mr. CURRAN. I just want to make this plain——

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot talk. That is what you want to do. You want to do a little demonstrating; the Chair understands what your tactics are. Go ahead, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just want to ask this question. You made several references to the Maritime Commission. I wonder what you meant when you said that the Maritime Commission was imposing on the seamen and so on; was not dealing squarely with them, or whatever it was.

Mr. CURRAN. Well, Mr. Voorhis, I have available a great deal of information on it. However, the main instance is illustrated in our last—the war-bonus question and insurance, where the Commission arbitrarily came out with a set rate for it and refused to permit us to continue negotiating with the operators. The operators hid behind the Maritime Commission. That is only one of many where they arbitrarily set working conditions and rules, and so forth on the ships, where they practically took our collective-bargaining powers from us with the operators. Those are a few of many instances where they arbitrarily introduced into the training schools men who never had been to sea before, unloading into the industry a great many men when we have thousands of unemployed at the present time, and not training the men already in the industry. Those are only some of the instances. Refusal to consult at any time with the unions. There are many other instances. The Algic case, for example, where they went out of the way to prosecute those men.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not feel that the Maritime Commission has been fair with your organization?

Mr. CURRAN. I think that the Maritime Commission instead of devoting itself to its original purpose of building up the merchant marine, in which we want to cooperate, devoted itself to one thing and that was to harassing the unions of the industry.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you not think that is a broad statement?

Mr. CURRAN. It is that broad, that we intend to prove it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just want to ask one other question. You have spoken several times about the union's aims and purposes, trying to improve conditions, and so forth. Do you not believe that if there is any group within the union which is devoted to other purpose than that first and those other things second, that it is a bad influence in the union?

Mr. CURRAN. I do, and will be the first one to blast them for it. Yes; if they put anything ahead of that. That is the fundamental principle.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions? The committee will stand adjourned until Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. CURRAN. Do you want me to be here Monday morning?

The CHAIRMAN. No; you are excused.

(Thereupon, 2:10 p. m., the committee adjourned until 10 a. m., Monday, October 30, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.
Present: Messrs. Starnes, Voorhis, Dempsey, Mason, and Thomas.
Present also: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

Mr. STARNES. Whom do you have this morning Mr. Counsel?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. McCuiston, will you stand and be sworn: You solemnly swear the testimony you will give at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM C. McCUISTION, SEAMAN, 4 WEST CHURCH STREET, FREDERICK, MD.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, will you state your full name, please?

Mr. McCUISTION. William C. McCuiston.

Mr. STARNES. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. McCUISTION. M-c-C-u-i-s-t-i-o-n.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is your address, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. 4 West Church Street, Frederick, Md.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is your business, or occupation?

Mr. McCUISTION. I am a seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. McCUISTION. Paris, Tex.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when were you born?

Mr. McCUISTION. December 17, 1901.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any military or naval service, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. I have had service in the Junior Naval Reserve and in the United States Army.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever receive any recognition of your service?

Mr. McCUISTION. I received a Treasury Department lifesaving medal and at the same time the Cross—the Maltese award of the Catholic Church, while I was in the service, in 1919.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a Catholic yourself?

Mr. McCUISTION. I am a Protestant, a member of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuistion, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; I have been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where did you first join the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. I joined the Communist Party first in the days of the Palmer raids in 1921, on the Pacific coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when did you finally and definitely break with the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Well, I was out of the party a number of times. It was a foreign-language party when I first went in it and I could not get along with their ideas of discipline. I was readmitted several times and finally severed my connection with it in 1935, but continued to work with the higher-ups of the party until my return from Spain last year, in August, when I definitely started to work in opposition to the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, over a period from 1921 to 1938, you were closely and actively in touch with the party most of the time?

Mr. McCUISTION. Most of the time; and, since 1929, with the leadership of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Since 1929, your contacts have been with the leadership?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuistion, were you engaged in organization work among seamen for the Communist Party for a number of years?

Mr. McCUISTION. For about 10 years; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you in favor of trade unions?

Mr. McCUISTION. Very much so. I have always carried a union book and will never work unless I am carrying a union book.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever testified before any other body or committee prior to today, Mr. McCuistion?

Mr. McCUISTION. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. And why do you appear here as a voluntary witness today?

Mr. McCUISTION. Because I, and a number of trade-unionists with whom I have been associated, have definitely decided if the trade-union movement in the country is to survive, why, the Communist Party will have to get out of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. McCUISTION. They are wrecking the movement and we have decided the only way we can really effectively work against the Communist Party is to really acquaint the public as a whole with it, since, due to their control inside of a majority of the unions, it is practically impossible really to give a true picture to the union membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, your appearance is prompted primarily by your interest in trade-union work?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your desire to protect and help it?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir. I want to see the unions grow stronger and better, instead of being wrecked.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuISTION, you are acquainted with Mr. Joseph Curran?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know his handwriting when you see it?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir; very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify this photostatic copy of a letter in longhand?

Mr. McCuISTION (after examining). Yes, sir; I identify the letter and his signature, both.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, you identify this as Mr. Joe Curran's handwriting and signature?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I believe the committee recalls that in his testimony Saturday Mr. Curran repeatedly stated most emphatically that he knew nothing about the Communist Party, that he did not know a Communist when he saw one; that he had heard of them, but did not know what they looked like and, if they had any program or were active among any seamen's ranks, he did not know anything about that.

I have here a letter dated August 23, 1936, New York City, which is written on the letterhead of the Seamen's Defense Committee, 164 Eleventh Avenue, New York City, this letter having been identified by the witness. The letter is addressed "Dear Pete." Do you know who Pete might be, Mr. McCuISTION?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes; he is a former personal friend and associate of Joe Curran, who was purged after he, too, began to differ with the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. After he what?

Mr. McCuISTION. After he began actively to oppose the Communist Party, he was subsequently purged and driven off of the water front and out of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is Pete's last name?

Mr. McCuISTION. Innes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in this letter, on the second page, Mr. Curran states as follows:

I want you to take up the question of me coming out to the coast and staying there, as I frankly do not believe there is anything here, as I believe the C. P. (Communist Party) have broken all our chances up.

It is signed "Joseph Curran" and I read that at this time in view of Mr. Curran's repeated statements that he knew nothing about Communist activities among the seamen.

(The letter above referred to was marked "McCuISTION No. 1, October 30, 1939.")

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). Now, Mr. McCuISTION, will you describe for the committee the events leading up to the Madison Square Garden rally which was held by the seamen during December 1936 in New York City.

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, yes. At that time, the morale of the strikers was very low. The weather was cold—this was during the critical

period of the strike, you might say in the fall strike of 1936, the fall and spring of 1937, and the strikers were beginning to break ranks somewhat and drift back to work, and the Communist Party members of the strike committee met in caucus at 230 Seventh Avenue, New York City, and present at the caucus were Roy Hudson, Tommy Ray, Al Lannon, and a number of prominent Communists on the water front. I was also invited into this meeting to give my opinion; although I was not a member of the Communist Party at that time, I was working with the leadership in the National Marine Fraction, and they decided we had to do something to build up the morale of the strikers. And we discussed the holding of a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, but the thing that held us back in making plans was the fact we could not figure ways to finance from strikers' money. There never was more than a couple of dollars in the till at one time; it was spent as fast as it came in, and the Madison Square Garden meeting involved the expenditure of about \$5,000—\$3,500 for rental alone.

First, the party took the attitude if we could get the meeting that the party would gladly finance the meeting, provided we could get proper speakers, and so, immediately that day, myself and Ray and Hudson were assigned specifically to begin to contact various speakers.

We got various ones to speak there—if I remember correctly, Heywood Broun, Vito Marcantonio, and various other Communist figures in the political and labor life of New York, and then for the key figure we decided it would be necessary to bring Harry Bridges from the coast. Harry Bridges had refused to come over several times at the behest of the strike committee. Tommy Ray and Roy Hudson, both members of the central committee of the Communist Party, said "Very well; if we decide Bridges is coming there, he is coming there." They said, "We will get in touch with him immediately by phone today. You go down and tell the strike committee you are confident you can get him over, and then send a teletype message to him, and we are sure he will come to New York."

Mr. DEMPSEY. Right there: You say he had refused several times to come over. Why could these two men guarantee he would be here, at their request?

Mr. McCUSTION. Because he was a member of the Communist Party and they were leaders in the Communist marine fraction.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, as such, if they instructed him to come there—as a Communist he had to come?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me ask right there: Have you ever testified before any other committee or body as to these facts?

Mr. McCUSTION. Never; but I have given certain information as to these facts to the Immigration Department during the trial of Bridges; but I refused to testify unless they forced me to testify. They said they don't want a hostile witness; but, later on, they would see if they could use the information. I gave this information to Mr. Dulaney, Director of Naturalization at New Orleans.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. McCustion, how do you know that Bridges was a Communist at that time?

Mr. McCUSTION. I know it merely by the fact the leading members of the Communist Party told me he was a Communist, and

their authority over him was shown by the fact that he subsequently did accept and did come to the meeting.

Mr. VOORHIS. He did come?

Mr. McCUISTION. And at various other times I have discussed communism with Harry Bridges myself, and Harry Bridges has upbraided me for not returning to the Communist Party as an active member.

Mr. WHITLEY. Later on Mr. McCuistion will discuss his own personal conversations with Bridges, but I want to develop this in chronological order.

Now, will you continue with your testimony on the Madison Square Garden rally and the events leading up to it?

Mr. McCUISTION. We decided, first, to hold the meeting on December 14, but the Garden was not available at that time and we had to take the night that the Garden had off, which was the night of December 16. When we started arguing about the money, why, we told the members of the strike committee, the whole strike committee, that it was an absolute fact that we could get the money only from the Communist Party. Joe Curran said, "Well, what is wrong with that?" Some of the members of the strike committee argued we should not get the money from the Communist Party; that it would put the strike in a bad light. I myself argued we should at least use a little tact about the matter and one of us should arrange to get the money through some private individual. But the Communist Party themselves insisted on handling the whole thing, the finances and the whole thing, and it was placed in the hands of David Leeds, who was at that time treasurer or financial secretary of the New York district of the Communist Party, and he said he would handle all of the financial arrangements.

On the night of the meeting I took a collection myself. It amounted to something over \$2,000 and pledges amounting to several thousand dollars more. At the meeting, why this money, plus, the gate receipts, which amounted to between \$500 and \$900, was all turned over to David Leeds, who both Curran and Bridges knew to be a representative of the Communist Party, and it was turned over to him in their presence and accounted for in their presence.

At the same time, he gave both Curran and Bridges money for expenses for a trip later on to Boston, and they left after the meeting that night to go to Boston for another meeting, and he reimbursed Bridges for his expenses in getting to New York and getting back to the coast by plane.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that in your presence?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was in my presence.

Mr. WHITLEY. You saw David Leeds, financial secretary of the New York branch of the Communist Party—you saw all of the funds turned over to him, and you saw him give Bridges money to pay his transportation to and from the coast, and also to pay for a trip which he and Curran were to make to Boston?

Mr. McCUISTION. Which they were to make to Boston and several other places they had to go—I don't know just where they had to go, but they had a series of meetings, and they were given money. I won't say the exact sum, because I don't know; I don't know the exact sum myself, because there was quite a point made by the strike

committee that there was too much traveling by airplane, and so on, anyway, and that these guys should rough it a little bit. But they got money directly from Leeds.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. McCuiston, I show you a teletype message. This message is addressed "Attention Rathborne." Can you identify Rathborne for the committee?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes; Rathborne was the Pacific coast representative of the American Radio Telegraphists' Association, a self-admitted member of the Communist Party, and bragged of it and actively worked in recruiting the leadership of the marine industry into the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said a moment ago they originally planned to have this meeting December 14, 1936, but had to change that to the 16th. Is that correct?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does this teletype message have to do with the invitation extended to Harry Bridges to attend that meeting?

Mr. McCUISTON (after examining). Yes; this was just a form of teletype message. Bridges already had his instructions definitely to be there; but, to make it look good, we had to send a teletype and get an official response.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, this is an official confirmation?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes. We sent it to Rathborne directly because we had been so instructed by Hudson and Ray, that Rathborne would be in direct contact with Bridges, whereas the others would be more or less in official union contact with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. The teletype reads as follows:

Attention Rathborne.

Due to phone call from here had to leave without seeing you again. Talked to N. Y. on phone this a. m. They desire to know whether Bridges will come New York, expenses paid, to be on platform Madison Square Garden December 4th.

It says here, and that is later corrected so as to make that read "Madison Square Garden, December 14." The teletype continues:

* * * They desire he notify them yes or no immediately as John L. Lewis is to be there. The above is strictly confidential. Ask him to notify Joe in New York—

Does that "Joe" refer to Joe Curran?

Mr. McCUISTON. Joe Curran; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

* * * in writing as they also have made arrangements for Francis J. Gorman to be there also.

That is signed "M. F. O. W. MH." What does M. F. O. W. stand for?

Mr. McCUISTON. Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Water Tenders.

Mr. WHITLEY. And "MH"; what is that?

Mr. McCUISTON. I don't know. We were all of us amateurs in handling the teletype and made a lot of errors.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is this "C. Phil"?

Mr. McCUISTON. That could be a number of people. There is one correction I would like to make. You have Rathborne spelled wrong; it is "Rathbone" and the "r" should not be in there.

Mr. WHITLEY. It continues:

MFOW thru Phillips have called special meeting all up and down Atlantic and Gulf coasts to vote official strike tomorrow night. Is there anything you want to know as we have meeting here tonight?

That is signed "Innes." Would that be Pete Innes?

Mr. McCUISTION. Pete Innes.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the west coast?

Mr. McCUISTION. On the west coast. He was in charge of work for the firemen in San Pedro.

Mr. STARNES. You offer that as an exhibit or a part of the record?

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer this as an exhibit, Mr. Reporter.

(The teletype referred to was marked "McCuistion No. 2, October 30, 1939.")

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). I show you, Mr. McCuistion, a copy of the I. S. U. Pilot: Is that the International Seamen's Union Pilot?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. It was the rank and file at that time, issued by them under the name of "International Seamen's Union Pilot," the rank and file.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was this the official organ of the strike?

Mr. McCUISTION. This was the official organ of the strike and of the rank-and-file group within the International Seamen's Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. This particular issue is dated December 25, 1936. The headline on the front page is "Sailors Take Over Halls."

I show you a photograph on the front page, Mr. McCuistion. The caption underneath the photograph reads as follows:

Above: Mass meeting in Madison Square Garden stands in silent tribute while bugle blows taps for Johnny Kane, a fellow striker who was murdered by reactionary union officials in Houston.

I will ask you if this is your picture standing in the speaker's box?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you speak at that rally?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; I spoke at that rally.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a picture of Mr. McCuistion speaking at Madison Square Garden.

Do you recognize any other persons in this picture who are on the speaker's platform, Mr. McCuistion?

Mr. McCUISTION (after examining). Yes: at the extreme right of the picture is Jack Lawrenson, the only Communist that was on the Marine Firemen's, Oilers' and Watertenders' strike committee, who is at present an official of the N. M. U.

The next picture is of Hoyt Haddock, former president of the American Radio Telegraphists' Association, and a member of the Communist Party. I recruited him into the Communist Party myself years ago, and he is at present still a Communist and the marine personnel manager for the Standard Oil in New York—working in that job now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recognize any others, Mr. McCuistion?

Mr. McCUISTION. The next one is Pete Innes, the one referred to that that letter is addressed to.

The next is Patrick Keenan, an anti-Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Pete Innes a Communist?

Mr. McCuiston. No; he is not a Communist. He was a fellow traveler at that time, but not a Communist at all.

Mr. Whitley. Do you recognize any others on the platform?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; Pat Keenan, the next one is Harry Bridges, and the next one is Joseph Curran—and I am not sure about the next two, so I won't try to identify them.

Mr. Thomas. Right at that point, I am interested in developing the point the witness has made in regard to the man who is now marine personnel manager for the Standard Oil Co.

Do you mean by that that this man whom you named there employs people for the Standard Oil?

Mr. McCuiston. No. He works more or less in their personnel department. The title is nothing; his job is to keep their contact with the trade-union movement and advise them on trade-union activities.

In connection with this, he made a trip not long ago in company with Joe Curran. Joe Curran and him traveling together and living at the same hotels. They made a tour of all Gulf ports and all tanker ports of the country together. That is Haddock's job; he is more or less simply a trade-union adviser.

Mr. Thomas. He is a sort of contact man, then, rather than a personnel man?

Mr. McCuiston. He is. He is called "personnel man," but he is a contact man for the Standard Oil.

Mr. Thomas. Is he on the pay roll of the Standard Oil?

Mr. McCuiston. He is on the pay roll of the Standard Oil admittedly, and he deals with the unions as an official of the Standard Oil. I have talked with him myself as an official of the union.

Mr. Thomas. You said he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; an admitted member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Thomas. What is his full name? Give his full name, please.

Mr. McCuiston. Hoyt Haddock. The Standard Oil knows it, too, because he has never denied he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Thomas. I see.

Mr. McCuiston. He might tell them he is out, now, but he is still in.

Mr. Whitley. I offer this publication as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Starnes. All right.

(The paper above referred to was marked "McCuiston No. 3, October 30, 1939.")

Mr. Whitley. I want to read into the record at this time, Mr. Chairman, a letter dated October 27, 1939, written on the letterhead of "Madison Square Garden Corporation, New York." "President's Office." The letter is addressed to me and reads as follows:

I have your letter of October 21 for information as to who paid the rental on Madison Square Garden for the Seamen's Union meeting held here in December 1936.

The rental of \$2,500 was paid by certified check drawn by D. Leeds.

That is David Leeds, whom Mr. McCuiston has already identified for us.

* * * The check was drawn upon the Amalgamated Bank, Union Square, New York City, and was received by us on December 15, 1936.

Circulation
More Than
30,000

THE ISU PILOT

KEEP OUR UNION ON A TRUE COURSE

EAST
COAST
STRIKE
EDITION

Published Weekly P.O. Box 62 WALL STREET STATION NEW YORK, N.Y.

VOLUME 1 No. 24 New York, N.Y., December 2, 1934 PRICE 3 CENTS

SAILORS TAKE OVER HALLS

STORY ON PAGE 1



ABOVE: Mass meeting in Madison Square Garden stands in stern tonight before 10,000 New York harbor seamen talk to the captain who has "taken" them. **Below:** John Kane, a fellow seaman who was murdered by reactionary union officials, is being buried in Houston.

Photograph of "International Seamen's Union Pilot," official organ of the International Seamen's Union, showing Mr. McCuistion speaking at Madison Square Garden, and reading from left to right: 5, Joe Curran; 6, Harry Bridges; 7, Pat Keenan; 8, Peter Innes; 9, Hoyt Haddock; 10, W. C. McCuistion; 11, Jack Lawrenson.

Our charges for service, etc., amounting to \$467 were paid by check No. 72 signed by the same individual. Our records do not show what bank this check was drawn on, but we assume it was the same one as check for rental. This second check was received by us on December 21, 1936.

Very truly yours,

J. R. KILPATRICK, *President.*

I offer this letter as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. And as corroborative evidence?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right—to corroborate the witness's statement that this rally was financed entirely by the Communist Party.

(The letter above referred to was marked "McCuistion No. 4, October 30, 1939.")

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). I show you, Mr. McCuistion, the minutes of the Atlantic and Gulf district committee meeting of the N. M. U., held on January 31, 1938, at 126 Eleventh Avenue, New York City. Page 6 of those minutes reads as follows:

DEBTS OF THE UNION

SMITH. A motion was passed some time ago to pay all bills on the water front.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, this was approximately 2 years after this Madison Square Garden rally in December 1936—no; it was a little over a year—and this was after the N. M. U. had come into existence, following the strike.

SMITH. A motion was passed some time ago to pay all bills on the water front. There are some bills that have not been paid yet, which were incurred during the strike.

BYNE. We are paying bills every week. We sent a check out this morning and one was sent out Saturday and another check was sent to the Bright Lunch, which has gone out of business, but we recognize our debt to them nevertheless.

"Lawrenson"—was that Pat Lawrenson?

Mr. MCCUISTION. That is Jack Lawrenson.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Yes; he is a member. He speaks for the Communist Party constantly, is a well-known member of the Communist Party, in the leadership.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

LAWRENSON. A private individual loaned the strike strategy committee \$1,000 for Madison Square Garden. Some attempt should be made to repay it. M. S. C.

What is that?

Mr. MCCUISTION. "Motion seconded and carried."

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point: Are you going to develop that, as to who that private individual was?

Mr. WHITLEY. I am going to develop this, but Mr. McCuistion will interpret it as soon as I finish reading it.

Motion seconded and carried: That a report be submitted to the next district committee meeting of those individuals to whom the N. M. U. owes money.

Now, Mr. McCuistion, from your own knowledge of the activities of the union and the Communist Party, what would be your interpretation of these efforts to obtain \$1,000 for the Madison Square Garden rally?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Well, my opinion would be it is a practice that has been used in the past in the union and other unions I have been

acquainted with, to keep as many debts of various kinds as they can on the books so that whenever the Communist Party fraction of the union needs money in a hurry, they can always dig \$1,000 out of the union treasury by paying some fictitious bill of some sort, and getting some dummy receipt of any sort. They always have a loan from a private individual, and such a thing as that can be explained away very easy on the record, and they have a thousand dollars cash, so that they do not have to account for it, anyway.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that a practice they adhered to at that time?

Mr. McCUSTION. It is a practice, yes, that they still carry on to the extent of about \$40,000 this last year.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, these debts, this Madison Square Garden debt, had already been paid; but over a year later they are bringing it up and attempting to get \$1,000, and using it as an excuse?

Mr. VOORHIS. Are these the minutes of the executive committee of the union, or what?

Mr. WHITLEY. They are the—

minutes of Atlantic and Gulf district committee meeting of the N. M. U., held on January 31st, 1938, at 126 11th Avenue, New York. Meeting called to order at 3:50 p. m. by Acting Chairman Jerry King, in the absence of the regular chairman, Frederick N. Myers.

Mr. McCUSTION. There is one thing I would like to say in connection with that: They could not have owed any money on that meeting, because the Communist Party made a profit of a thousand dollars on the Madison Square Garden meetings, and they could not have been anything left over. The union got little or no money out of it, or the strikers got little or no money out of it, and the Communist Party must have made, because they had cans jingling all over the place, and collection lists, and pledges made by Communist Party members in various unions, which never did get to the strike committee, and with the collections and the gate receipts, the Communist Party must have taken in about six or seven thousand dollars, and had approximately a \$5,000 expenditure.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, did the union get any money from that meeting?

Mr. McCUSTION. The union got money in the form of checks sent in at various times by people who were there.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean at the meeting.

Mr. McCUSTION. At the meeting, none was given except to Curran and Frank Jones and Harry Bridges, and certain individuals, and whatever money they got out of it—the union—reached them in a roundabout course.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did the people there know who were taking up the collection?

Mr. McCUSTION. I took up the collection myself, but I had to turn it over to the party.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean, did the people know that was going to be done?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. There was an order sent out for that meeting; in order that there would not be an empty hall, with just the strikers there, an order was sent out to all New York Communist Party units and Communist Party fractions to attend the meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer this as an exhibit.

To all Members of the

**MARINE FIREMEN'S, OILERS' AND WATER-
TENDERS' UNION**

OF THE ATLANTIC AND GULF

Affiliated with the International Seamen's Union of America
American Federation of Labor

STRIKE CALL

Brothers: The M.F.O.W. has officially voted to go on Strike.
The strike vote took place at Headquarters, Monday,
November 30th.
This has been endorsed by Branches in all Ports.
The M.M.P., the M.E.B.A. and the A.R.T.A. have
already taken similar action. The seamen of all crafts
are hitting the picket lines.
Now is the time to strike for our own demands and show
our solidarity with the West Coast.
All ships crews upon reaching port are to take strike ac-
tion and report for strike duty at their respective Union
Halls.

J. Casey
William C. McCuiston
R. McBride
W. Kaner

F. G. Renaud
P. Keenan
J. Lawrenson

STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE M.F.O.W.

New York City
215 10th Avenue.



Photograph of a circular addressed to all members of the Marine Firemen's,
Oilers', and Watertenders' Union, showing the strike committee.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

(The paper above referred to was marked "McCuistion No. 5, October 30, 1939.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. McCuistion, one other item in reference to this Madison Square Garden meeting. The published financial statement of the Communist Party of the United States for the year 1936 shows expenditures for labor struggles, supported by schedule 2. The total amount expended for labor struggles is listed in their own financial statement as \$14,456.12. Now, that lump sum is broken down by schedule 2 to the various activities. That lump sum is broken down subsequently to the various industries, such as marine struggle supported, steel, auto, textiles, railroads, and so forth, in varying amounts. In other words, the expenditures made by the Communist Party in the marine labor strikes during the year 1936 are shown in the total amount of \$2,998.55. I call the committee's attention to the fact that this one item alone shows that they have paid out almost \$4,000 for the marine industry at the Madison Square Garden meeting. So, apparently, there is a discrepancy between their published financial statement in 1936 and the actual amount of expenditures made.

Did you participate in the calling of the strike of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Watertenders in 1936?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a circular which is addressed to all members of the Marine Firemen's, Oilers', and Water Tenders' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf. The strike is called by the strike committee listed in the circular, and the names are as follows: J. Casey, William C. McCuistion, R. McBride, W. Kaner, F. G. Renaud, P. Keenan, and J. Lawrenson. I offer that as an exhibit for the record.

Mr. STARNES. All right; it will be identified.

Mr. WHITLEY. I also have here, Mr. Chairman, a notice addressed "To Whom It May Concern," written on the letterhead of "Striking Members of the I. S. U., Strike Strategy Committee," the notice being dated December 21, 1936. It lists the strike strategy committee, and among those listed is William McCuistion, investigation committee. The notice is signed by F. Mulderig, investigation. Mr. McCuistion, do you have a copy of the original strike call?

STRIKING MEMBERS OF THE I. S. U. STRIKE STRATEGY COMMITTEE

HEADQUARTERS, 164 ELEVENTH AVENUE,
New York, N. Y.

Telephone Watkins 9-7263, 9-7264, 9-7265.

Joseph Curran, chairman; Jack Lawrenson, secretary; Frank Jones, treasurer; Wm. McCuistion, investigation comm.; Albert Lannon, chief dispatcher; Patrick Keenan, contact committee; Ferdinand Smith, food committee; Glenn M. Skogman, legal defense; Charles McCarthy, housing comm.; Frank Robinson, American Radio Telegraphists Ass'n; Lee Marshall, National Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots; E. P. Trainor, M. E. B. A.; Thomas Hookey, West Coast Representative.

Mr. MCCUISTION. That was a copy of the original call. I also had a copy myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the original strike call?

Mr. MCCUISTION. That was the first official strike call. The seamen had been out on strike before that, or before they were offi-

cially affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They were having some difficulty with other officials in the seamen's union, and in order to keep our action strictly legal we did not call a strike with just a few men present. We submitted the strike to a referendum of the firemen's union. It took us about 30 days to completely get them in, because we wanted to get the men out by a legally functioning apparatus, or to legally declare the strike by a vote of the membership. We would then set up the strike as a general strike called by the rank and file of the membership as a whole.

Mr. WHITLEY. With whom was the Firemen, Oilers, and Water Tenders Union affiliated?

Mr. McCUSTION. With the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a document supporting that testimony as to the affiliation of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Water Tenders, which will be made an exhibit for the record.

Mr. STARNES. All right, see that it is properly identified.

Mr. WHITLEY. This document contains greetings to the N. M. U. from the Communist Party, or its different outfits.

Mr. McCUSTION. That was because they had successfully excluded members of the Communist Party from the strike committee, and even those in sympathy with the Communist Party, and who were working with them at that time. That was so we could more or less present a clean front to the membership. Only one Communist succeeded in getting on the strike committee. We also had some funds in reserve, and the Communists were wooing us constantly, hoping to get the funds for some Communist Party apparatus. In connection with that, they were helping us in every way. For instance, they collected more ads for the dance program than we could. They collected more ads than we could possibly do. They were doing everything they could for us in order to get our favorable consideration.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is this circular [exhibiting]?

Mr. McCUSTION. When we proceeded with the election in our organization, or the M. F. O. W., the policy and the elections were subsequently determined in court in New York, on action taken by former officials, and the decisions of the New York court were upholding the validity of the election. This leaflet is notifying the seamen to the effect that the decision of the court declared it to be legal.

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer that as an exhibit also.

To All Members of the M. F. O. W.:

BROTHERS: On September 8th, Mr. Standard, our attorney, sent letters to all steamship companies that signed the agreement with the M. F. O. W.

Part of the letter we now print:

"The Marine Firemen's Oilers and Watertenders Union of the Atlantic and Gulf is a party to the agreement executed by your Company on March 9th, 1936, which agreement became effective on March 15th, 1936. Article 2, Section 3, of the agreement reads as follows:

"The authorized representatives of the Union shall have the right to go on board ships covered by this agreement, subject to the regulations prescribed by the owners, for the purpose of consulting with seamen employed thereon. Under no circumstances shall representatives of the Union interfere with the men while at work, and on no account is ship work or sailing of ship to be hindered or delayed."

"The newly elected Secretary of the Union has requested that you furnish delegates, designated by him, with the necessary credentials to enable them to

FOR DEMOCRACY IN ALL UNIONS

Supporters S.S. Importers
Supporters S.S. Callifornia
Supporters S.S. Packers
Supporters S.S. Towlers Road R. E. M.
Supporters S.S. President Roosevelt

Edward Williams Plumbers and Steamfitters Union
Joe Whelan Plumbers and Steamfitters Union
H. M. of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union
P. B. of the Marine Firemen Oilers and Water Tenders Union
W. C. M. of the Marine Firemen Oilers and Water Tenders Union
R. L. of the Sail and Sails Union
The Longshore and Stevedores Union
John Howe Post Office Ship and Watermen
Young Communist League
West End Pharmacy 1010 10th Avenue

Supporters S.S. Data
Supporters S.S. Manhattan
Philip P. New

★

U.S. Representative Joseph P. Kamp, New York
U.S. Representative Joseph P. Kamp, New York
U.S. Representative Joseph P. Kamp, New York

AMUNAS LUNCH ROOM
MELLOW APPLIANCE CO.

Marine Firemen's SHINDIG

held at
Manhattan Lyceum
JULY 11th, 1936
8:30 P. M.

Under the Milkmen Put Out Their Lanterns

Musical By
THE TRANSATLANTIC RHYTHM KINGS
Local 802 American Federation of Musicians



Phone Helios 3-0007

The Dutchmen, Inc.
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

LOUIS the TAYLOR
14 10th Avenue
New York City

ADMES LUNCH, Inc.
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

THE RADIO OPERATORS
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

Scamena Unit Sec. 28

A FRIEND
3rd and 5th A.D.
New York City

Sam and Freddie
Haskell and Pendleton

KATRINKA'S
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New York City

GUS BAR & GRILL
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

HARBOR LUNCH
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

WORKERS SCHOOL
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

DUBOVIK CAFE
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

Workers Book Shop
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

MILLER'S HOTEL
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

A FRIEND
1010 10th Avenue
New York City

Photograph of dance program, showing assistance given by Communist Party to M. F. O. W.

board vessels and to perform all of their duties as delegates. Up to the present time such credentials have not been furnished to the Secretary by your Company.

"Accept this letter as notice, in behalf of the Union, that unless your Company will comply with Article 2, Section 3, of this agreement and furnish the newly elected Secretary of the Union with the necessary credentials on or before September 10th, 1936, the Marine Firemen's Oilers and Watertenders Union of the Atlantic and Gulf shall consider this a vital breach of this agreement and shall consider itself free to take any and all measures that they may deem necessary to protect their rights."

On September 9th, 1936, Mr. Standard received this answer to the above letter:

"On behalf of the group of companies signatory to the agreement of March 9th, 1936, with the International Seamen's Union of America, I am authorized to inform you in response to your letter addressed to the individual companies, that the companies have fully performed said agreement and will continue to do so, including Section 3, of Article 2. The Company will grant permission to go aboard their ships to representatives designated by the International Seamen's Union of America duly accredited by the Secretary, Mr. Ivan Hunter. Such permission will be subject to the conditions of said Section 3."

This answer of the steamship companies challenges the Union to take whatever steps we may see fit. For the information of the membership we wish to quote Article 7, Section 1, of the agreement: "THE UNIONS ON BEHALF OF WHOSE MEMBERS THE AGREEMENT IS SIGNED ARE THE ATLANTIC AND GULF DISTRICT UNIONS." In plain words the agreement is with the membership and their official representatives—namely, Phillips and Byne.

When the S. S. Companies refuse to recognize the officers whom you the membership elected, THEY violate the agreement. And when the agreement is not respected by the S. S. Companies we legally consider the contract terminated. We therefore feel perfectly free in proposing the following measures to protect the interests of the membership:

1. All shipping offices, shipping crimps and the U. S. Shipping Board are declared unfair to the Marine Firemen's Oilers and Watertenders Union. Boycott them! See that no members of the M. F. O. W. ships from them!

2. Every member of the M. F. O. W. is expected to register and ship ONLY through the Union Hall.

3. Every ship's crew is expected to cooperate by insisting that all M. F. O. W. men that are hired have a Union shipping card.

4. No dues are to be paid to any International delegate or any other person except delegates having credentials signed by Frederick C. Phillips.

WARNING TO THE MEMBERSHIP

The circular signed by Carlson and Misland, contain deliberate lies and misleading information. HERE ARE THE FACTS:

Judge Steiner's decision handed down in the Supreme Court in favor of Phillips and Byne still stand. They are accredited officers of the M. F. O. W.

On September 9th, Carlson, Misland and Hunter tried to get an injunction from Federal Judge Mandelbaum to restrain Phillips and Byne from: 1. Exercising their duties as officers of the M. F. O. W., 2. From appointing delegates, 3. From collecting dues, 4. From declaring strikes or violating the present contract.

Judge Mandelbaum refused to grant such an injunction. He did grant a temporary injunction on point 4 until September 15th, which we shall abide by as a sign of good faith to Judge Mandelbaum, even though that contract has been invalidated by the shipowners themselves when they refused to honor the credentials carrying the signatures of Secretary Phillips.

STAND BY THE OFFICIALS YOU VOTED FOR AND ELECTED TO OFFICE

Don't be misled or confused by the circulars being distributed by Carlson and company. For years you wanted Carlson and Misland OUT. You voted them out. Lets keep them out. At the next membership meeting of the Union we intend to prefer charges against them and expel them from the Union.

In the meantime, if any persons representing Carlson, Misland or the International are caught collecting dues, we intend to have them arrested and placed behind the bars.

TO THE SAILORS AND STEWARDS

We appeal to you brothers to help. See that no M. F. O. W. member is shipped through the Sailors' and Stewards' Union. Help us force the shipowners to issue passes to our delegates as well as ship M. F. O. W. members directly through the Union Hall.

M. F. O. W. BRANCHES:

68 HAMILTON AVENUE, BROOKLYN, N. Y. 215 TENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY
Headquarters: 506 WEST 23RD STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Treasurer:—M. BYNE

Secretary:—F. C. PHILLIPS

Were you a member of the Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you an official of that organization?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir: I was a member of the national bureau, which was the national executive committee of the organization. I was an organizer for it, with various titles, in various sections, and at various times. It was in charge of practically every branch of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you a member of the Marine Workers League?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you also a member of the Marine Workers Progressive League?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you a member of the International Seamen's Clubs?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; that was the first of a whole string of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the connecting link between these organizations or clubs?

Mr. McCUISTION. The International Seamen's Clubs were the first open move of the Communist Party to get control of the maritime industry. The International Seamen's Clubs maintained headquarters in Leningrad, in the Soviet Union, and when the International Seamen's Clubs were opened up all over the world, they were financed directly by the Soviet Union, with the understanding that as soon as they obtained sufficient prestige they would establish maritime organizations with membership books, and so forth. The International Seamen's Clubs did not issue membership books. They simply provided free reading rooms, free writing rooms, and so forth, and held forums on various things. They participate generally in the private lives of the seamen, hold dances, and give introductions to seamen in various clubs in the towns. That was followed, in turn, in all of these other organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know about the affiliations of these organizations, and of subsidization directly from Moscow, because of your membership in the organizations and in the Communist Party, and because of your activities in connection with the programs?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir: even the stationery which is used and supplies were not printed in this country. The stationery used in this country was sent directly to this country from Germany by courier as a rule, and were in the main printed in Moscow, although they maintained headquarters in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were those organizations the forerunners of the present N. M. U.?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. Some of the original officers of the International Seamen's Clubs are in official positions in the N. M. U.

today. It has been followed straight down the line through the present N. M. U., without a let-up at any time.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first become officially connected with the Marine Workers League?

Mr. McCUSTION. In 1929, in San Francisco, Calif., when I was elected a delegate to the convention of the Marine Workers League to be held in New York in April 1930.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was the Marine Workers Voice, the official organ or publication of the league, first issued?

Mr. McCUSTION. The first issue, I think, came out about October 1928. It was about the end of 1928. I have seen the first issue, but I cannot recall the date now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify this as a copy, or a photostatic copy of that organ?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; that is a photostat copy of an issue of a later date, when they changed the masthead. At the time that issue came out I was helping to edit the organ, as assistant editor.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say this is a photostat copy of the official organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; this is a photostat copy of the Marine Workers Voice, official organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. Upon the background there is an anchor with a rope across it, and the letters "I. S. H." across it. Underneath, on the left-hand side of the masthead, it says "Official Organ Marine Workers Industrial Union, American Section, International of Seamen and Harbor Workers."

Mr. WHITLEY. This is the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers Union, an organization about which Mr. Curran testified on Saturday.

Mr. McCUSTION. For one thing, it has membership books, like the industrial unions, and it is the same thing today. It is an international section of that organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran testified that he was a member of that organization, and that would mean that he would have a membership card or book?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; a membership card or membership book.

Mr. WHITLEY. The membership book showed that it was the American section of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir. The membership books state that it is affiliated with the T. U. U. L. and the Red International Labor Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. This particular issue of the publication is dated January 1935, and I am offering this as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. What was the connection there with Mr. Curran?

Mr. WHITLEY. This was the official organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, of which Mr. Curran testified that he was a member. He also testified that he knew nothing about the international connections of that organization. I will ask you to identify this photostat copy of a page of the Marine Workers Voice.

Mr. McCUSTION. This is a copy of the Marine Workers Voice, and this is the editorial page of the Marine Workers Voice. This was put out at a time when they would sometimes put out additional copies. There was a monthly edition at that time, but if things got

stale, they would put out an edition for 2 months. This was for January and February.

Mr. WHITLEY. This particular editorial here is entitled "For Job Control, 100%."

[Marine Workers Voice, organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, 140 Broad St., New York City, vol. 7, No. 1, January-February 1935; printed by members of T. U. U. L.]

FOR JOB CONTROL, 100%

The agreement does not call for a "closed shop" or job control by the International Seamen's Union.

A "closed shop" means 100% organization. It means every man on the job must be a union man. It means union conditions on the job. It means the employer can only hire union men. It means "job control" by a union. Why "job control"?

Union men are not interested in winning job control in order to make their union an employment agency. They want union control of hiring to smash the shipowners' power to blacklist and discriminate. They want job control in order to give every man an equal chance at the available work and to abolish favoritism and back door shipping.

"It is understood and agreed that as vacancies occur, members of the International Seamen's Union, who are citizens of the United States shall be given preference of employment; provided, however, that this section shall not be construed to require the discharge of any employees who reshipment or absence due to illness or accident," says the agreement.

This means that foreign born seamen, even though they are members of the L. S. U., or are willing to join, will be barred from employment. It means that thousands of seamen who have helped build the American Merchant Marine and created the wealth for American shipowners will be barred from jobs. The Americans will be given "preference" but the shipowners will damn soon show "preference" to the foreign born seamen if the Americans come out on strike! For this reason, if for no other, the "preference clause" is a blow against unionism because it divides the seamen and helps the shipowners create a reserve army of seamen whom the shipowners hope to use as a club to prevent or smash any effort to improve wages or conditions!

Secondly, while I. S. U. members are given preference, this does not mean shipping out of the union hall. The shipping sharks will continue to operate. They will dish out the jobs—but the only difference is that a union card will have to be shown them. The agreement gives the shipowners the right to discharge anyone "unsatisfactory." So, with the power to hire and fire the blacklist will continue as ever—and only those who accept rotten working conditions, low wages, no overtime pay will be given "preference" in hiring.

Third, and most important is the "providing" part of the agreement. Some seamen might interpret this clause as protecting them from being forced to pay tribute to dues collecting racketeers in order to get a job. But that is not its purpose. Its real meaning is that it guarantees the right of the shipowners to maintain open shop and prevent 100% unionism. Who are the people who do not desire to join a union?

Mr. McCUSTION. This was a program that they started putting out at that time, and it is the same program that is being carried out now by the National Maritime Union. It is the same today. I myself had dozens of editorials, and there were dozens of articles supposedly written by Joe Curran in his column.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another copy of the same publication, sending greetings to the second national convention of the M. W. I. U., in July 1933. What is the significance of that?

Mr. McCUSTION. The significance of it is that they got advertisements from the Communist Party workers' school, from the Friends of the Soviet Union, greetings from the workers' bookshop, and from various industrial unions, from the marine unit of the Communist Party of Baltimore, from the Communist Party Health Center cafeteria, and from various dual organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. From the International Workers Order?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; it also includes greetings from the Finnish Workers Federation, the Labor Defender, organ of the International Labor Defense, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were all organizations that were affiliated with it?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir. They maintained offices in our hall, and often an organizer or official would be an official of half a dozen different organizations. They were all affiliated.

GREETINGS TO THE M. W. I. U. CONVENTION

Greetings to the

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE MARINE WORKERS
INDUSTRIAL UNION
THE WORKERS SCHOOL
"Training for the Class Struggle"
35 East 12th St., New York
Classes in all Working Class
Problems. Get information
about Correspondence
Courses.

A group of Greek Seamen pledge
their Solidarity
to the

National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union.

A group of Spanish speaking seamen
pledge their solidarity

To carry out the program of
organization and struggle pre-
pared by the National Conven-
tion for the unity of all seamen.

HAIL THE

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union
For Mass Defense to Free All
Class War Prisoners
New York District

INTERNATIONAL LABOR
DEFENSE

799 Broadway, Room 339, N. Y. C.

FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Greet the

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

Revolutionary Greetings to the
Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union
from the

DAILY WORKER

the fighting daily of the class
struggle. Always at the front
of the Workers Battles.

Read the DAILY WORKER

Single copy 3 cents, 75 cents a month

The National Committee
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

From a Comrade

Greetings from the
WORKERS BOOK SHOP
50 East 13th St., N. Y. C.
"All Revolutionary Literature"

THE STEEL AND METAL
WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION
New York District
and its

Silver and Holloware Section
Greets the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

Greetings to the

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union
Read "DER ARBEITER"
Official German Organ, C.P.U.S.A.
35 East 12th St., N. Y. C.
"Lest den ARBEITER"

THE OFFICE WORKERS UNION
Greets the

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

Greetings from

A group of revolutionary workers on
the Baltimore Waterfront

The Crew of the Munnystic

Marine Unit, C. P. Baltimore
J. B., Baltimore

Greetings to the

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union
from the
Ukrainian-Russian Dramatic Club
339 So. Caroline St., Baltimore

HAIL THE

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union
HEALTH CENTER CAFETERIA
50 EAST 13th St., N. Y. C.

THE ALTERATION PAINTERS

Greet the
Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

Revolutionary greetings from the Trade Union Unity Council and its affiliated unions to the national convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

The militant struggles of the employed and unemployed marine workers under the leadership of the Industrial Union are the best proof of the fighting character of the union.

Forward to the building of a Marine Workers Industrial Union that will unite all the workers for immediate improvement of their conditions and against the bosses' imperialist war.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER greets the Marine Workers Industrial Union in its Second National Convention. We sincerely hope that it will succeed in further uniting the workers in this industry into one revolutionary marine workers union—THE MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER is a working class fraternal organization. It gives insurance benefits to workers for the lowest possible rates. But the International Workers Order does not limit itself merely to its fraternal functions. It is a class struggle organization, participating actively in the struggles of the working class.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER pays sick benefits from \$3.50 to \$15 a week and death benefits from \$150 to \$2,000. The International Workers Order consists of many language sections, all of them having a combined membership of about 28,000 members.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER also carries on broad cultural and educational activities.

Send your application to the National Office, International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Greetings from the crew of the *Nosa Queen* to the Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. We are sending \$8.50 as a pledge of our solidarity in the struggle for three watches, full crews and full wages.

A group of seamen on a Colombian Line vessel greets the Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and wish it all success. We remit \$10 for the support of the convention.

HAIL THE

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

Read THE LABOR DEFENDER

Organ of the I. L. D.

5 cents a copy, 50 cents a year

"For Mass Defense to Free

All Class War Prisoners."

THE FINISH WORKERS FEDERATION

Greets the

Second National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

and Supports Your Fight
against the Bosses

Mr. WHITLEY. There is one other issue of the Voice that I want to get you to identify. This is the issue of the Marine Workers Voice for May 1934. This is a photostat copy, and I want you to identify it.

Mr. McCUSTION. There was one thing that was particularly significant at that time, and that was that in addition to the work of trying to organize the seamen in the party, the question of the Soviet bonds came up. They were 7-percent gold bonds, and they wanted to get new members who would circulate among the men on board the ships and try to sell the bonds. They were not given any preference, and they would not actually sell the bonds, but they would propagandize them into buying the bonds. Then we would get an envelope from the Amtorg with a present of \$10 or \$15. Then, it also deals in here with the seizure of ship control at Baltimore by the M. W. I. U., and with the question of general educational functions of the Marine Workers Voice. It also brings in one thing that was presented at that time, of the question of marine workers trying to

carry on some action in America leading to strikes on the part of so-called persecuted workers of other countries. It deals with the matter of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers Union leading the strike by Greek and Danish seamen, who were organizing a general marine strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. It shows the general international character of the organization?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Communist Party's interest and control?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

[P. 4, Marine Workers Voice, May 1934]

SEATTLE DELEGATES GIVE PLAN TO MAKE UNION GROW

By M. Bachke and J. Sigrist

The Seattle branch of the Marine Workers Industrial Union has made unquestionable progress in the past few months. We have led two strikes. Hundreds of seamen took part in each. The idea prevalent among ships' crews before the strikes was, "If we strike, hundreds of guys on the beach in Seattle will flock up the gangplank." Today every seaman in Seattle knows that during the strike of the *Vermar*, the Calmar Line officials had to send to Portland to get men and the men from Portland left the ship as soon as they found out that there was a strike on. It was over a day before a crew was brought aboard. Where it came from, no one knows.

INFLUENCE GROWS

Ships visited in Seattle run from fifteen to twenty a week. It is clear on the ships that our influence is growing among the ISU men. We have a good possibility of swinging one 100% ISU crew into the MWIU.

The clear line we have laid down and followed in the critical longshore situation has gained us a great deal of respect and influence among the sound workers and longshoremen, as well as among the seamen. Our constant agitation for unity in action among all marine workers, as contraposed to the splitting tactics of Gill of the ISU, Fox of the Ferryboatmen's Union and Bennett and other ILA fakers has also been a factor in turning the sentiment of the seamen in favor of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

ORGANIZE UNEMPLOYED

Among the unemployed we only recently started a campaign for better relief. We have raised such demands as a definite place for seamen to lodge in; three adequate meals a day and improved sanitary conditions; union pay for all work done; and relief to be supervised by an elected committee of seamen.

A Marine Workers' Unemployed Council was formed at a meeting held April 9. Regular meetings will be held Monday night. Thus, the base is laid for systematic work among the unemployed seamen.

CORRECTING ERRORS

As a result of our increasing activity, we have made and still make some mistakes. But we are learning improved methods and correcting our mistakes, and getting a broader and clearer picture of our organization aboard the ships. A resolution recently sent by the national bureau to all branches of the union for discussion says: "At the present time we have a loose membership on the ships coupled with a mass influence among the unorganized. In the shortest possible time we must convert this into a strong organized base on the ships." The correctness of this is proved with each day's work of visiting ships and shipping out members in Seattle. On many ships we find union members who have made several months' trips without sitting down together even once and going over the problems of the crew; without discussing the possibilities of building the union on that particular ship; without writing an article to the Voice; without keeping in touch with the branch; and without carrying on the work that is so vitally needed from all members of the union.

PROPOSALS

On the basis of our experience, we feel it is timely to submit the following proposals to bring about a better coordination and improvement of the work aboard ship.

1. *Keep in contact.*—Every member, immediately after shipping, should get in touch with the branch secretary or port organizing committee, find out if there is a delegate or union members aboard the ship, and discuss the work to be carried on during the trip.

2. *Ship groups.*—On boarding a ship, get in touch immediately with other union members. If there are none aboard, to start working among the crew on the basis of discussions with the branch secretary or POC.

3. *Hold meetings.*—If union members are aboard, hold a meeting to take up conditions aboard the ship and the sentiment of the crew. Draw up a plan of work for the trip. Assign one member to visit all branches in ports touched.

4. *Ship committee.*—Elect one man from each department, if possible, to form a ship's committee.

5. *Line up crew.*—To try to get as many members of the crew as possible to go with union members to the union hall and discuss their problems with the branch leadership.

6. At least once a trip to see that an article is sent to the Voice. Have as many of the crew as possible involved in writing the article. See that the article is discussed thoroughly before it is mailed. Thus, we bring home to the men the fact that the Voice is their voice; they will have a better understanding and appreciation of the experiences of other ship's delegates and workers, and the Voice will be improved as an organizer of the marine workers. Also, have discussions of issues of the Voice, especially the current one.

7. *Learn program.*—All members to familiarize themselves thoroughly with the achievements of the union, with what the slave code means to the working class, and the need of unity of all workers in their struggles with the bosses and the betrayals of the A. F. of L. leadership, and all other issues of importance to the marine workers. Use every opportunity to familiarize our fellows with these things. It will develop new organizers for the union and they will be able to combat the lies of the labor fakers and bosses more speedily and effectively than in the past.

COORDINATE BRANCHES

It is absolutely necessary to coordinate the work of various Branches concentrating on certain lines. On the West Coast, for example, it would be a simple matter for the Branches to carry on systematic work on any of several lines. The Admiral Line would be best.

A FINE OPPORTUNITY

Beyond doubt, the present situation in the marine industry, poor working conditions and rotten food aboard ship, use of workways, and many other grievances, which are direct blows to the interests of the seamen, and the starvation slave code, furnish us a fine opportunity to build the union into a mass union and into a union that can put into effect the slogan "A Ship's Committee on every ship."

In regard to the longshoremen and other marine workers, proper work for our program can put in motion a powerful rank and file movement that will culminate in ousting the ILA and other A. F. of L. fakers, and building a militant rank and file labor movement among all marine workers.

We must rally the masses of seamen in the struggle for better relief. We must create a mass demand for Social and Unemployment Insurance. We must expose the slave code and lead the seamen in a wave of organized strikes against it, and for our code.

The Seattle branch is comparatively young, but it is growing. It is developing new forces. It will soon be able to expand its work and give more assistance to the small ports in the Sound. It will give leadership to an ever increasing number of struggles. The perspective is very good.

 THE "VOICE"—OUR COLLECTIVE ORGANIZER

The VOICE is an absolute necessity to carry the news of the activities of the marine workers. The capitalist press suppresses all news unfavorable to capi-

talism. Other news, it distorts in favor of the campaigns conducted by the capitalist agencies against the workers.

The strike on the coal boats in Boston was kept out of the newspapers completely. The shortage of coal was "explained" every way but by the honest statement that the coal carriers were on strike. When the M. W. I. U. is involved only discrediting statements can be made in the capitalist press, because the M. W. I. U., like other revolutionary organizations, is on the "S. O. B. list" that every newspaper keeps. The treatment given the M. S. Kim and the union, as reported elsewhere in the VOICE, is another instance of the same thing.

There was a time when even A. F. of L. unions were on the "sob list," but today, they are defenders of the sacred rights of the bosses to make profits, and the papers "puff" them. Today, the I. S. U. and the "Seafarers' Council" are always reported favorable, because they are bulwarks of capitalism. The I. W. W. and the Socialist Party used to be treated as sons of b— also, but now, as wreckers of working class unity, they get favorable mention in the press.

The murderous attack by two Institute thugs on a seaman was never reported in the papers. The Institute is a tool of the shipowners. It has clear wires for favorable news.

The M. W. I. U. gets no such break. The only way we can get an honest report of our activities to the workers is to report it through the VOICE and other revolutionary journals, and to see that the workers read our papers.

We are not boasting when we say that the VOICE is a good paper. It has shortcomings, but it is one of the best of the revolutionary trade-union publications. Its main strength lies in its closeness to the workers in the industry. That is shown by the large part of its contents written by workers in the ports and on ships. There should be even more letters from seamen and longshoremen. Every worker in the industry should feel that the VOICE is his voice, as well as that of the union. Every worker should feel that he should write to the VOICE occasionally, concerning conditions, concerning his opinion of the VOICE, of the union, of the industry. Until that is true, the VOICE will not be completely successful.

AN OFFICIAL ORGAN

The VOICE is the official organ of the union, yet it does not carry enough organizational material. That fault was more pronounced in the past than it is today. In the last few issues the VOICE has carried good articles on the work of ship and dock committees, analyses of strikes and strategy, articles on organization. Those articles should be more numerous. But it is up to the organizers of the union, the ship and port delegates to write those articles. The editor of the VOICE should write very few of them.

The VOICE has done well in carrying the news of the industry. It has given a good analysis of the financial and organizational structure of the industry, from the workers' viewpoint. It has carried a wealth of information about ships and docks, and the activities of the workers in the industry. That is its strongest point. It was able to do this because the workers themselves sent in the news. It will continue to be a good paper and will grow as the cooperation increases.

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION

The VOICE also has an educational function. In that it has not been quite so successful. The VOICE has been a fairly good propaganda agent, but it has neglected the function of strengthening the basic understanding of the class struggle among its readers. For that purpose it should carry an educational column, but such a column requires more knowledge, perhaps, than the present editor has of the fundamental political and economic theory behind our union.

There is another shortcoming of the VOICE. It does not carry enough news and information of some of the very basic difficulties of our industry, the relation of white seamen to Negro and colonial seamen, and the relation of American seamen to the foreign born. Yet there is hardly a problem more important than this one of preventing splits in the ranks of the seamen on lines of color and nationality. This is a failing that can be and must be remedied.

REGULAR APPEARANCE

The M. W. I. U. has succeeded in bringing the VOICE out regularly in spite of the crisis. The strength of the VOICE has increased greatly. Today, there is

hardly a copy left in the national office at the end of the month of issue, and the branches have very few of them either. The day when the chief method of distributing the VOICE was to hand them out as "samples" is over. Today it is recognized as the seamen's and longshoremen's paper. Today it sells, and sells fast in every port. It does not sell enough. The VOICE should print 25,000 copies of each edition, instead of 5,000 commonly and 10,000 of this special edition. There are that many men and more who read the VOICE, but they read it after someone else has bought it, or they read it in the hall. That is all right, but they should also support the VOICE by buying a copy of it.

FINANCES WEAK

There is one shortcoming of the VOICE that the editor is not responsible for. That is the failure of the branches to remit promptly for every copy they take. The branches must establish full financial responsibility for their sales of the VOICE. It cannot be left a burden on the national office. The branches are doing better now than they did formerly on this matter, but there is still a temptation to keep VOICE money for local needs, instead of sending it where it belongs, to the VOICE.

In my opinion the subject of the VOICE cannot be separated from the subject of pamphlets, in which we are woefully lacking. The national committee took a long stride in the right direction when it resolved to print at least one pamphlet every three months. The demand is great.

PAMPHLETS WANTED

"Will you tell me where I can get some Marine Workers' literature?" a seaman wrote us recently from San Pedro. And we couldn't. There is a great shortage of literature dealing with the special problems of our industry. We have the "Struggle of the Marine Workers," written three years ago, which every seaman should read, and which should be brought up to date. We have the "Strike of the Pt. Gorda," an excellent little pamphlet. There are a few others. There should be dozens of them dealing with the relation of "European" seamen to coloured and colonial seamen, with the problem of nationality, with international affiliations and why marine organizations should be international. We also need pamphlets on the Industrial Union problem, from the proper political viewpoint, and a score of others. Yet we haven't got them.

BAD REASON

There is no good reason why we have not these pamphlets. We have plenty of good men to write them. We have a heavy demand for the pamphlets, especially organizational pamphlets, among our members. There is one reason, but it is a very bad reason: Press stamps are not sold.

The union constitution says that to be in good standing every member must have a \$1 press stamp in his book for the year. That press stamp is supposed to help finance the VOICE and the publication of pamphlets. Yet, only 10% of the members have press stamps, and the whole work of the union suffers by it.

This situation will only be improved by a steady determination of the ship delegates and port delegates to see that press stamps are put in the books as well as dues and other organizational stamps.

Let's get busy with the press stamps, and sell them and send the money to the National Office, for more pamphlets, that the whole union is crying for.

The National Committee also resolved to increase the VOICE to 10,000 circulation by the August Conference. That is a goal to shoot at. Let's put it across!

ISH LEADS GREEK AND DANISH SEAMEN ON GENERAL STRIKE

The seamen of Greece are on strike, led by the UMG Greek section of the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers. In European ports the International Seamen's Clubs are giving the Greek seamen every kind of support and many of the ships struck have raised the scale by from 15 shillings to one pound ten.

Rigorous police terror faces the strikers both in Greece and in foreign ports, where ships have struck. The Greek government issued a decree forbidding

employment at sea for a period of one year to any seamen who went on strike, and forbidding the discharge of any scab for a similar period. In spite of this, the crews have struck against the wages, which were among the lowest paid in any European country. The ISH strike committee and striking seamen in the Greek ports have been jailed by the hundreds, but the fight goes on.

UNEMPLOYED HELP

The government cut off all relief to unemployed seamen, to force them to take scab jobs, but the militant Greek seamen organized into ISH unemployed groups, have refused to scab.

In Antwerp and other European ports, striking crews have been thrown into jails and Greek seamen ashore ordered to take the jobs or be deported. They have refused.

The International Seamen's Clubs, ISH organs, have been very active in all ports, boarding ships and pulling the crews, and helping to picket the ships. They have also been active in getting the longshoremen not to load or discharge the struck ships.

The International Transport Federation—the Yellow Transport International—has followed its customary practice of refusing support to the strikers. A delegation of strikers who went to the ITF office in Antwerp were refused admittance.

200 SHIPS ON STRIKE

Two hundred ships have already struck, during the strike, in various ports. Many of them have gained partial victories, raising the wages from around four pound to six pound ten. Some of the crews struck again, after a short breathing spell, when they won a victory.

The ISH calls on all seamen and longshoremen to support the Greek seamen in their strike.

The Greek seamen also demand three watches on deck and below.

SEAMEN DEFY NO STRIKE LAW

The Danish sailors and firemen have defied the antistrike laws passed by the "socialist" government of Denmark, and gone on strike. The Firemen's Union has ISH leadership, and is wholeheartedly in the strike, but the sailors' union officials, "socialists" like the government, had to be driven into the strike by their rank and file. The government is resorting to terrorism to break the strike, and the seamen have the support of shore union men in their fight against the shipowners. In Esbjerg, according to the capitalist press, the workers threw up barricades against the police, in a general strike in support of the seamen. Police trucks battered the barricades down and severe fighting took place.

STRIKING IN MANY PORTS

The Danish seamen are on strike in many different ports and the International of Seamen and Harborworkers has wired all its section, including the MWIU, to use every effort to pull the ships in all ports.

The Danish seamen drew up plans for their strike at numerous meetings and issued an ultimatum to the shipowners on April 2, demanding an answer by April 11, or they would strike. They struck at midnight April 12. Their demands were a readjustment of wages on a gold basis, which means a big increase, full crews on all ships, three watches on deck, and hiring through the union hall only.

The government warned the unions that their strike was "illegal" some days before it started. The unions ignored the warning from formist officials of the Sailors' union, tried to back out of the strike on this claim of illegality, but were forced to remain in, by the rank and file opposition, organized by the ISH.

RANK AND FILE CONTROL STRIKE

The strike is in the hands of a rank and file Central Action Committee, consisting of seven members of each union, recognized as the authority over all the strikers for the duration of the strike. This organ was formed to keep the strike out of the hands of the reformist officials of the Sailors' union. The strike meeting which arranged the strike made the declaration:

SOLIDARITY FIRST LAW

"Surpassing any bourgeois law we regard as the most compelling law the proletarian law of unity and solidarity in the struggle for our demands. The Central Action Committee may on no account take consideration of any sentence of a bourgeois court, and is only empowered to conclude an agreement in keeping with the demands of the seamen and firemen. Final decisions may only be reached after consultation and agreement with the general meeting of the seamen." The strike is in rank and file hands.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union urges the seamen and longshoremen of American ports to support the Danish strike. Don't take jobs on struck ships, don't let others take them. Get aboard every Danish ship and tell them the strike news. Urge them to walk out in solidarity with their fellow workers.

Longshoremen: Refuse to handle cargo on struck ships. Support your fellow workers in their fight for better conditions.

* * *

NEW YORK.—A report in a Swedish conservative paper says that 900 seamen in Gothenburg struck in sympathy with the Danish seamen.

* * *

Another report in the same paper says that at a meeting, April 10, of the Swedish Seamen's Union of the ITF in Gothenburg, a resolution was forced through over the heads of the conservative leaders, for the union to take part in the May Day demonstration with the union banners. The union was also ordered by its members to pay for a band to provide music. This was the work of the ISH opposition group in the union.

 ACTIVE SHIP'S DELEGATE STATES VIEWS ON VOICE

(By Ships Delegate, 268, on a Luckenbacher)

We must bring about some change in the Voice, imitating Daily Worker narratives, and columnists.

Observation aboard ships shows that many workers are bored with organizational material, no matter how much humor is attached to it. While it was hard to change the attitude of most of the crew during four months with organizational literature, the novel SS *Utah* knocked the dust off their brains. They read it during meals and missed sleep over it. The officers kept it two weeks. This shows that we must find a way to educate and organize the seamen by amusing them.

WANTS SEA STORIES

The Voice must take the initiative by inviting and showing seamen how to write sea stories, recording experiences during a given trip aboard ship, in foreign and home ports. In these stories we can tell the struggles of the union aboard ship and ashore, and hook them up with occurrences in other sections of the ISH from Africa to Germany, Norway, and South America. We should have one two column story each month.

little cooperation from uptown writers.

The Voice must sacrifice another column to Historical Events of the class struggle, such as the origin of any day, beginnings of organization and strikes, excerpts from Labor Research Association, etc. Some of the best sections of articles appearing elsewhere on conditions in America, and the most dramatic footnotes from Karl Marx' Capital such as how the artisans lose the means of production, and enforcement of the "enclosure laws" in England at the point of the bayonet to build industrial towns under the most bestial conditions. There should also be articles on past and present White Terror in the Soviet Union.

We must bear in mind that all seamen do not know or care to go to the Workers Book Stores, so we must not pass the buck to the pamphlets.

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Mr. WHITLEY. At this point, will you explain to the committee, or state to the committee, whether the Communist Party, through the Comintern, had a particular or special interest in the marine industry of this country and of other countries of the world, and if they had such an interest, what it was?

Mr. McCUSTION. It was a well-known fact in party circles, and from the various representatives of the Communist Party on the water front, that the marine industry was important enough that it was given special attention by the Army Intelligence or the Military Intelligence of the Soviet Union, and that for the purpose of facilitating this work they had established a separate international, or the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers, to be the maritime section of the Red Trade Union International, or the Profintern; but that in case of difficulty with the Profintern, they could go around the Profintern and deal directly with the Communist Party International. They set up a headquarters in Hamburg, Germany, with an international secretary who was responsible to the Kremlin. He could go directly to Losovsky. They also set up a similar organization in this country, the organization in the United States being the headquarters for Central and South America. That was under the Latin America secretariat, but one man at that time was assigned to New York to be responsible for the entire area. He did not ask any advice from the Communist Party here, but he was the one who told the Communist Party what to do. He received his finances direct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was that?

Mr. McCUSTION. George Mink.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say the marine industry was considered important from the military standpoint?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was considered to be a strategic industry?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir. They were all subordinate to Mink. He could bawl out 40 organizers, and he could tell Browder where

to get off. Mink would come and go as he pleased, and could break into political bureau meetings, and if anybody raised any question about his authority, he could tell them to go to the devil.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was George Mink's position?

Mr. McCUISTION. He bragged about the fact that he was the direct representative of the Soviet Government in the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was his relationship to the international organization?

Mr. McCUISTION. He was the national chairman of the Marine Workers Industrial Union in the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. Coming back to the M. W. I. U., who was the first editor of the Marine Workers Voice?

Mr. McCUISTION. Ned Sparks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify Ned Sparks for the committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. Ned Sparks was editor. At that time, they were trying out men on the water front who were technically qualified and politically qualified to edit the paper. Ned Sparks was in the central committee at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was the editor of the official organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, which the Communist Party did and still does deny control. It denies that it controlled or dominated it?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he the Ned Sparks that Mrs. Barr testified before the committee recently edited her manuscript in Milwaukee?

Mr. McCUISTION. I did not read her testimony, except the rough summary of it in the newspapers, but I know that Ned Sparks is the Communist Party organizer in Milwaukee. I know that from talking with various seamen that sail the Lakes. I know also that he was the Communist Party representative in New England, coordinating the work up there of party organizers in various other States.

Mr. WHITLEY. To show the connection of the international seamen's organizations and the Communist Party, and with the activities of the Communist Party on the water front particularly at the present time, will you name for the committee the organizations of maritime workers which existed in the United States between 1921 and 1928?

Mr. McCUISTION. On May 1, 1921, there were only two organizations of any importance. One was the International Seamen's Union, with three craft divisions of stewards, firemen, and sailors. Then there were three geographical divisions, the west coast, the Atlantic and Gulf, and the Great Lakes. At the same time the industrial unions in existence had a membership of six or seven thousand. Sometime after that there came the I. W. W. union of Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union, No. 510. In May 1921 the International Seamen's Union went on a strike. There was a lock-out of seamen, which resulted in a strike, and subsequently, in 1923, the I. W. W. called a strike, and those strikes were lost. There were several other organizations that would start up for a few days, and then fade away. There was the Amalgamated Seamen's Union of the Gulf, and various like organizations. Between 1923 and 1926 it got so that the industry was without unions, or any kind of organization in the industry that could gain a position that would constitute a menace to the ship-owners in any way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party have any considerable influence in those various organizations you have mentioned that existed between 1921 and 1928?

Mr. McCUSTION. No, sir. In 1921 the Communist Party was practically unknown among seamen. It was practically an unknown thing among them. They crept in between 1921 and 1926. I was in the Communist Party, but I do not believe I attended many meetings. I could not understand what was going on, because in those days the party was Moscow. At that time the Communist Party had no influence, and they had very few members in the marine industry. There were very few seamen who belonged to the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. They inaugurated about that time an intensive program, did they not?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir. They were putting men in the unions to work. Various ones were assigned to join the I. W. W. They belonged to the I. W. W., but the I. W. W. in 1923 refused to affiliate with them. They had not then established a real dual movement. They robbed the I. W. W. of its mailing list of workers so they could have something to go on in the movement they were starting.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was the Communist Party that financed and paid for the keeping of those clubs, was it not?

Mr. McCUSTION. They were financed here under the central direction of the Hamburg headquarters. That was the principal clubs' headquarters, and they had the International club headquarters at Leningrad, where the clubs maintained the International secretariat. The majority of the literature that came to the clubs, and they had dozens of bundles of books, came directly from the Soviet Union. The writings were in Japanese, Chinese, French, Russian, and so forth, and all this propaganda material we got was mailed directly from the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who paid for the upkeep of the Marine Workers Progressive League?

Mr. McCUSTION. The Communist Party in the United States was given the direct responsibility of maintaining the Marine Workers Progressive League. They even had an international subsidy to keep up the club apparatus. That was because the Marine Workers Progressive League's income from dues or the national income, would not have supported any one of the branches.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who financed the Marine Workers League?

Mr. McCUSTION. The Marine Workers' League had several thousand members, and some finances came directly from the membership. But at that time, the national organization of the Communist Party began financing the work by requiring the various districts of the Communist Party to subsidize the unions in the Marine League branches in their several districts. Then it was held that the States would get the money directly from the New York central committee, which would give the Communist Party officials directions in regulating the weekly subsidies. The same thing was true in San Francisco, where they held their income for local expenses.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have spent considerable time on this, but I wanted to develop the fact that the Communist Party

controlled the unions in the marine industry in this country, leading to the present organization of the N. M. U. I think it important to have the record clear and to show the unbroken chain of Communist Party control. Mr. McCuiston, how were the officers of this Marine Workers' League selected?

Mr. McCuiston. The officers were assigned directly. The offices were assigned to members that they were trying, if possible, in time to bring into the Communist Party. They would bring him into the Communist Party and give him a little elementary education. They would then appoint him to the job. At that time recruiting was too slow, and they were not building the force fast enough. They were getting an excess of non-seamen, or men who had never made a trip to sea in their lives. They were secretaries and officials of the various branches of the Marine Workers' League. Later on we began to get more seamen in the Communist Party. The men had to be trained so they could talk properly. They were trained so they could come back and talk the seamen's language. It was understood also that the division of the Marine Workers' League was not recruiting mass seamen. They were recruiting seamen in such numbers that they could be trained and drawn into the Marine Workers League for participation in establishing unions as soon as we could get a sufficient number of leaders trained.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the officers of these earlier organizations were selected by the Communist Party.

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; subject to the approval of George Mink.

Mr. WHITLEY. These earlier organizations were for the purpose of recruiting seamen into the party and training them in party work so that later on they could take over and become the leaders in a real union movement?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were the halls of these various organizations used for other purposes than those specified in the organization charters?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. For example, for a while I was in charge of the hall in New Orleans at 308 Chartres Street.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which hall was that?

Mr. McCuiston. The hall of the Marine Workers League.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year was this, approximately?

Mr. McCuiston. This was in 1929 for a little while. But to make it a little bit more definite, the halls in all of the ports—you could go into the hall and you could join the International Labor Defense; you could join the Communist Party; the Workers International Relief, any one of them that were openly known Communist organizations, you could join right in that hall. They kept membership books and supplies. If a Danish seaman came in, we could collect dues for the rank and file movement in his union.

We had national minority movement books for the rank-and-file movement in the National Union of Seamen in Great Britain. We even had direct membership books in the Russian Seamen's Union, although I never remember recruiting any of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. That just goes to show the complete international character of the organization.

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. We would hold regular Communist Party forums weekly in the hall, with representatives from the Communist

Party coming down and speaking in the name of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of charters were issued by these earlier organizations?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well, we were holding a meeting at one time, and I remember I was discussing the thing. I was on the west coast in San Francisco at that time, and we sent in a letter saying that we were getting in new members that had not yet joined the Communist Party, but were coming to the hall and complaining about not having any charter. We sent a letter to George Mink about it, and he said, in reply, "I have already given the printer the order and the charters will be out pretty soon." They just had a bunch of them printed and signed them and sent them out.

Mr. WHITLEY. A very informal sort of procedure.

Mr. McCUSTION. They sent us blank charters with their signature and we could fill them in any way we wanted to, to suit the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have already told us something about George Mink. When did you first become acquainted with him?

Mr. McCUSTION. I first personally became acquainted with George Mink at the convention of the Marine Workers League in New York in April 1930. I had been acquainted with him by correspondence before that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you tell us a little more in detail than you did a few moments ago just who he is, and who are his associates?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well, I will give you an example: At the time of the convention in 1930, the question came up of feeding the delegates who had come there and George Mink says to me, "Well, we will need about a thousand dollars for that, Mac. Let's go uptown and get a thousand dollars."

So we walked up and—well, George Mink was an arrogant sort of a guy anyway. He liked to show everybody, and particularly he wanted to impress the marine workers with his power in the Communist Party. So we walked up to the Communist Party offices. At that time they were over on Union Square. They were not in 50 Thirteenth Street. They were over the place where Klein's store is now. He walked into the financial office there and he said, "Give this guy a thousand dollars." And the guy started to object and Mink says, "There isn't any objection or any argument about it. Give this man a thousand dollars. The marine delegates have to be fed." And in just about 5 minutes they dug up a thousand dollars and handed it to Mink. And Mink took me on a grand tour, walking in and out of private offices, patting this guy on the back and laughing at this guy and kidding the other guy; in other words, showing that anybody that followed along with him did not have to worry about the Communist Party disciplining him, or anything; that Mink was a big shot and he could do anything he wanted to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what his connections in Soviet Russia were?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I know that Mink made at least one trip a year to the Soviet Union. Well, as long as I knew him, he made a couple of trips a year to the Soviet Union.

Mr. THOMAS. What years were those?

Mr. McCuiston. 1930, 1931, 1932, and up to 1933 when I knew him actively. Later on we came apart.

Mr. Whitley. Was he the George Mink who previous witnesses before this committee have testified was a nephew of or related to Losovsky, the head of the Profintern?

Mr. McCuiston. Mink has said a thousand times, and other people returning from the Soviet Union have said that he was a brother-in-law of Losovsky, the head of the Profintern.

Mr. Whitley. Do you know just what his official connection was?

Mr. McCuiston. Mink had served under some name—I think it was the name of Hertz, but it might have been under his right name—in the United States Navy. He bragged that he had been in about seven different armies and had deserted. He was officially known as a member of the military intelligence and the GPU of the Soviet Union. He paid particular attention to getting photographs, various things like that. For instance, if a guy was working regularly, steady, on the ship, Mink even went to the extent of buying him cameras as a present at various times.

Mr. Whitley. In other words, encouraging him to take photographs?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. Everybody knew that he was in charge of communications, and he would send bale after bale of propaganda material to the various South and Central American countries; carried direct by courier. I know that he would receive letters from these various places and he would send out letters to these various places.

Then he would disappear and he would make frequent trips here and there. We would know that he was leaving the country because we would hear from a seaman that he met Mink in Havana; or he met Mink in Tampico; or in B. A.; and the same way around the country—he would commute around the country, anywhere he wanted to go, and everywhere. Why, you could see that the party leadership were actually afraid of Mink. He always carried a roll of money with him. He never had less than a thousand dollars or fifteen hundred dollars in his pocket.

And Mink cultivated a certain group of men. I was on his favorite list for some time, until we had disagreements later on. These men would do Mink favors. If a man would carry correspondence for Mink out on the ships, or carry certain literature, and so forth, for Mink, when he would come ashore, he did not have to worry about his upkeep. Mink would give him \$6, or \$7, or \$10 a day, whatever the fellow needed, to get along on.

He used to brag about it to the party leadership and the party leadership themselves used to complain about Mink's arrogance. But they could not do anything about him. He used to tell them, "You can't touch me."

Mr. Whitley. In other words, Mink was known in party circles, in the higher and more confidential circles, as a representative of the Soviet military intelligence?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. Do you know whether he is the same George Mink who was arrested in Denmark with another member of the Soviet military intelligence, and was convicted and served a sentence?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I know that he was arrested with an American lawyer who also is in the Soviet military intelligence, Leon Josephson. This lawyer was the attorney for the Gastonia defendants back in those days. I have only met Josephson a couple of times. He and Mink were trying to impress on me all the time that I should improve my knowledge of Spanish; that I should study German and I should study other languages.

Now, I will not try to remember the exact year, because they were arrested after Mink and I had had a few difficulties. They were arrested together with quite a group of people in Denmark. They were accused of trying to jeopardize the international relations between Denmark and Germany; that they were at the head of the communications system that was maintaining and supporting the then illegal Communist movement in Germany, and they were accused of plotting the assassination of Hitler. Some of them were arrested in Germany and Mink and a group of them got across to Denmark. I think they were sentenced to 18 months and those that were foreign-born were to be deported.

Mr. WHITLEY. This representative of the Soviet military intelligence was here in complete charge of the work among the seamen on the waterfront?

Mr. McCUSTION. Absolutely complete charge.

Mr. WHITLEY. And not responsible even to the party in this country; he had his responsibility direct to the Soviet Union.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; that is exactly true.

Mr. WHITLEY. And does that indicate the importance of the maritime industry to the Soviet Government?

Mr. McCUSTION. We were given instructions, when we were sent into the field, to various places—Mink would call us in and have a talk with us, for instance, in New York. He would say, "Now, you are going down to Philadelphia, and the district organizer down there is this guy, and you are going to have difficulty with the party apparatus down there, but you don't pay any attention to what the party says there. When your subsidy is due, you go up there and if you don't get it, let me know and I'll see that you get it. If they don't give you the proper support in your work on the water front, you let me know and I will see that you get it."

Mr. THOMAS. Before you go into anything else, I think we ought to have a little more detail on this man Mink. What I would like to ask is, when he was deported from Denmark, whether they deported him to the United States, or where?

Mr. McCUSTION. I know something about this, because at the time this came up, one of the sessions of the Lenin School was being had in Moscow, and attending this school were a couple of acquaintances of mine, George Clark and Al Lannon, and a couple of others, that I subsequently met both here and in Spain. Other people I met in Spain were there. Whether Mink was deported directly here or whether they just released him out of the country, I do not know. But he was ordered to be deported here. They might have let him buy a ticket to Russia, because subsequently he appeared in Russia and went before the Profintern and the Comintern, and confessed his guilt. He said it was his fault that the whole thing happened, that he happened to make the mistake of getting mixed up with a woman Gestapo agent who turned over the whole bunch to the Danish and

German authorities. He took the blame for the whole thing, and he was exonerated, although a number of others, according to these people who attended the school, were immediately purged, that were in the mix-up.

Mr. THOMAS. After staying in Russia, what happened to him then?

Mr. McCUISTION. He is in the country right now.

Mr. THOMAS. He is in the United States right now?

Mr. McCUISTION. To the best of my knowledge. I know people have told me that they have seen him in the last few weeks. I know that during the past 6 months, he is supposed to have been in New Orleans, according to water-front conversation—and you cannot very well tell where that comes from, because they are always traveling about; one fellow sees another.

He is the power behind the scenes on the west coast right now. He has been sent there.

Mr. THOMAS. That stay in Russia that you just referred to a few minutes ago, what year was that?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was in 1935. That was about the time that his sentence would have expired.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know of any other visits that he made to Soviet Russia after that year?

Mr. McCUISTION. After 1935—I have not seen Mink personally since 1934, along about the early part of the year.

Mr. THOMAS. But you are positive he has been back in the United States after that time.

Mr. McCUISTION. Oh, yes. I know he has been back. I have received letters from him in the United States since that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. To your knowledge, when did he first start operating in this country on the water front, Mr. McCuiston.

Mr. McCUISTION. He joined the I. W. W. in 1922.

Mr. WHITLEY. And even as far back as that he was over here as a special representative of the Soviet Government to build up Communist influence and control among the seamen?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. That has been his job all along.

Mr. THOMAS. As far as you know, that is his present job, is it not?

Mr. McCUISTION. His present job? No. I understand his present job, now that he is working more or less on military and naval forces, he has developed certain other people to handle his work within the marine unions.

Mr. THOMAS. As far as you know, he is an agent now of the military end of the Soviet Government?

Mr. McCUISTION. I know he is; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Right now?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, when Mr. Browder testified here, it is my recollection—and I would like to have the committee prompt me if I am wrong—that he had stated that he had never seen or met George Mink in this country, and he indicated considerable confusion as to whether he had ever met him or heard of him any place.

Do you know whether George Mink is known to Earl Browder and vice versa?

Mr. McCUISTION. I have sat in at least 15 meetings where no more than 6 or 7 or 8 leaders of the party were present, and me and George

Mink were present, and Browder was at these meetings, and I have heard Mink tell Browder that he will have to change his line; he will have to put some pressure on the party to see that these outlying districts support the work in marine more; and I heard him dictate actually to Browder various things that Browder would have to do, and I have heard Browder, in a veiled way, threaten that—well, Mink could be pulled off his high horse yet. There was always quite a bit of sparring between the two, when they got together. Each one of them resented the other one's being quite a big shot, and having a little too much authority.

Mr. THOMAS. You definitely state that Browder attended six or seven meetings with Mink, and that they could not help but know each other?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have several exhibits here, Mr. Chairman, that I want to introduce primarily for establishing the international character of these marine operations of the Communist Party.

Here is a group of exhibits. Will you briefly indicate what these exhibits are, the significance of them, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. This [referring to documents] was the question of getting the Mexican workers to support the strike of the American seamen, to get the Mexican longshoremen and seamen. There was quite a bit of difficulty at first. Innes was trying to get through the whole thing by himself, but they had to refer it back to New York and it had to be referred through the Latin-American secretariat.

This is a series of acceptances and certain letters and translations; this work was carried through Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the head of the Mexican Labor Federation. You have got his signature and the signature of various others there and letterheads, and everything else. All of this stuff, some of it in the original Spanish is here. Julian Hernandez is also here and Jose Fernandez. One of these is also an official of this new brotherhood of the sea. Curran is one of the honorary vice presidents of it, and so is this Hernandez.

It merely shows the amount of correspondence that had to be carried through officially in order to get their support, while the underground instructions were going out to them, to get the support, and how ultimately, although they were a little bit reluctant at first to come out on strike in support of the American seamen—ultimately, when Toledano got his instructions he did come out.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is a series of telegrams both received and sent, and letters, showing the international tie-up between these maritime organizations. I offer this group of documents for the record.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

[Envelope address]

SECRETARIO GENERAL DE LA UNION DE MARINIRO DEL PACIFICO,

San Pedro.

AL COMPAÑERO, SECRETARIO GENERAL DE LA UNION DE MARINIRO DEL PACIFICO,

San Pedro:

Camaradas: Con relación a su Carta que fue en nuestro poder Contestamos los si quientes puntos.

1. A primero nosotros Credemos secundar en todos sus puntos el movimiento de Vdes supuesto que nosotros no tocamos ni los winches ni acemos movimiento de Carga ni de Cuierta.

2. Les acemos saber que en el ultimo mitin que aurificaron abordo del vapor *Santa Rosa*. Se acordo que la Contrata podia trabajar. Asiendo sin priesa quiere decir labando pintura varriendo los Calle Jones Los Cuartos de los marineros ahora ruin. Si nosotros los perjudicamos asiendo este trabajo ustedes pueden arreglar con la Compañia, para que ella misma de horden para que nosotros no trabajemos, a salutamente en nada tambien les acemos saver que llanos dirijimos. A nuestra Confederación en la Ciudad de Mexico para que nos Arregulle los pases para Mexico sin más por el momento quedamos vuestros por la Causa del Trabajo Organizado.

el Delegado VICTOR CASTILLO.

Favor de Contestarnos para Saber la Opinion de Ustedes.

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Washington

[Translation]

TO COMRADE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MARITIME
UNION OF THE PACIFIC, *San Pedro*.

COMRADES: Referring to your letter which we have received, we reply as follows:

1. First of all, we second your movement in all of its points, assuming that we will not have to touch the lines, move cargo, or do deck work.

2. We notify you that at the last meeting which you endorsed on board the ship *Santa Rosa* it was agreed that the contract would go into effect, so that we would be scrubbing the paint and sweeping up the gangways and the sailors' quarters. Now if you object to our doing that work, you can fix that up with the company, and in the meantime we will do absolutely nothing. At the same time, we want you to know that we have already gotten in touch with our confederation in Mexico City, so that our duties may be regulated in Mexico.

Without anything more to report at the moment, we remain,

Yours in the cause of organized labor,

VICTOR CASTILLO, *Delegate*.

[A. C. Schwarting, November 25, 1939.]

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC.

COMRADES: In relation your letter, we answer the following points:

First, we propose to second in all your points. We do not touch the lines, and we don't make any movements towards the cargo or the deck.

Second, we let you know that on the last meeting that we had on the *Rosa* it was agreed that we can work as our contract reads, as our work follows such as washing paintwork and sweeping the alleyways, and the sailors' quarters.

Now if we in any way do you an unjust by doing so, then you can arrange this with the company so that we will do absolutely no work at all.

We let you know that we have already have contracted with our union so that they arrange our passes back to Mexico.

As all for the moment, please answer as to be advise to your opinion.

Delegate VICTOR CASTILLO.

[Envelope address]

Mr. PETER J. INNES, Jr.,
Pacific Representative, Joint, Marine Strike
Council Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, 216 West Sixth Street,
San Pedro, California.

[WESTERN UNION]

S21 50 NL

C. H. JORDAN,

Secy., Southern Calif. Council Maritime Federation, Pacific Coast:

Telegrams Carillo and myself received. Have wired instructions that American ships bound your ports be prevented to discharge passengers, cargo. Mexi-

MEXICO CITY, MEX. PO. 19.

can West Coast Confederation, Mexican Workers, has declared boycott against such boats. Please inform us of specific instances of unfair American ships, so our cooperation can be more effective.

Fraternally,

VICENTE LOMBRADO TOLEDANO.

(In ink:) Carta Diurno.

[Correos y telegrafos]

Procedencia: Ensenada, el 22 de November de 1936.

Destino: New York City, U. S. A.

Sr. JOSEPH CURRAN,

Chairman, Strike Strategy Committee,

164 11 Ave.:

Am in Ensanada, Mexico, with Jordan, district council; Donnelly, ILA; Farrell, M. F. O. W., and representatives from Mexican Federation, attempting prevent *Santa Elena* from being worked; present situation indicates possible success; more later; release to press.

INNES.

Telephone Watkins 9-⁷²⁶³
7264
7265

JACK LAWRENSEN
Secretary

JOSEPH CURRAN
Chairman

FRANK JONES
Treasurer

JOINT MARITIME STRIKE COUNCIL

HEADQUARTERS
164 Eleventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Marine Firemen's, Oilers, and
Watertenders' Union of
the Atlantic and Gulf.
Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Ass'n.
Marine Cooks' and Stewards'
Union.
National Organization of
Masters, Mates and Pilots
affiliated with A. F. of L.
Marine Engineers' Beneficial
Association.
American Radio Telegraphists
Association.

DECEMBER 29, 1936.

PETER J. INNES,

216 W. 6th St., San Pedro, Cal.

DEAR BROTHER INNES: Your report on the Ensinada Delegation was well received. I read it to the Council, and it was generally considered that the work accomplished by the Ensinada Delegation was very effective.

Your list of the various Mexican Union Officials has been added to the regular mailing list, and you may rest assured that your recommendations will be carried out. I am,

Fraternally yours,

JOINT MARITIME STRIKE COUNCIL,
JACK LAWRENSEN, *Sec.*

TEXT OF LETTER FROM C. R. O. M. UNION IN MEXICO

We refer to the communication dated the eighth of the current month, which text we have been advised, in answer we have too manifested that the organization which we represent and its delegations, are on completely ready in solidarity with the workers of the Maritime Industry of this country in the Strike of a few months. We have indicated that the movement affected on board the steamships of the Grace Line, and the Pacific Line in the Port of Mazatlan do not correspond to our organization being the fact that this movement are under the control of the Longshoremen and Checkers Union in the Port of Mazatlan. This Union, since its first Constitution has been in different difficulties with us.

In respect to the Port of Ensenada, you can be sure that our delegation as it

has been done before, is together with the movement of any Strikes concerning the workers of the American Maritime Unions, and will not cooperate in lending their facilities in unloading cargo of the mentioned ships. As information, we permit ourselves to the following knowledge: that the Union of longshoremen that work on all these ships of the Port of Mazatlan, depend directly of the C. R. O. M., same as the Unions of longshoremen in foreign ports. This last Union is the one to supply facilities and the coastal crew and longshoremen. This last Union were always significant in Strike-breaking and this is not the first occasion and we can refer to the last Strike of the Longshoremen in San Francisco. The ships of the Grace Line, the Panama Line were worked by the same personnel.

The Grace Line, as well as the Panama Line, has been hardly attacked by us. We do not miss an opportunity to make them understand and recognize our syndical action of the workers since the middle of 1936 to the present. We have made them pay an indemnity and other expenses, in all around \$30,000.00. We have forced them to retire a line of the steamship which sabotaged service on our Coast under the Mexican Flag. Putting down our absolute control in the Maritime Movement of our Coasts.

We recognize that the Grace Line has continued shipping personnel from this Union of longshoremen for foreign ports, and they used them as Strike-breakers on the same ships. These elements in the majority, hasn't got authentic American certificates. They use dead men's papers, and we beg you to direct yourselves to the Authorities of your country. So that they will make an investigation and they take from them these documents which do not belong to them.

(Complimentary closing.)

PETER J. INNES, Jr.,

Chairman, Striking members, I. S. U.

COMRADE: In relation to your letter we answer the following points:

First, we propose to second in all your demands. We do not touch the lines and we don't make any movement towards the cargo or the deck.

Second, we let you know at the last meeting that we had on the *Rosa* it was agreed that we can work as our contract reads, such as washing paintwork and sweeping the alleyways and the sailors quarters.

Now, if we in any way do you an injustice by doing so then you can arrange this with the company so that we do absolutely no work at all. We want you to know that we have already contacted with our union in Mexico so that they can arrange our passage back to Mexico.

As all for the moment please answer as to be advised to your opinion.

(Signed) Delegate VICTOR COSTELLO.

[Same letter to A. Felix, C. R. O. M., Tia Juana, Mex.; Gen. Sec., C. R. O. M. Ensenada; Gen. Sec., CTM., Ensenada.]

JAN. 3, 1937.

SEÑOR JOSE M. HERNANDEZ,

General Secretary, C. T. M.,

Constitucion Y Casa, Mazatlan, Sinaloa, Mexico.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I am writing you in behalf of 15,000 Maritime Workers on strike in the port of New York City, U. S. A., asking and pleading for your assistance in help us to bring this strike to a quick and successful end.

Some time ago I had the pleasure of meeting some of the officials of your organization in Tia Juana and Ensenada. This was at the time of the first visit of the Grace Liner *Santa Elena* to Ensenada.

Thank to the militancy and showing of International Solidarity by the Mexican Workers in that port, and the assistance of your organization there, we were successful in embarrassing the Grace Line, and causing some delay in the carrying out of that ship's schedule. But due to misleading letters and telegrams from J. P. Ryan and Ivan Hunter, reactionary officials of our Unions, the solidarity of the Mexican and American Workers was broken, and the promise made by your officials in Mexico City was not kept.

We understand now that the Grace line is going to make a steady port of call, during the remainder of the strike, at Ensenada, and that the Panama Pacific Line is going to attempt to do likewise.

Allow me to explain that the strike of the seamen on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, as well as on the Pacific Coast, a strike involving over 75,000 men, is a legal strike, legally called by the membership of seven Maritime Unions. The strike of the membership of the International Seamen's Union, involving over 40,000 members alone, was called by the membership of that Union, and officially called by District Committee of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts Districts of that Union, some time ago. This can be verified by communicating by wire, collect, with Jerome King, Secretary District Committee, International Seamen's Union, 164 11th Avenue, New York City, U. S. A.

We believe that when this matter is fully explained to the Mexican Workers, they will refuse to service any United States ship entering a Mexican port, especially the ships of these two companies, which are among the largest steamship companies in the world, and are among the few which so far have refused to negotiate with the Maritime Workers in the United States.

A word of explanation regarding the sailing of these ships is due you. Some time ago to United States Government served notice on both of these companies that unless they started to maintain a regular schedule immediately, their United States mail contracts would be taken away from them. These contracts run into several millions of dollars a year. These ships are not carrying any cargo, but only mail, and a few passengers. They are carrying passengers only because of their mail contracts. They cannot dock in any Pacific coast port in the United States to discharge their passengers, and are using the Mexican Workers in Ensenada and Mazatlan only for strike-breaking purposes, and after the strike is over, these ships will no longer call at Ensenada.

In view of the above, I earnestly plead with you to cement the solidarity between the Mexican and American Workers more completely, and beg of you to serve notice on the Grace Line and the Panama Pacific Line, that their ships will not be serviced in any Mexican port, and their passengers will not be handled in any way, shape, or form.

Feeling sure that we will receive an answer from you that this has been done, allow me to extend, from the Striking Maritime Workers, greetings of International Solidarity, and best wishes for the New Year.

Faternally yours.

PETER J. INNES,

*Pacific Representative, Joint Marine Strike Council,
Atlantic and Gulf Coasts.*

A. Felix, C. R. O. M., Tia Juana, Mex.; Sec., C. R. O. M., Ensenada, Baja Cal., Mex; Gen. Sec. C. T. M., Ensenada, Baja Cal., Mex.

[Letterhead of Unión de Marineros, Fogoneros y Actividades Marítimas del Pacífico]

Maz. Sin., Enero. 21 de 1937.

Mr. PETER J. INNES, JR.,

*Pacific Representative, Joint Marine Strike Council,
Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, 216 West Sixth Street, San Pedro, Calif.*

Nos referimos a su atenta comunicación, fecha de el 8 de los corrientes, de cuyo texto, nos hemos impues to debidamente.

En contestación debemos manifestarle, que la organización que representamos, así como sus Delegaciones, estamos completamente dispuestos a solidarizarnos con los trabajadores marítimos de ese País, en Huelga desde hace algunos meses, indicándoles que el movimiento quese efectúan abordo de los Vapores de Grace Line y Pacific Line, en el Puerto de Mazatlán, no corresponden a nuestra organización pues estos movimientos, los efectua la Union de Estibadores y Alinadores del Puerto de Mazatlán, organización que des de su constitución, tiene dificultades intergremiales como nosotros, por lo que dichas actividades están fuera de nuestro control.

Por lo que respecta al puerto de Ensenada, B. C., pueden estar Uds., seguros, que nuestra delegación como ya lo ha hecho, está solidarizada con el movimiento huelguístico, de los trabajadores Marítimos Americanos, y no presta rán sus elementos, para maniobras de carga o descarga, de las embarcaciones aludidas.

Como vía de información, nos permitimos hacerles de su conocimiento, que la Union de Estibadores que man ja las embarcaciones de las Empresas, antes

ciudades en el puerto de Mazatlán, depende de la Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana, así como la unión de Estibadores para Puertos Extranjeros, ésta última organización, es la que proporciona a las embarcaciones de las Empresas antes citadas, personal de marinería y estibadores, que son los que se encargan de hacer la carga y descarga en los puertos del extranjero, así como efectuar trabajos de marinería abordo de las embarcaciones tantas veces citadas, pues siempre estos elementos se han significado, adictos a las Empresas Navieras, y son los que siempre sirven de rompe-suelges, pues no es esta la primera ocasión, que lo hacen, pues en la huelga pasada de los Estibadores de San Francisco, los barcos de la Grace y de la Panama Line, estuvieron siendo alijados, por el personal en cuestión.

Tanto lo Grace como la Panama están siendo dura mente atacados por nosotros, pues no desperdiciamos oportunidad, para hacerles comprender que deben de reconocer la acción sindical de los trabajadores, pues desde a mediados del año del 36 a la presente, los hemos hecho pagar por indemnizaciones y otros gastos, alrededor de \$30,000 treinta mil pesos, obligandola a retirar una línea de Vapores, que hacían servicio de cabotaje en nuestras costas, con bandera mexicana, frustrando así el control absoluto que pretendía tener, en el movimiento marítimo de nuestras Costas.

Tenemos conocimiento que la Grace Line, sigue embarcando personal dependiente de la Unión de estibadores para puertos extranjeros, para utilizarlos como rompe-huelgas, abordo de sus embarcaciones: éstos elementos, en su mayoría, carecen de documentos auténticos Americanos, para navegar, pues están utilizando, documentación de otras personas que ya no navegan y que han muerto, por lo que les recomendamos, que se dirijan a las autoridades marítimas de su País, para que se hagan las investigaciones de rigor, y les sean recogidos los documentos de navegación, por no ser los propios.

Pendientes de sus letras, nos suscribimos de Uds Unidos, por la lucha de los trabajadores.

FUERZA, SOLIDARIDAD Y TRABAJO, POR EL COMITÉ DIRECTIVO.

JOSE M. HERNANDEZ, *El Presidente.*

JULIAN HERNANDEZ, *El Secretario.*

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Washington

[Translation]

MAZATLÁN, SIN., January 21, 1937.

MR. PETER J. INNES, JR.,

Pacific Representative, Government Marine Strike Council,

Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, 216 W. 6th Street, San Pedro, Calif.

We refer to your communication of the 8th of the month, the text of which we have duly noted.

In reply let us say that the organization which we represent, as well as its delegations, are completely in sympathy with the maritime workers in your country, on strike for some months, explaining that the activities going on aboard the ships of the Grace Line and Pacific Line, in the port of Mazatlán, is not due to our organization since these activities are carried out by the Union of Longshoremen and Stevedores(?) of the Port of Mazatlán, an organization which from its constitution has had fundamental difficulties with us, wherefore said activities are outside our control.

As far as concerns the port of Ensenada, B. C., you may be sure that our delegation as I have said is fully in sympathy with the strike movement of the American maritime workers and its members will not assist the vessels referred to in loading or unloading.

By way of information, permit us to inform you that the Union of Longshoremen who handle the vessels of the companies above referred to in the port of Mazatlán belong to the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers and the Union of Longshoremen for Foreign Ports. This latter organization is the one which furnishes for the above-mentioned vessels seamen and stevedores who are the ones who are entrusted with loading and unloading in foreign ports such as the seamen's work being done aboard the vessels mentioned so many

times. These people have always been supporters of the shipping companies and are the ones who always serve as strike-breakers. This is not the first time they have done it since in the last strike of the longshoremen of San Francisco, the ships of the Grace and of the Panama line were being cleared by the personnel in question.

Both the Grace Line and the Panama Line are being harshly attacked by us, since we waste no opportunity to make them realize that they must recognize the syndical action of the workers, and from the middle of 1936 to the present we have made them pay for indemnities and other expenses about \$30,000, forcing them to withdraw one line of ships, which did a coastwise trade on our coasts, under a Mexican flag, thus thwarting the absolute control which they claimed to have in the maritime movement on our coasts.

We know that the Grace Line keeps on employing personnel of the Union of Longshoremen for Foreign Ports in order to use them as strike-breakers aboard its vessels; these people, for the most part, lack authentic American documents to sail, and they are using documents of other persons who do not sail or are dead so that we recommend that you suggest to the maritime authorities of your country that they make a thorough investigation and withdraw false navigation documents.

Awaiting your letters, we sign ourselves as united with you for the struggle of the workers.

Force, solidarity, and work for the directing committee.

The President,
The Secretary.

TEXT OF LETTER FROM SEAMENS UNION IN MEXICO

We refer to the communication dated the eighth of the current month, which text we have been advised, in answer we have too manifested that the organization which we represent and its delegations, are on completely ready in solidarity with the workers of the maritime industry in this country in the strike of a few months. We have indicated that the movement affected on board the steamships of the Grace Line, and the Pacific Line in the port of Mazatlan do not correspond to our organization being the fact that this movement are under the control of the Longshoremen and Checkers Union of the port of Mazatlan. This union, since its first constitution has been in different difficulties with us.

In respect to the port of Ensenada, you can be sure that our delegation as it has been done before, is together with the movement of any strikes concerning the workers of the American maritime unions, and will not cooperate in lending their facilities in unloading cargo of the mentioned ships. As information, we permit ourselves to the following knowledge; that the union of longshoremen that work on all these ships of the port of Mazatlan, depend directly on the C. R. O. M. same as the unions of longshoremen in foreign ports. This last union is the one to supply facilities and the coastal crew and longshoremen. This last union was always significant in strikebreaking, and this is not the first occasion and we can refer to the last strike of the longshoremen in San Francisco. The ships of the Grace Line and Panama Line were worked by the same personnel.

The Grace Line, as well as the Panama Line, has been hardly attacked by us. We do not miss an opportunity to make them understand and recognize our syndical action of the workers since the middle of 1936 to the present. We have made them pay an indemnity and other expenses, in all around \$30,000. We have forced them to retire a line of the steamship which sabotaged service on our coast under the Mexican flag. Putting down our absolute control in the Maritime Movement of our coasts.

We recognize that the Grace Line has continued shipping personnel from this union of longshoremen for foreign ports, and they use them as strike-breakers on the same ships. These elements in the majority have not got authentic American certificates. They use dead men's papers, and we beg you to direct yourselves to the authorities of your country, so that they will make an investigation and they take from them these papers that do not belong to them.

(Complimentary closing.)

PJI/Mc

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a letter, Mr. McCuiston, dated November 2, 1937, written in French. Will you explain to the committee the significance of that communication; whom it is addressed to, and whom it is signed by, and what does it mean?

Mr. McCUISTON. It is addressed to the Comrade Secretary of the National Maritime Union. You will have to get somebody to translate it, who can read French better than I. It has to do with dealing with the action of the French longshoremen where they guarantee that they will take certain action on certain American ships of stopping the handling of cargo and so forth, and so on.

I do not know how to pronounce this name, but I was checking up on the papers the other day, and this letter came into my possession, being given to me by a man who knew I was actively working against the party now. He gave me this letter. I remember the occasion when the letter was originally received, and the signer is one of those that has been arrested by the French Government in connection with the Communist Party over there now.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is recently, since the party has been outlawed there?

Mr. McCUISTON. You will have to have somebody who can read French to translate it.

Mr. WHITLEY. The letter is signed by Gustave Huyghe; is that correct.

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer this as an exhibit.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

CHAMBRE SYNDICALE

DES OUVRIERS DU PORT DE DUNKERQUE

Siège Social:

Salle "L'Avenir"

9, Rue de l'Ecluse-de-Bergues

DUNKERQUE, 9 Novembre 1937.

AU CAMARADE SECRETAIRE DE LA NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA.

126, Elerenth Avenue, New York City (N. Y.)

CHER CAMARADE: C'est avec un vif étonnement que nous nous sommes rendu compte que le Commandant du navire "*Sarcorie*" de l'Amérique France Line se trouvant dans notre port ait cru devoir occuper son équipage aux travaux d'entretien (balayage de cales, peinture etc) le lundi 1er Novembre, Toussaint, jour férié, alors qu'aucun matelet des autres navires, qu'aucun decker ne travaillait. Ce jour étant consacré au culte des Morts et les matelots américains le savent bien eux qui ont manifesté le désir de se joindre à leurs camarades français pour aller rendre hommage à leurs frères victimes de la grande guerre qui nombreux reposent dans nos nécropoles.

C'est par solidarité pour nos camarades syndiqués américains que nous avons pensé qu'il était de notre devoir de signaler ce fait, car nous avons entendu dire que le Commandant du dit navire aurait menacé de retenir deux journées de selde à des camarades matelots qui ont pensé devoir refuser d'obéir à ses ordres, ce qui à notre sens serait injuste car nous croyons que leur présence à bord n'eût pas précisément nécessaire le chargement du navire terminant que ce soir Mardi 2 Novembre.

Recovez, cher Camarade, nos fraternelles salutations syndicaliste.

Pour la Chambre Syndicale des Ouvriers du Port Le Secrétaire:

GUSTAVE HUYGHE.

(Pencil notation:) Give this good publicity.

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Washington

[Translation]

DUNKIRK, November 2, 1939.

Chambre syndicale
des ouvriers du port de Dunkerque
[Dunkirk Dockers' Union]

Office :

Salle "L'Avenir"

9 rue de l'Écluse-de-Bergues

TO COMRADE SECRETARY

OF THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA.

126 Eleventh Avenue, New York City, (N. Y.)

DEAR COMRADE: We have been greatly surprised to learn that the captain of the S. S. "*Sarcowic*", of the American France Line, while in our port, took upon himself to assign his crew to maintenance work (cleaning holds, painting, etc.) on Monday November 1st, All Saints' Day, a holiday, while no seaman on any other ship or any docker was at work. That day is consecrated to the cult of the dead, a fact of which American seamen were aware, as they expressed the desire to join their French comrades in paying tribute to their brother victims of the Great War who sleep in our cemeteries.

It is in a spirit of solidarity with our American union comrades that we bring this to your attention, for we understand that the captain of the said ship threatened to deduct two days' pay from seamen who refused to obey his order. This we consider unfair, for we believe that their presence on board was not necessary, as the loading of the ship was only ended this evening Tuesday, November 2.

We send you, my dear comrade, our fraternal unionist greetings.

GUSTAVE HUYGHE.

Secretary, Per the Port Dockers' Union.

[A. Bernard, November 25, 1939.]

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, for May 19, 1932, representing an example of the manner in which the Communist Party reports vessel movements and cargoes, and also military and naval information. Will you point out the articles there that might be of interest to the committee [handing document to witness]?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. This is the war shipments on Japanese ships from the United States. We used to try in every way we could to contact Japanese crews and put all this stuff aboard. We were given specific instructions to photograph any Japanese ships or cargoes, various things like that. All of this stuff was sent direct to Mink, unless he was out, and then it was sent to other people, and those of who were supposedly in the "know," were told to deliver it personally to Charles Dirba, at the headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is Charles Dirba's position at the headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUSTION. He is the central control commission, a commission of one man. He is the supreme authority as the representative of the Comintern in this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is the Comintern representative in this country to the American Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. This was just verifying the fact that the seamen have been advised and instructed to check up on all other war material, shipments, and stuff like that.

Mr. STARNES. And report it?

Mr. McCuiston. And report it; yes.

Mr. STARNES. To the Communist Party direct, even to send it in the form of letters to the Daily Worker that they can use as a base.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the Daily Worker, in turn, could circulate it through its columns, and it would go out to Communists all over this country, the seamen, included.

I offer this photostatic copy.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1932]

COMMUNISTS EXPOSE WAR PREPARATIONS—SEND LETTERS TO THE "DAILY WORKER"!—HELP FIGHT AGAINST WAR PREPARATIONS!—GOVERNMENT ORDERS 2,500 WARTIME PARACHUTES

(By a Worker Correspondent)

NEW YORK.—The company I worked for has just received an invitation from the Navy Department at Washington to bid on supplying 2,500 canvas parachutes, to be shipped in 60 days to the Naval Ammunition Depot at Hawaii.

Another 2,500 is to be shipped to the Depot at Virginia. The president of this company says the dimensions required—37.25 inches—are for wartime parachutes, the parachutes in use commercially or for non-war purposes being much smaller.

WAR SHIPMENTS ON JAPANESE SHIPS FROM U. S. SHOW GAIN

(By a Worker Correspondent)

NORFOLK, VA.—A Japanese ship, *Tai Ping Yang*, sailed yesterday from Norfolk for "the Far East" with 6,000 tons of cotton. This is the third Japanese ship to sail from Norfolk since May 1, and more Japanese ships are expected here within a few days. These unusual shipments of cotton are intended for use in manufacture of munitions and for other military purposes.

The unrest among the Japanese seamen is shown by the action of the officers of the ship in refusing to permit any of the sailors to go ashore, and armed Japanese marines stood guard at the gangplank. There were twelve marines on this "merchant ship."

A number of Japanese ships load part of their cargo in Baltimore and come to Norfolk for additional cargo of scrap iron, cotton, etc., and I think that all of the Japanese ships leaving Baltimore coal at Hampton Roads before sailing.

DUPONT GETS ORDERS

(By a Worker Correspondent)

NEWARK, N. J.—An announcement was made here that the Pompton Lakes plant, a DuPont concern, which produces munitions and explosives, will speed up production next week. The announcement states that the company has received a large number of orders to be filled immediately.

SEND RUSH ORDERS FOR MINES FOR U. S. FLEET IN PACIFIC

The New York Navy Yard has just received a rush order for 200 mines. Welders are being forced to work night and day on the shells.

This is the first time since 1920 that the Yard has received such an order. The last order it filled was for a foreign power. Never before has the Yard received such a large order for mines.

Mines are generally manufactured for the Coast Guard for use in breaking up icebergs and derelicts. The order now being filled, however, is for extremely large mines, built differently. The mines are for the use of the control force, U. S. Fleet. This includes the minelayers, destroyers, battle fleet and the V-type submarines which are capable of laying mines.

The explosives are being made by a New Jersey ammunition factory. It is expected that the mines will be completed by the middle of June and will be shipped to Coco Solo and Manila on a transport leaving the Army Base on or about July 1.

* * * * *

(By a Worker Correspondent)

HAMILTON, N. Y., *4th May, 1932*.—It was recently my fortune to be in the vicinity of a well-known arms manufacturing plant, the Remington plant, in Ilion, N. Y. They have been manufacturing automatics, shot guns and hunting rifles, as well as typewriters and cash registers. The cash register business has been sold and most of the other departments ostensibly closed, or working on short time. Very few of the many who used to work there are still employed.

You have been exposing the manufacturing of war materials. The Remington plant is being put in order. It is being reported that new floors are being laid in the plant formerly used for cash registers; old, worn out machinery is being replaced with new, it is said. (This, it is rumored, due to a standing contract with the U. S. government to keep their munitions plants in perfect working order.) It is also rumored that the Remington people are bidding for the production of the new machine gun. This is a new, light gun, with which, it is said, the U. S. government is planning to equip every man in the army.

This is the system of our "democratic" government.

The capitalist press of the whole world, the military experts here and in Europe talk openly and positively of an impending explosion and immediate war against the Soviet Union.

Speculation and secret hopes have grown into positive assertions of imminent attack.

All the elements of provocation, indirect and open troop movements toward the Soviet frontier, diplomatic intrigues, increased suppression and violence against the working class at home—have accumulated and piled up into a mighty spectre which threatens to sweep the entire world into a slaughter unparalleled in all history.

Today's news of progress toward the formation of a Japanese coalition cabinet—a "super-party government"—embracing all capitalist parties, fully confirms our insistence that there has been no break in policy—only a more ferocious drive for immediate war and intervention against the U. S. S. R.

For months all of the imperialist powers, especially France, England and the United States, have backed the Japanese frightfulness in Manchuria, the ravaging of China and the war provocations against the Soviet Union. At the same time there have proceeded frenzied war preparations—concentration of armed forces, accumulation of arms and munitions, improving of air forces—in the vassal states on the Western borders of the Soviet Union. In all these moves the biggest imperialist powers have taken the lead.

Now that this monstrous conspiracy of international bandits has reached the stage of imminent war and intervention against the Soviet Union, these scoundrels and imperialist butchers try to foster the illusion that they have had nothing to do with Japan's course. Such maneuvers are attempts at pacifist deception of the working class; attempts to make it appear that intervention is not a world imperialist plot, but only a Japanese venture.

Not by words, but by deeds, must the imperialist powers be judged. Attempts of the imperialist powers to cover up their complicity by words are refuted by the despicable deeds of the imperialist powers, as from every port there speed toward Japan shiploads of arms and munitions for use against the Soviet Union.

This imperialist war in which all the bandit powers, on the basis of their common hatred and fear of the Soviet Union, have come together, must be met TODAY by decisive action by the working class.

From American ports munitions and war supplies are going to Japan. At the same time there proceeds the strengthening of all war bases of American imperialism, especially in the Pacific.

These shipments must be stopped by action of the American working class. In every working class center, in every shop, there must arise furious protests against the despicable role of American imperialism, one of the chief accomplices in the war against the Soviet Union, of which Japan today is the spearhead for all the imperialist powers.

REPORT SHIPMENT OF MUNITION MATERIALS FROM B'KLYN DOCKS

(By a Worker Correspondent)

Longshoremen report that the Far East going vessels of the Prince Line have been loading scrap iron at the rate of four thousand tons a month from their pier at Bush Dock in South Brooklyn. Other reports state that the Isthmian Lines, a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel, have been easing scrap rails at the rate of two thousand tons a month.

All these vessels after leaving New York Harbor call in the Southern Atlantic ports and the gulf to load large quantities of cotton, which is used mostly for making gun powder. This gun powder if the Japanese plans materialize, will be used first against the Chinese masses and the Soviet Union, and after against their suppliers, the American imperialists.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker dated June 2, 1932. Will you explain the significance of the article appearing there?

Mr. McCUSTION. This shows the marine workers not only organizing the American seamen in this country but they made special efforts to organize clubs for various international groups. This deals with the early organization of the Scandinavian seamen's club; the same group that was organized by Communists whose names are known here, Walter Stack and LaRocca, and others. That was organized by these Communists originally. This same group works in perfect conjunction with the National Maritime Union of today. This is the time it was organized, admittedly in the Daily Worker, by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer that as an exhibit.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

MARINE WORKERS UNION ORGANIZES NORWEGIAN SAILORS—LEADS FIGHTING FOR MANNING SCALE, RELIEF AND DEMANDS GOLD STANDARD WAGES

EDITOR DAILY WORKER: On May 25th a meeting was called at 293 Columbia Street, by the Norwegian seamen, with the cooperation of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Several of the seamen came down to our local at 140 Broad Street and asked us if we would help them to organize themselves against the rotten conditions existing on the Brooklyn waterfront.

The marine Workers Industrial Union being a working class organization, with the interest of the workers in mind all the time was very glad to be able to help the Norwegian seamen. A speaker was sent to Brooklyn to speak and help the seamen organize. The meeting was very successful. One hundred and forty men attended. A committee of six was elected to present the following demands to the Consul General of Norway:

1. Demand to be paid off on gold standard.
2. Rotary system of hiring to be done by committee of seamen.
3. Unemployed relief from Consul at expense of shipowners.
4. No men to be sent from Norway to take ships back from New York to Norway.
5. Ships to be fully manned according to the law.

6. 3.50 Kronen to be paid for room in Norwegian Sailors Home instead of 3.50.

A resolution was unanimously adopted that the above demands be presented to the Norwegian Consul General.

SPEAK IN NATIVE TONGUE

Several seamen spoke from the floor in their native tongue and Stack from the M. W. I. U. spoke on the necessity for organization. What has been accomplished and what can be accomplished in the future also on the role of the I. S. H. and the World Congress of Seamen in Hamburg. Comrade LaRocca spoke on the Unemployed Council. The majority of the men took out cards in the Unemployed Council.

At first the Counsel General refused admittance to the committee. He wanted to see 2 at a time. The committee said all or none and were admitted. The counsel began by brazenly trying to buy them off with personal cash gifts. The committee reminded him that they spoke not in the name of the committee but in the name of the unemployed council. He also made many vague promises to see what can be done afterwards.

A meeting held at Court and Carrol Streets, the largest open air meeting ever held by seamen on that corner, heard a report on what happened in the Consul's office. The chairman concluded the meeting by pledging the support of the M. W. I. U. to the Unemployed Council and our utmost cooperation.

Another meeting will be held at 193 Columbia Street, Brooklyn, on Sunday 7 p. m. and on Monday morning after the many petitions circulated are collected, a demonstration will take place in front of the Norwegian Council General's office and the committee will again present their demands. This time with the men on the spot.

GET FREE MEALS

The next day the committee went to the Norwegian Sailors' Home and demanded a dinner. The manager refused to feed the unemployed and also refused to call the consul. One of the committee called the consul who in turn called the parasite in charge of the home and advised him to feed the men before trouble began.

Seventy-five men went in to eat. Fifty more came from a nearby park and when they heard meals were being given way. All were fed and they ate from soup to nuts. As a result of this victory of the Unemployed Council scores of men lined up in the Unemployed Council.

A MARINE WORKER.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker dated in July—July 19, 1932—having to do with George Mink and Harry Jackson as officials of the organization. Will you explain that in detail?

Mr. MCCUSTION. This was in the days when the only way possible that we had at a meeting of the national fraction, where we made a decision that the only way we could bring our organization to the forefront was to get publicity. At that time, there was quite a bit of unemployment, and there were unemployment discussions being carried on in the party. So we selected as the first object of attack the various seamen's institutions, and this is dealing with a mass trial where George Mink sat as the judge of the trial committee, and we held a public open trial of the Seamens Church Institute. Harry Jackson was one of George Mink's chief lieutenants, who has been a party organizer in various places, and is now in the Northwest, I think, working with the Lumber Workers Union. But he is a member of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, and Wipers of the Pacific Coast, also. He belongs to a half a dozen unions. Some of those guys have got books in every Communist-controlled union.

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer this as an exhibit.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, July 19, 1932]

2,000 SEAMEN IN MASS TRIAL FIND SEAMEN'S "HOME"—FIND N. Y. INSTITUTE
GUILTY OF GRAFT AND STRIKEBREAKING

NEW YORK.—A proletarian court of two thousand seamen found the Seamen's Church Institute guilty of being an agent of the shipowners at a mass trial called by the Marine Workers' Industrial Union and the Waterfront Unemployed Council. Harry Jackson, local secretary of the M. W. I. U., presented evidence and introduced rank and file witnesses from the crowd that conclusively proved the Institute guilty of collecting money in the seamen's name and refusing to give relief, of acting as a strikebreaker, aiding deportation Doak, discriminating against Negro seamen, police brutality and of planning to entirely cut out relief at the end of this month. Jackson's exposure of the Institute received the fullest support from the seamen, and the size of the crowd, one of the largest on record, indicates the growing discontent of the seamen against conditions on the waterfront.

Copies of the charges had been sent to the authorities of the Institute and they had been notified to appear in their own defense, but their position was indefensible and they failed to appear.

VERDICT GUILTY

George Mink, national chairman of the M. W. I. U., who was the presiding judge, called upon the crowd for a verdict, which was answered with such a roar of "guilty" that it could be heard by the Institute authorities who were observing the trial with binoculars from the safety of the lookout tower on the Institute, four blocks away.

Mink then pointed out that the sentence of the court could only be enforced through the organization of the seamen into the Marine Workers' Industrial Union and the Unemployed Council and through the continued struggle of the seamen against the shipowners and their agencies. He called upon the seamen to march to the union hall and during the march an effigy of Mother Roper was burned by her so-called "children" who then marched into the hall, where many of them joined the Unemployed Council.

The mass trial was the result of the activities of the Unemployed Council and is the beginning of a mass campaign to force the Institute to grant relief to destitute seamen, thousands of whom are sleeping in Battery Park and have no means of obtaining food.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker dated in December—the date of the month is blurred—1936, having to do with French and Mexican longshoremen, showing the international character of the marine activities. Will you explain that

Mr. McCUSTION. This is just roughly the education and instruction that the members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Marine Workers League, and the Communist members of the waterfront movement got leading up to the actions that are described in this French and Mexican correspondence that we have here, of making the union into an international organization and developing the proper international propaganda distribution, and so forth: the use of seamen as couriers, and as organizing wedges in international work.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is an article captioned, Mr. Chairman, "Browder's Report on the Election Results," and "The Tasks of the Party and the Mass Struggles Ahead." This deals particularly with the marine industry and the international importance of it.

I offer this for the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[Daily Worker, December 14, 1936]

IV. THE TASKS OF THE PARTY AND THE MASS STRUGGLES AHEAD

I divide this section into four groups of problems. First, I shall deal with the problems and tasks of the coming economic struggles of the working class and of building its organizations. That includes the persistent fight for the unity of the working class, for the unity of the trade union movement. Secondly, I shall deal with the next steps in building the People's Front. Thirdly, I shall deal with the tasks in the fight for peace, how to strengthen the existing peace movements, and how to organize the tremendous peace sentiments of the American people. Fourthly, I shall take up the problem of how to better connect ourselves with the economic and political activities of the people, and through a better quality of Communist work, facilitate the building and strengthening of our Party.

To begin with, I shall take up the great Marine Strike which occupies the center of the picture today. This should be some indication to us of what is going to come in many other districts of the country. If one compares this strike with the great strike in the same industry in 1934, one can see on what a higher plane it is this year—how much stronger are the forces of the marine workers, how much more widespread is their influence spreading to the other sections of the labor movement and how they are gaining international support from the French and Mexican longshoremen. That is why Mr. Ryan was in a hurry to adopt a solidarity strike with the employers as a means of combating the solidarity actions of the workers.

This great battle in marine should become the first point of concentration of all the energies of the party. Successful results from this struggle seem quite possible, quite within the grasp of the workers today, especially if we rally all possible support to them. They will have an enormous influence in stimulating and hastening the growth of similar movements that are maturing in many other industries all over the country.

We must not expect the developing strike movement just to come in one great sweep in the next few weeks and spread out all over the country. It will have its periods, its ups and downs, but we can expect some real results in the near future, especially if the reactionary employers carry through their present intention of halting the forward move of labor by open repression. The climax of the present development looks as though it will come about the time when the miners' agreement expires and when the problems in steel will have come to a head.

Those of us whose memories about former struggles are still fresh can remember the lessons of the past strike struggles. Most of the things we wrote in the last four years, still hold good, and we should study them carefully.

The steel drive lagged definitely during the period of the election campaign. Since the elections, it is picking up and gathering headway again, but I think that even with the rising development of the steel campaign, it is necessary to warn against any relaxation of the vigilance and persistence of the workers in organizing a greater drive in steel.

It is necessary also to say that there are still some districts of our Party which have not yet taken up the steel campaign with sufficient seriousness, even though there are important sections of the industry in their territory. We cannot really consider ourselves a serious, revolutionary Party, the vanguard of the working class, if we are not the most energetic and constructive organizers in steel. In any place where the work of the Party among steel workers is being neglected, it shows that the Communists in these territories are keeping the Party on a low political level and preventing the Party from becoming the leading force among the decisive sections of the working class. These comrades are keeping the Party from performing its necessary duties for the working class. This warning holds true for the comrades who work in other basic industrial areas, in textiles, auto, rubber. Other basic industries will soon have, if they do not already have, the problem of an organization campaign.

In textile we see great struggles developing that promise much greater achievements than those of 1934. The situation today is such, what with the mood of the textile workers, that if all progressives work right and take the job seriously, the workers can make many gains. That is why it is essential

for the Communists workers. We can't afford to have gaps in our line in this field. Where work has been done and progress made, it has already been sufficient to prove that it can be done everywhere where serious and intelligent attention is given to it.

The agricultural workers everywhere can play as big a role in building the labor movement and giving it a progressive tendency as they played in the A. F. of L. convention. There they were one of the most significant groups of representatives present. The same role can be played in the whole labor movement and in every locality if it is given correct leadership and daily attention. We are going to demand it of every district. I believe that the Central Committee will agree with this emphasis.

Now about some details in the struggle for trade union unity and the relations between the CIO and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We must emphasize what we had in the statement of the Central Committee, what we have repeated for the past nine months: It is necessary to fight to preserve unity below, in the city councils, in the state federations, to prevent the threat of a split from being carried through, to put up organized resistance to the plans of the splitters. Every progressive must emphasize that international unions must not be split by this division. We think that it would be harmful if any unions were divided, one section going to the CIO, the other to the A. F. of L. We believe that it is advisable for the existing unions to act as a body. We ourselves want to do everything we can to align them with the CIO, but under no conditions do we carry that fight on in such a way to make a split in that union. Of course, we will do everything to prevent the reactionaries from splitting off any section of any union.

It is necessary to emphasize the need of keeping the CIO forces together. We fight against any tendencies among the weak-kneed leaders of some of these unions to abandon the fight and surrender to the reactionary policies of the Executive Council. We emphasize at every point that under no circumstances will we allow any weakening of the work of building the progressive movement inside the reactionary unions, those still dominated by the reactionaries. On the contrary, there must be more systematic work, especially in such organizations as the Carpenters' Union which in A. F. of L. conventions is voted from the vest pocket of Wm. Hutcheson, but which down below has numerous possibilities of progressive organization.

We will face and solve in practical work the special questions that will arise with the creation of new unions in unorganized sections of industry, as to where the workers shall be taken. For example, in the probable organization of some sections of heavy machinery, we will have the problem of whether these new unions shall go into the Machinists or into some of the other unions, whether it be the Amalgamated Association, or what not.

Generally, we have been clear on this last question. We refused to use our forces to carry sections of newly organized workers away from the jurisdictional claims of the Machinists Union over into some of the industrial unions, where there was a fear that this would intensify rivalries and sharpen the split. We will have to keep that consideration carefully in mind in facing such problems under the new circumstances that are arising. We must understand that under all conditions we are driving towards creating the foundation, in the unions controlled by the reactionaries, for the struggle for unity with the industrial unions. If we are to organize strong progressive forces, we have to give them a political basis on which they can fight inside the old unions. We must not allow the policy of head-on collision between unions to be developed in jurisdictional struggles where they can be avoided.

The conditions on which unity can be achieved are the withdrawal of the suspensions, the guarantee of the continuous carrying through of the organization of the mass production industries into industrial unions, the restoration of those democratic rights of unions further infringed upon by the Executive Council in Tampa such as the actions taken against the Federal unions, and rescinding the dictatorial powers of the Executive Council which came out of these last decisions.

Let us turn to the unemployed and WPA workers and their organizations. The unemployed struggles are coming to the fore again as a key question in the whole political life of the country. * * * They said that if a person had gone to sleep just before election day and then awakened in New York last week, he would have thought Landon won the elections, because of relief cuts that were being carried through. Of course, Landon didn't win, and as a result we have greater possibilities of changing the situation, greater possi-

bilities if we organize and fight. The unemployed question for a time has been pushed into the background of our work in most places. The question of the unemployed must come forward because we are faced with a critical moment in the whole problem of relief and work for the unemployed. How we will work in directing the mobilization of the unemployed and bringing the solidarity of the progressive movement around their actions may be decisive in determining a lot of other questions not only of the unemployed. The whole course of the administration in Washington may hinge on how this first post-election issue goes, on whether the forces of progress or reaction have the last word to say.

The gains of unity in the Workers' Alliance have been great, but we have not fully exploited these gains and the possibilities of gains. Now the situation calls for greater attention to unemployment issues and unemployed struggles and to the unemployed organizations, more help and more guidance. These will encourage the next steps in building the people's front.

This brings us to a problem which will probably play a most important role in the next immediate months, namely, the development of a legislative program for the new Congress. Around this legislative program must be built up a progressive bloc in Congress. And around these progressive forces a mass movement of support must be built up in the country. This is the first step to the next stage in building the Farmer-Labor Party.

It is clear what the nature of such a program will be. There will be concrete bills, insofar as possible worked out under our influence, making concrete proposals for carrying through necessary labor and social legislation. The closest working together with all possible progressive allies in the furtherance of such bills is an essential prerequisite for their success.

Where our point of view does not receive the broadest support of the progressive forces, we will have to, in addition to putting forward bills of our formulation, make such compromises as will be necessary to get a working relationship with the other progressives who have different ideas from us. While frankly declaring our differences with them, we will have to sometimes support unsatisfactory bills. In other cases, as in the question of social security, we will have the problem of how to fight most effectively for the workers' bill and at the same time be prepared to unite with these circles of progressives who will want to improve and amend the Social Security Bill. We will have to join in all movements to amend and improve the existing Social Security Act by increasing its coverage and requiring the employers to foot the entire cost. But we will not give up the fight for the Workers' Bill, because the Roosevelt security act is built upon such unsound principles that even if amended, it can never be converted into an adequate social security system. * * *

We want to give special attention to consolidating and extending the existing local and state Farmer-Labor Parties. There should be a warning word that in most cases these still have too narrow a base to be sufficient for extensive mass and legislative work. There should be no pretense of Farmer-Labor Parties where a mass basis does not exist. It is much better not to discredit the name of the Farmer-Labor Party by calling sectarian groupings by this name.

There is a pressing need for permanent relations between the Farmer-Labor Parties that now exist and between them and progressive groups inside the old parties. We will have to take up the detailed problems of how these broad progressive movements can participate in the primaries of the old parties on a local and state scale, and organize the fight of the progressives against the reactionaries in the primaries.

A platform of social and labor legislation, nationally and in each state, furnishes the foundation, the absolutely essential foundation, for every such effort. Without a big mobilization of mass support for a platform of social and labor legislation, any move towards organizing participation in the primaries would have very bad results. Even when the foundation is laid for this mass movement, there will have to be the greatest care to avoid the inevitable dangers of throwing the masses back into the old two-party rut, instead of taking them out of it to build the Farmer-Labor Party.

There is the question of keeping the face of the Communist Party in the public eye and the platform of the Communist Party forward in all of this work. At the same time we cannot shove the Communist Party into everybody's face in such a way as to make the Party offensive to people. Nor should we uncover all our forces in those cases where it is necessary to have people working without being known as Communists. The problem of how to develop

open and official participation of the Communist Party in all of these growing movements towards the peoples front becomes more and more important. In this respect we have to give some points of guidance. First, there must be the utmost pressing forward of every measure to create conditions in which the Communist Party can be accepted without serious difficulty by every progressive group. Great care should be taken not to prematurely push this question to a decision when the relation of forces is against us, and we are certain to be rejected. The Socialist Party in New York, 10 minutes after they had been denouncing the American Labor Party, rushed to make a formal application for admission. This move considerably increased the difficulties of solving the proper relation between Socialists and Communists on one side and the American Labor Party on the other.

Under all circumstances we must give systematic attention to improving the working relations between Communists and the best progressive elements in the Farmer-Labor and progressive movement. In some places we have made considerable progress in this respect, but in many places this is still neglected, and great possibilities of work are simply left unexplored. In many places there is a sort of shyness and timidity. Some of us think a Communist should not walk into the office of another organization for fear he might not be welcome. And in many places they are looking for us, while these broad mass movements cannot immediately be a part of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. But they are definitely movements which can be used to extend the basis of the Farmer-Labor Party. It is absolutely an essential feature of our whole conception of the peoples' front that such movements should be an integral part of the fight against reaction and fascism. As we get more definitely organized in the political field, along the lines of the people's front, we will certainly find ourselves coming more and more into the position of the French people. There all of these broadest mass organizations are already a part of the French People's Front in a formal pact with the political parties. Although this cannot be the aim of our work at this moment, we should have in mind that we are working in that direction.

In this respect, we should mention the problem of the International Labor Defense and its growing importance. The whole question of labor defense and the struggle for labor's prisoners, internationally and nationally, is becoming more and more important. As the masses get a keener understanding of the problem of the protection of democratic rights, they are taking up the problems of political prisoners with a keenness and on a wider scale than we have ever seen in this country. Enormous things can be accomplished in the field of labor defense nationally and internationally if we give a little more attention to it.

We should mention the International Fund of our Party and the systematic financial help which our Party gives directly to other Parties in colonial and semi-colonial countries, as well as the German Party. We must insist more than ever that this international fund should be scrupulously maintained and used as effectively as possible. It is one of the best examples of our Party's work, of its political development, of its understanding of its role. Our International Fund is one of the finest features of our Party life. I must say that I am proud of it and I hope that we will, all of us, unite in the firm determination that it is going to be maintained at all costs, and extended.

Now let us take up the special problems of the Socialist Party. It is necessary now to give an answer to what is our attitude toward the problem of the united front as a result of the changes that have taken place recently within the Socialist Party. Does this bring about any change in our tactics and proposals? As before we still believe that the united front is absolutely necessary, and even today we are confident that the majority of the Socialist rank and file want unity.

New difficulties have to be overcome to achieve the united front. We must place the struggle for the united front into the foreground as essential for the whole future existence of the Socialist Party as a whole. The Socialists must understand that nothing of a constructive nature can come out of the Socialist Party except on the basis of struggle against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. The ideas of the Socialist leaders have been corrupted by Trotskyite poison. The Socialist Party must rid itself of their poisonous influence, if they are to play any positive role in the struggles that loom ahead.

At this time, when the working class faces the danger of war and fascism, at a time when the people of Spain are fighting for democracy and life, Norman Thomas can find nothing better to do than head a so-called Committee in Defense Of Trotsky. He spends time defending an assassin plotting the murder

of leaders of the Soviet working class. We regret that the counter-revolutionary character of Trotskyism has left such a mark on the Socialist Party.

The only way to rid the Socialist Party of Trotskyite influence is by concentrating the struggle for the expulsion of the Trotskyites against their most apparently harmful manifestations. The Socialist Party has called a special convention for next March, as you know. We must consult with the best elements in the Socialist Party about their problems in the most helpful way. We have to help these healthy left elements overcome the feelings of pessimism and passivity that now grip the best sections of the Socialist Party. They can make some change in the life of their Party at the March convention. These honest left-wingers must build a solid foundation so that there will be no longer the old policy of drift, of never coming to a decision on all vital issues. They must prepare for the March convention of the Socialist Party to get results, to win the Socialist Party for the united front and make a clean break with counter-revolutionary Trotskyites.

Next, we turn to the fight for peace, and this means, of course, the question of Spain, where our slogan is "everything to defend Spanish democracy." Besides the broadest and most intense political campaign that is possible, we must now, more than ever, give attention to organizing practical material help for Spain. This is not only a matter of raising funds, but in encouraging those honest democratic people who are organizing themselves to go to Spain to participate in the armed struggle against the fascist barbarians who are trying to drown a whole people in a sea of blood.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Counsel, did I understand you a moment ago that one of the exhibits from the Daily Worker told of the work of George Mink?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. He sat as the chairman of a trial board, I believe.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. He was a judge in a mock trial that was held, trying the officials of the Seamen's Church Institute and trying the whole waterfront relief system.

Mr. STARNES. That was similar to the mock trial that was carried on by the Communists in the Gastonia strike?

Mr. WHITLEY. Somewhat similar. I presume, although that was an actual trial in court. As I understand it, this was more—

Mr. McCUSTION. This was just a mass meeting where speeches were made.

Mr. MASON. And it was put on for publicity purposes.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; for publicity.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same George Mink that Mr. Browder had a very faint, if any, recollection of at all, as to who he was, or any of his activities?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct. Incidentally, Mr. Curran said also that he knew little or nothing about Mr. Mink.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; he had a very convenient memory.

Mr. WHITLEY. In fact, he stated that he did not know Mr. Mink, that he did not know what Communists were—

Mr. STARNES. He did not know what they looked like.

Mr. THOMAS. I suggest to you, Mr. Counsel, that you review that testimony of Mr. Browder in connection with George Mink and see what it is all about.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; and I intend also to review Mr. Curran's testimony in the light of today's, and subsequent testimony that we will have, on the same subject.

Mr. MASON. With the possible purpose of prosecuting Mr. Curran for falsification.

Mr. THOMAS. The same would be true of Mr. Browder, also.

Mr. WHITLEY. I plan to review and compare the testimony of a number of witnesses, as soon as I get a chance, with that in mind.

Mr. McCuiston, in his testimony Saturday, Mr. Curran stated that he was acquainted with a party named Thomas or Tommy Ray. He indicated a very slight or casual acquaintance or connection with that individual, and stated that he had no knowledge if Mr. Ray was a member of the Communist Party—that he had no knowledge on that subject because he did not know what a Communist looked like.

Will you tell the committee when you first became acquainted with Thomas Ray, who he is, and something about him?

Mr. McCuiston. I became acquainted with Tommy Ray in San Pedro in California in 1929 first; later met him in San Francisco in various places, and have been a close personal friend of Tommy Ray's at least thought I was a personal friend of his, up to a few months ago; despite many difficulties with the Communist Party at various times during that time, that I had.

Tommy Ray was known as a member of the district bureau of the Communist Party in California; as the leader of the Marine Workers League out there. He was a member of the international executive committee of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers.

He attended the fifth congress of the Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow as a delegate.

His picture and his record have been in the Marine Workers Voice on all of these activities and in the Daily Worker. He is known on the waterfront as a Communist and since the spring strike of 1936 he has been more or less constantly with Joe Curran. In other words, Joe Curran cannot make a speech before he talks to Tommy. It is common knowledge on the waterfront that Joe Curran has not got the ability to write the speeches that he makes, and that he is Tommy Ray's stooge. Tommy Ray goes to conventions with him; goes everywhere with him. He is known as merely reflecting the ideas of Tommy Ray.

Mr. STARNES. Ray furnishes the brains to Curran?

Mr. McCuiston. That is it, and Curran is the front.

Mr. STARNES. He is not actually being seen, but behind the scenes?

Mr. WHITLEY. And Thomas Ray, as you recently pointed out here, at least, replaced George Mink in the maritime field, so far as activities are concerned?

Mr. McCuiston. For the past 2 years Thomas Ray has taken the same attitude toward the party line as formerly taken by Mink. That is, Thomas Ray will even tell Roy Hudson and Stachel where they stand.

Thomas Ray is a good listener; he will listen for hours and say very few words. I was in a political meeting of the Communist Party, to which I was invited into at one time, and Thomas Ray just sat there and listened to the talking for quite a while; he sits around and lets the others do the talking, which may go on for an hour or 2 hours, and then Thomas Ray will sum it all up in about 10 minutes, tell them what they have to do and what they are going to do. He will sum up the discussion.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, since you first knew him in 1929 on the east coast he has been a professed Communist Party member?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; he is known as such and he has never denied being a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has not?

Mr. McCUISTION. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he has ever denied it to Mr. Curran?

Mr. McCUISTION. I know he hasn't denied it to Mr. Curran. I have heard him and Curran, when they were drinking beer, discussing the Communist Party and what it was going to do next, with Curran.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCUISTION. I have heard him threaten Curran at various times. And at one particular time, I remember that Curran threatened—he was going to come out openly opposing the Communists and he said that he thought that the issue was too strong, and Thomas Ray said, "You just go ahead and do whatever you please and you will be a forgotten man on the water front whenever you try that."

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. At the present time and for the past year or two, of your own knowledge, has Thomas Ray been a constant associate of Curran?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; and there have been suggestions, many times, when a member of the union has protested about Thomas Ray as he is always given some specific job concerning party policies, if a job occurs. When they set up the Maritime Council in New York, Thomas Ray was head of it. Thomas Ray does a plenty. In the record, and I have information showing Thomas Ray's connection with this and that movement.

It is not an unusual thing to see Thomas Ray go into Curran's office and dictate to Curran's stenographer. He walks in and out of the office whenever he wants to; he goes in the office of Myer and Thomas Ray doesn't ask questions; he just gives instructions; that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he hold any office, so far as you know, or has he ever held any office in the N. M. U.?

Mr. CURRAN. Thomas Ray could not qualify to hold an office; and Thomas Ray does not like to be in the limelight very much anyway.

Thomas Ray went into the office of the N. M. U.—in this Maritime Council; he was head of this Maritime Council, and later on he associated with the Communist attorney, who represents the N. M. U.—Standard.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is William Standard?

Mr. McCUISTION. William Standard.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is a Communist?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe he is the attorney who appeared here Saturday with Mr. Curran, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know him to be a Communist?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; because he paid the rent and the personnel out of his own pocket; a kick-back to the Maritime Workers' Union, at 140 Broad Street, and they would give instructions that every case of injury should be reported to Standard as the attorney and a kick-back came for that information.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he gave a certain percentage of the fee he received from these various organizations to the Communist Party as a kick-back?

Transport Worker Delegates at the Red International Congress



Third from the left, George Mink, and next to the right, Tom Ray, both from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, U. S. A. To the right of Ray is Cooper, Negro railroad worker, U. S. A. Right of Cooper is an English delegate and almost in front of him (the man with the beard) is Losovsky, secretary of the R. I. L. U. At the extreme right is A. Walter, of the German marine workers' movement.

All these seamen and longshoremen delegates took part in organizing the provisional committee to call a marine workers' conference in Hamburg in the near future to form an International of Seamen and Dock Workers.

IN



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Photograph of Daily Worker, official Communist Party organ, showing Transport Workers Delegates at the Red International Congress, Moscow, 1930.

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, I believe you said George Mink and Tom Ray went to the Red International Congress in Moscow?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you an original copy of the Daily Worker, dated New York, November 8, 1930, and on page 5 there is a photograph carrying caption across the photograph, "Transport Workers Delegates at the Red International Congress."

I will ask you to look at that photograph and see if you can pick out Tom Ray and George Mink.

Mr. McCuiston. In front this guy with the tousled hair and sneer on his face is George Mink and sitting right behind him is Tom Ray. [Indicating.]

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCuiston. And this guy over here [indicating] is Losovsky.

Mr. WHITLEY. Head of the Comintern?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. The bald-headed guy at the extreme right is Walters. That shows in here the guys that outranked Mink, in the maritime industry, but it later turned out to be that this fellow Walters is head of the Hitler Trade-Union Movement in Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand, Mink was in charge of the maritime work for the Soviet Government in North, South, and Central America?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this party, Walters, was in charge of that same work in Europe?

Mr. McCuiston. In Europe; and Mink, for instance, in 1930, made a public statement to the Congress of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers attacking this man as being a Nazi agent and a member of the Nazi force. And this guy had backing enough, even though he were an agent, that he could tell Mink where to head in, and Mink could not do anything about it.

Mr. THOMAS. May I see that book, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCuiston. They are probably good friends again now, though.

Mr. STARNES. What is the date of that paper?

Mr. WHITLEY. This is the Daily Worker of November 8, 1930.

Mr. Losovsky is the man with the whiskers?

Now, Mr. McCuiston, as I understand at the present time, to your knowledge, Thomas Ray is the real power on the water front?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And so far as you know——

Mr. McCuiston (continuing). In the secretariat; they have a secretariat and those are three good friends that work very closely together, that is, Tom Ray, Roy Hudson, and Lannon. But, Roy Hudson, more or less for the last year or so of the organization of the marine industry, for the last year has been assigned to the Automobile Workers Union. He is the strategist of the Automobile Workers, the United Automobile Workers, and he is stationed in Detroit, Mich., but he attends all of the conventions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, will you identify Roy Hudson very briefly for the committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. Roy Hudson. I first met him in 1931. To my knowledge he never joined the Communist Party until 1930. He first came into power in 1930, in Philadelphia, and I first became acquainted with him by being an officer of the Maritime Workers Industrial Union at that time and corresponding with him. He did not attend the first convention of the Maritime Workers Industrial Union, but the next year, why, the situation was getting mixed so much that they had to have a front for the Maritime Workers Industrial Union, and so they picked Hudson.

He was also an ordinary member of the organization to attend the Congress in Russia every year. He was an active speaker. He could put on a good front. He looked something like Joe Curran, a big, fine-looking man, and furnished a good front. But he is considered one of the top three in the American Party, in trade-union matters, and when they are to be settled they are discussed between him, Browder, and Jack Stachel.

Mr. STARNES. He has not been much of a seaman?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; he has made very few trips. As a seaman, I know, that when Roy Hudson was preparing a speech he would have me some times to read them over in order to use seaman's language; there comes a time when you must try to talk like a seaman and he would have me read them over for him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuistion, do you know whether Tom Ray and William L. Standard collaborated in drawing up the constitution of the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCUISTION. I do not know, no; because at the time the constitution was drawn—I know that he was working with the two of them drawing up the constitution, or drafting the constitution for any organization. The N. M. U. was decided on at that time, along in the early part of 1937, but at the time the actual constitution was drawn up I was in Spain and couldn't very well know of my own knowledge about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, Mr. McCuistion, a copy of a leaflet or pamphlet captioned "Lessons on the 1936 Strike, a Discussion on Strike Strategy and Tactics, by R. B. Hudson, issued by Water Front Section, Communist Party, U. S. A., 229 Tenth Avenue, New York City."

I will ask you to explain to the committee the significance of certain statements there made by Mr. Hudson in that document. [Handing document to witness.]

Mr. McCUISTION. Well, there is one thing that is significant. I haven't read it thoroughly, but he deals with the fact here that ship's committees must be set up on the various ships. This was the beginning of the organization, the Marine Workers League and the Marine Workers Industrial Union to get control of ships under small select groups rather than having controversial issues brought up. In other words, through respective committees on ships they could harmonize the work on the ships.

And in the drafting of the constitution that was subsequently proposed, while it was supposed to make establishing the committee mandatory. This was all defeated by a combination of King, Phillips, and a few anti-Communists. The Communists gave in on this

issue rather than antagonize the anti-Communists on the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer that as an exhibit.

(The document "Lessons on the 1936 Strike" by R. B. Hudson was received in evidence and marked as an exhibit.)

LESSONS OF THE 1936 STRIKE—A DISCUSSION ON STRIKE STRATEGY AND TACTICS!

By R. B. Hudson. Issued by Waterfront Section Communist Party U. S. A.,
229 10 Ave., N. Y. C.

Never before have the membership of the International Seamen's Union in the East and Gulf had such splendid opportunities for building a union they will be justly proud of, and in which the membership will have full rights, and through which they can secure decent wages and working conditions, and together with the rest of the marine trade unions build a powerful maritime federation.

These things will have to be fought for. They won't come on a silver platter. The entire membership will have to be united around a common program. Methods of struggle will have to be used which will enable the membership to defeat the reactionaries, who stand in the way of the adoption of progressive measures.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

WHAT must be done—and HOW TO DO IT are two big questions before the membership. Inasmuch as thousands of seamen are pretty clear on what should be done and are willing to support a fight for progressive policies—then the question of HOW to carry on the fight, of TACTICS becomes of great importance.

Many methods will have to be used and they will vary with circumstances. Past experiences often carry the key to the question of correct tactics. Therefore, every struggle should be constantly studied to find out what works and what doesn't, thereby avoiding mistakes in the future.

RECENT STRIKE RICH IN EXPERIENCE

The recent strike, the most important experience in the East in years, is rich with lessons that are important not only from the point of view of preparing more successful struggles in the future but also in connection with advancing the whole struggle for democracy, for the election of officials, for united progressive I. S. U. nationally and for a maritime federation in the East and Gulf.

Many of the favorable opportunities before the seamen now are a direct result of the recent strike which weakened the position of the reactionaries, strengthened the position of the rank and file, secured some economic concessions, and is making it possible to secure even more now.

From every point of view the strike was an important partial victory—a historic step forward in the struggle of the seamen. There can be no doubt that if the struggle had the support of ALL THE SEAMEN, even more important gains would have been registered.

Why then did the strike not receive the support of every crew on all ships, companies and ports in the East and Gulf? It is important to be clear on this question, above everything else, if the progressive forces are going to take the fullest possible advantage of the present situation for strengthening the fight.

REASONS FOR LIMITATIONS OF RECENT STRIKE ⁹

The following two basic reasons stand out:

(1) The overwhelming majority of the seamen were confused by the strike-breaking activities of the officials, of the shipowners and the Government. They were not sure what the strike was about, who called it and what it sought to accomplish.

(2) The lack of strike preparations, together with the weak organization on the ships and the fact that all the seamen did not yet understand and support the rank and file movement, were the main factors that made it possible for the reactionaries to create this mass confusion. Also, even where crews were not

confused and sympathized with the strikers, they felt that because of lack of organization they were not strong enough and well enough prepared to enter the fight.

These are the fundamental reasons why the mass of seamen were not drawn into the struggle. In some respects failure to carry out full correct policies adopted during the strike, made it more difficult to overcome them.

But it is not the purpose of this article to analyze all the shortcomings and even mistakes made during the course of the strike. They all are important and differences of opinion perhaps prevail in respect to them, which deserve going into some other time. But here we want to bring out the basic reasons to see if it won't help us find an answer to the question—how to overcome these weaknesses and to get a clear picture of what must be done to make a more successful struggle possible.

HOW TO OVERCOME WEAKNESSES

Let's start in the most simple manner. How would the west-coast unions, where democracy prevails, prepare and call a strike? Either through union meetings or by a referendum vote, the membership would be given a chance to vote on whether they thought a strike necessary and when it should be called. The decisions arrived at in such a manner would determine what action should be taken, and no action would be taken unless decided upon by the membership. This is the way any question, especially that of strike action, should be discussed and acted upon.

All well and good, some might say. We know that. But you are forgetting the East Coast fakers who deny the membership any chance to decide things. Many times there are no meetings—and when there are meetings and we make a decision, it is overruled by the 11 men dictatorship. So what's the use of talking about deciding things in this manner; it's just a waste of time.

The answer to this situation is to fight all the harder for the rights of the union membership, to involve every single union member in raising, for instance, the demand that the question of accepting or rejecting an agreement or that a strike vote be taken, be submitted to a vote of the membership. If the membership is opposed to an agreement, if they are ready for strike action, **THEN THEY WILL FIGHT FOR THESE RIGHTS.**

OFFICIALS LISTEN TO MASS PRESSURE

On the other hand, when the mass of the membership fail to fight for their rights on such questions, usually it means that they are not opposed to the question involved or they feel that they are not strong enough to do anything about it. If only a minority of the membership is engaged in such a fight, it would not mean much. But only when the mass of seamen are openly backing up some issue will the fakers listen to "reason."

A demand upon the part of the mass of seamen for their rights can force the reactionaries to give in—**AND IF THEY DON'T THEN THESE STEPS WILL HELP ISOLATE THEM IN THE EYES OF THOUSANDS OF SEAMEN, WHO WILL TAKE ACTION EVEN IF THE REACTIONARY OFFICIALS ARE AGAINST IT.** What is more important, the membership will not only see the need for such action, but will feel strong enough to do it as a result of the strength gained in the course of a struggle for their rights. **A MASS FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF THE MEMBERSHIP TO DECIDE UPON ALL QUESTIONS, ESPECIALLY STRIKE ACTION, IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE FOR PREPARING ANY KIND OF STRUGGLE.**

But supposing that the fakers overrule every decision of the membership and deny them all rights and refuse to sanction or issue any strike vote? Does this mean then that the membership must and should submit to their arbitrary decisions, that it is impossible to organize, and prepare to take strike action, even if the official support of the bureaucrats cannot be won? No!

HOW MEMBERSHIP CAN ENFORCE ITS WILL

Supposing all the questions have been thoroughly discussed on every ship, and hundreds of ships' crews have voted **ON THEIR SHIP**, that if the ship-owners fail to meet their demand and that in the event the officials conclude an agreement without a vote of the membership, they will take strike action. If

hundreds of ships were to do this; if hundreds of ships were on guard against phoney maneuvers; if they were organized to take action when necessary AND THAT THEY THEMSELVES HAVE DECIDED ON SUCH ACTION; when such a situation prevails, then no strikebreaking activities can succeed. But to be able to do this means work, not only in union meetings which are very important, BUT WORK ON THE SHIPS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF SHIP'S COMMITTEES.

STRIKES MUST BE ORGANIZED

However, it should always be borne in mind that any strike is a fight and can only be won through proper organization and policies. A STRIKE THAT IS OPPOSED BY THE OFFICIALS HAS EVEN GREATER ODDS AND DIFFICULTIES THAN THE ORDINARY STRIKE AND THEREFORE IF IT IS TO SUCCEED, IT MUST BE WELL ORGANIZED AND PREPARED FOR AND SHOULD NEVER BE ENTERED INTO LIGHTLY OR PLAYED AROUND WITH.

But there will still be the argument, and a correct one, even if there is organization on the ships, often issues arise where if action is to be taken a decision must be made and their won't be time enough for many ships' crews to become acquainted with the situation, discuss it and make their decisions. Will it be impossible then to issue any call for action? No! It is possible to initiate action in such circumstances providing a number of things exist.

WHEN INDEPENDENT ACTION IS POSSIBLE

Usually these conditions are:

(a) Where every one understands a particular issue and is opposed to it. In any struggle this is always of great importance—that workers be clear of what they are fighting for or against.

(b) Where large masses disagree with the policies of the leadership and have no confidence in them.

(c) Where the masses know, respect, and have confidence in those who appeal to them for action. This is very important and worth going into a little. Occasionally in progressive, democratic unions some situation will arise in which the leadership of the union will make a decision for immediate action and the membership will not have the opportunity to make a direct decision themselves. Such actions will meet with the 100% approval and response of the membership because (1) they see the need for emergency measures, (2) the leaders making such decisions have been elected by the workers and have their confidence.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT AND UNION

This is possible in a union. How does it apply to a movement which is not an organization, with elected officials, and with the power and strength to undertake the functions of a union. A movement exists in order to educate the membership for securing the adoption of certain policies by the union. Up until a few months ago the majority of the seamen were not clear about what the rank and file movement was and who were behind it and why it was needed. They still had faith in the officials, they did not understand the program, they thought the movement was just a bunch of radicals or communists, and some even thought its aim was to wreck the I. S. U. However, there has been quite a change in the past few months, especially as a result of the strike. Thousands of seamen support the movement because they know what its program is, who its leadership is. Because of its increased strength, with thousands of seamen behind it, the fakers have been unable to smash it. There are tremendous possibilities before it—but one of the biggest mistakes would be, is to figure that all the seamen are clear on the rank and file program. If they had been, there would have been a different story to the strike.

Therefore, one of the big tasks before the progressive movement and especially those in its leadership is *to win the support of all the seamen in every port*. And it is precisely because the mass of the seamen are not behind this movement, are not yet clear about its program and leadership, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, for such a movement to make decisions as to WHAT the workers should do, to issue appeals for action or a strike when the mass of workers have had no opportunity to decide what to do on these questions.

JOB ACTIONS

All the above deals mainly with the question of preparation for major struggles. One of the most important tactics often in the preparation for large struggles is the initiation of individual ship strikes or job actions. Such actions can be important providing correct demands are put forward. Often immediate grievances can be remedied and working conditions improved through job action. If major demands are put forward in such actions, however, they will be doomed to defeat. Another important point that always must be considered in initiating job actions and small strikes is the *question of time*. The element of surprise is a big factor, especially when they occur at a time when the ship-owners are not very strongly organized to combat and defeat struggles that might be started. However, if they occur in a tense period, in a critical situation when the employers have mobilized their forces, are organized to combat any action, then a small strike or job action may be inadvisable.

At such a time, all the forces of the workers must be brought into play, NOT JUST ONE SHIP, if they want to win. Small struggles in such a situation play into the hands of the employers if taken mistakenly—and often when the employers see a struggle maturing, they try to provoke a strike before the workers are prepared for it, hoping that by defeating the workers in a few small premature struggles, they will thereby prevent them from getting sufficient strength to enter a major struggle with the support of every one. It is especially wise to bear this point in mind at the present time when for months the shipowners have been strengthening their forces, organizing every reactionary force in the country on a national scale, looking for an opening to deal a smashing blow at the progressive West Coast unions and to prevent the rank and file from coming into control in the East and Gulf.

CENTRAL POINT IN ANY TACTIC

The central point in any policy or tactic IS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF WORKERS TO DISCUSS AND VOTE UPON WHAT ACTION THEY SHOULD TAKE. If this is adhered to, mistakes will seldom be made. The fakers try to prevent this of course. Sometimes, however, sincere honest progressives under pressure of events tend to underestimate it. They see some situation arise that demands action or some act of betrayal upon the part of the fakers. They see what is happening and the need for action, so they decide that something should be done and make a decision and call upon the workers to support this decision. Usually what they decide is correct and in the interests of the membership. BUT IT IS NOT SUPPORTED BY THEM BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT DISCUSSED THE QUESTION AND DECIDED THEMSELVES WHAT COURSE TO PURSUE. It makes no difference how honest or sincere you are, THE MOMENT YOU START MAKING DECISIONS FOR THE WORKERS, THE MOMENT YOU START ISSUING ORDERS TO THE WORKERS, DICTATING WHAT THEY SHOULD DO, YOU ARE TREADING ON DANGEROUS WATERS. As we have said before, some honest progressives occasionally make mistakes in this direction (although not often) because they are not clear on the importance of such a policy. On the other hand, there are others who in practice are consciously opposed to such a policy.

WOBBLY TACTICS

Outstanding amongst these in the United States are the I. W. W. and other syndicalists, who time and again in America have issued strike calls which were decided upon only by a small group of workers. These strike calls came out of a clear sky to the great mass of workers and invariably were not supported by them. Usually they try to get the workers to respond to such "strike calls" by calling them finks and scabs and trying to use pressure to bring the workers out. Such a strike was called by the Wobblies in the Gulf in 1934, for instance. Without exception, such strikes not only are complete flops, but tend to discredit the labor movement.

COMMUNIST TACTICS

The attitude of the Communists towards strikes, which we believe reflects the attitude of the vast majority of workers, was made quite clear by Earl Browder,

General Secretary of the Communist Party, in reporting to the Ninth National Convention of the Party when he stated:

"When American workers go on strike it is not because Communists are stirring up trouble but because in those places the forces of big business are denying these workers the right to organize and bargain collectively and denying it by force and violence. Workers do not lightly go into a strike. A strike is a difficult struggle requiring heavy sacrifices. Communists do not lightly advise workers to strike. To strike is a weapon of last resort, to which the workers turn only when the capitalists have blocked every other road of redress for their grievances. And when strikes occur and when bloodshed takes place in connection with them that is not the results of Communist activities or Communist policies. That is the work of the reactionary capitalists and their agents who are directly responsible for the strike and for the troubles that arise out of strikes.

"The Communist Party is not stirring up strikes. The Communist Party is helping in every way possible to organize the workers. The Communist Party will do everything possible to help the workers use their organizations to get better wages, shorter hours, better working conditions; and when there is no other way, when the capitalists refuse to deal with the workers and try to break their organizations, then the workers have the right to strike. That is a fundamental American right which the American workers will never surrender and the Communists will advise and help the workers of America to preserve their right to strike under all circumstances and to use it whenever it becomes necessary."

These remarks of Comrade Browder constitute a policy which if understood and supported by the workers in the marine industry, especially those active in help further the fight for progressive policies in the maritime unions, will go a long way in advancing the interests of honest, militant, progressive unionism.

Mr. STARNES. What was the name he gave us of the man, Mr. Whitley, Saturday?

Mr. Curran referred to the Maritime Union man now being in the Dairy Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not recall; I do not believe he gave the name. I did not ask him about that.

Mr. STARNES. That was information volunteered by Mr. Curran.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; as I recall, he said that in discussing the affiliations of those who had to do with the Brotherhood of the Sea organization. He was asked if that was a new organization, and he explained that members and officials held positions in different organizations. I do not think he gave the name.

As I recall, Mr. Curran testified Saturday, I believe, that upon his return to the east coast after the California incident on the west coast which had caused a strike which was led by him, that he conferred with Roy Hudson, just called on him in the office to get his advice, and that he had never seen or conferred with Mr. Hudson since that time.

Can you give the committee additional information along that line, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTON. No; except that I have had meals with him and Roy Hudson three or four times, and we drank together a number of times, and we have discussed policies, and so on, a number of times; and I have had both him and Hudson to tell me that I was taking the wrong stand by not actively becoming a Communist again, even though I was going along and supporting a majority of the policies, that I refused to take an active stand against "red" baiters. I took the stand that the fellow had the right to be a "red" baiter; that, frankly, he had the right to be anti-Communist if he wanted to. And they called me a liberal, both him and Hudson.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know of your own knowledge that they were personal friends, do you?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I know that both Hudson and Curran were together many nights; he and Hudson and Jack Stachel.

Mr. WHITLEY. And if Mr. Curran tried to give this committee the impression that he had only seen and met Hudson on one occasion that he referred to, he was misleading the committee?

Mr. McCUSTION. Curran was lying, that was all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCustion, will you explain to the committee about Harry Jackson, when you first became acquainted with him?

Mr. McCUSTION. Harry Jackson—his correct name is Glickstein or Glickson.

He was formerly an employee in the United Iron Works and a charter member of the Communist Party and an active leader in the Communist Party.

He is also another one of the guys who has—I don't know his connection directly with the Comintern, but he has a direct connection with them, because he is a guy who can jump on the Communist Party policies, which they lay down by the Central Committee, if he wants to, where other people get expelled for the same thing.

During factional and anti-Fascist fight he was the one in charge of the fight—a Comintern fight, really was what it was, and he was one of the men who participated in the fight that took place that changed the policy, to a certain extent, on various questions pertaining to people in this group.

I first became acquainted with him when he was the organizer for the Marine Workers League in New Orleans, La.

Right after that he became a district organizer of the Communist Party, of district 17, I think it was, with headquarters at Birmingham; and then he was sent to the Harlan Mines section, the bloody Harlan district, and he was in charge of what they called the secret force; he was sent there to work at that time.

Later on he came back and he was automatically made a member of the national council of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and as such he was one of those who constituted the committee.

Harry Jackson, Dorsey, and Thomas Ray, and others—I have heard him brag that it was Thomas Ray who got Harry Bridges into the Communist Party, and that Harry Bridges would take his advice over the advice of anybody else; Harry Jackson bragged about that; he used to argue that to Dorsey, and say he would follow a certain line—he would say there is no use, that Harry Bridges would follow a certain line.

Mr. THOMAS. What year was that he was bragging about it?

Mr. McCUSTION. That was in 1933, in the fall of 1933 or the early part of 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what position, if any, did he occupy in the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. McCUSTION. He was on the west coast, continually, since the 1934 strike. He was active in the M. W. I. U. in 1934 in the strike, and he received a sentence of 60 or 90 days as a result of that strike.

Then he was sent to the Northwest.

He is another one of the kind who works behind the scenes. Harry Jackson won't accept the nomination to any office. He would rather work behind the line.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Do you know whether he is known to Mr. Curran?

Mr. McCUSTION. I would not swear that he is known to Mr. Curran, but I know that Curran knows of him very well; and we have discussed Harry Jackson. And, in fact, I made an effort through Curran to get Harry Jackson reassigned to the east coast, because Harry Jackson, according to the opinion I held of him at that time, was a very capable strike strategist; at that time we thought we could use him pretty well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. McCustion, with reference to these various organizations you have mentioned previously as forerunners of the last organization in this country, I do not believe you have completely covered the organizational set-up of these organizations.

Mr. McCUSTION. No; I haven't. I have not given an organizational set-up of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you go into that and give the committee the background, from the early days, of the Communist Party activities with reference to these organizations?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well, the original organizations of the Marine Workers League, we will say, were primarily organized with the viewpoint of adopting the policy to do one of two things: Either by using the existing American Federation of Labor organization or to develop sufficient strength to head up an independent organization, or more probably still, to build up independent strength to the point where we could force an amalgamation and as such go into the American federation as the controlling factor.

And the set-up of the organization was that its leadership were always given to understand that the Trade Union Unity League would be ultimately scrapped and that an independent federation of labor would result in this, and this would be the tool for amalgamating the activity which was originally set up for that purpose.

That was the organizational set-up which led through clear up to the time of the C. I. O., at the time of the liquidation of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, at the time it became a C. I. O. movement, with the thought in mind of a more or less decentralized form of unionism, giving more attention to local branches rather than from the bureaucratic, centralized set-up.

That raised the question of an independent federation of labor, and we were told, directly, that the C. I. O. had eliminated any necessity for an independent federation of labor and would share the same role.

And so all these unions leading right up to the Maritime Union were directly affiliated with the Red International, with their membership books tying in together, and the instructions; and the only maritime industry being separate, that of the International Seaman and Harbor Workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. McCUSTION. But the same force, the same men who were the active leaders in the Maritime Industrial Union, became the leaders of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say that during the early days of this formative period that all of these organizations, being conceived and controlled by the Communist Party, it was understood and made known by the Communist Party to its members in this movement that they were just front organizations, and this later step led up to the beginning of the union which would be under the control and domination by that organization?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. The basis of the program, as laid down by them, was to get control of the marine industry, as a means of controlling the war industries.

I know a special example was used, and they always referred to the 1919 situation in Seattle, where the marine workers and the longshoremen in Seattle prevented the program of the Allied forces, the American forces that were to occupy, with the Allies, Siberia, and they pointed out that we should accept that as a basis for the program and that in time of war we could force the adoption of a similar program and thereby prevent any war against the Soviet Union, make a war against the Soviet Union impossible by tying up the whole armed industry.

That, with America and with England and with the Scandinavian marine industry tied up, why, no country could wage war against the Soviet Union.

The slogan at that time was, "Let us defend the Soviet Union."

Mr. STARNES. So the real purpose of organizing the Maritime Union, and the influence of the Communist Party, was to make it impossible for any nation to wage a war against the Soviet Union?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Not only would that be true, but it gave the Communist Party complete control over the maritime industry, which would give it complete control of the lane of supplies of any nation that went to war with any other nation.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. For that reason in the Marine Workers Industrial Union particular attention was paid to the carrying into developing for future training former members of the Army, Navy, and Coast Guard; and a good many of them were developed into leaders, but most of them have subsequently withdrawn from the maritime field.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, I show you a photostat copy of the Marine Workers Voice, the official organ of the M. W. I. U., of February 1934, containing several articles.

Will you explain to the committee the significance of those articles?

[From MARINE WORKERS VOICE, February, 1934]

SEAMEN LIVE LIKE HUMAN BEINGS ON SOVIET SHIPS

ED. NOTE.—This is the second of a series by Hays Jones on what he saw as a worker delegate in the Soviet Union.

Taking the Soviet ship out of London adds five days to your stay in the Soviet Union. We were glad we took the *Sibir*, instead of retracing our trip through Latvia and Germany. The *Sibir* is one of the ships built in Leningrad for the Leningrad, Hamburg, London trade, a combination passenger-freight vessel.

"*Show Boat*" the reactionary officials of the British National Union of Seamen call her and her sister ships. Well, if she is a showboat, so are the rest of the Soviet fleet, for I visited a lot of them, and they are all good. Compared to the *Berengaria*, or the *Washington*, they are palaces of leisure and luxury, as some men on the *Washington* can tell you, after visiting the *Komsomol* in Hamburg recently.

The *Sibir* was built about six years ago. She is better than the ships bought by the Soviet Union from capitalist shipowners, but she is not as good as ships built since in Soviet yards.

COMPARED TO CAPITALIST BUILT SHIP

On the *Krassny Profintern* (Red Trade Union International) bought from England, the midships house is small. So are the "islands" fore and aft. It takes all three to house the Soviet crew. Forward, the sailors have two men to a room (standard for Soviet ships). The firemen, aft, have a room for each of the four watches (she burns coal), so there are three firemen and a coal passer in each room. The rooms are big. They could be split into two man rooms easily. The oilers have two men to a room.

There is a big skylight in the poop, put there by the Soviet shipyard, and under this skylight is the messroom, surrounded by the quarters. Midships there is a big Red Corner and Club Room, with musical instruments, books, magazines, games, and study material, all supplied by the "company". There they hold crew meetings and classes.

TWO MEN TO A ROOM

The *Uritsky*, the *Sacco*, and the *Vanzetti*, all of the same type, were built in Soviet yards four or five years ago. The quarters are all midships, with two men to a room, and special lockers in the alleyway for work clothes. The bunks on these ships are double decked. A ladder reaches up to the upper bunk, so you don't have to step on the white linen of the lower bunk. A writing desk in the corner has a special lamp, and each bunk has a lamp so you can read without disturbing your roommate. Any of you who have carried an extension cord around can appreciate this.

The bathroom and laundry are on the deck below the sleeping quarters. The messroom and red corner, on the upper deck, are divided by sliding panels, so they both can be used for big meetings.

MAYBE YOU'LL SEE HER

If you are in New Orleans this winter, you may see the *Komsomol*, or her sister ship, the *Kim*. The *Komsomol* (Young Communist) made her maiden voyage in 1936. Her quarters are roomier than those of ships built earlier. "We learn from each ship and from the crew's recommendations" said a high Sovtorgflot official, who sailed in American ships till he went back to fight in the October revolution.

Her crew lives amidships, two men to a room. The bunks are not double-decked. They stand end to end, with two lockers between, for the seamen's work clothes. The crew has a bathroom, laundry, and special drying room—not the fidley.

WORK CLOTHES FREE

As in other Soviet ships, there are special lockers for work clothes. There are no clothes lines draped around the stanchions. Work clothes in all Soviet ships are furnished by the ships. That is quite an item for men who often spend the winter in the Baltic, the White Sea, or the Arctic Ocean. Heavy boots and sheepskin coats aren't cheap anywhere.

On the *Sibir*, the crew lives aft, in a deck house. The midships house is filled with passengers. But when they decided to enlarge the passenger quarters, they put the passengers forward, in the 'tween decks, not aft in crew's quarters, as is the capitalist custom, with the crew pushed down a couple of decks.

Crew's quarters were as comfortable as passengers' so we spent a lot of time in the red corner instead of in the smoking room. We had a party one night, and the crew came amidships, and we all played together, from the captain down. It wasn't propaganda. That kind of comradeship exists in all Soviet ships. The officers come from deck and engine room (there's no other way to become an officer) and remain a part of the workers organization.

EVERYBODY CAN RISE

Every Soviet ship is a school, and everybody studies. "The officers teach us what they've learned," said a young oiler. And when it comes to sending men to the shore school to become officers, the crew has the final word on who shall go. It doesn't depend entirely on how bright you are and how eager to "rise". Your social habits are part of the setup. If you don't get along with your

fellow workers, you don't become an officer. Officers have been fired for being too "proud"—a different matter from capitalist ships, where every effort is made to separate the bridge from the deck. The crew takes part in deciding what and how much work shall be done on the ship, and if they do more than planned, they get extra pay for it. A different kind of pushing from the American "speed-up or get out."

Another big break for Soviet seamen is that in foreign trade they get one third of their wages in gold. Figuring on A. B.'s pay, that brings him \$37.50 American dollars or more a hundred rubles to spend at home besides. Compare that with Mr. Munson's \$40, or Kermit's dole of \$52.50 and buy your own work clothes. And that isn't all.

The Soviet seaman is guaranteed three watches—four for coal burning firemen and sailors in Arctic winter. He gets a two week's vacation each year, and maybe a trip to a vacation resort thrown in. If he is sent to school, he gets paid. He gets a full day's pay for every day that he is sick or injured, and if the Sovtorgflot can't give him a job, he gets paid wages for being idle. When he reaches 55, he retires on a pension, and if he wants to keep on working, he gets the pension and wages both.

Compare that with the blessings of Mother Roper's Ten Cent Stews, or Roosevelt's De-Transient-ization Camps at 90c per week, or with the "damages" you may get after years of litigation, if you get hurt, only to split with some shyster.

GOT IT BY FIGHTING

The Russian seaman didn't get these conditions for nothing. He didn't get them by begging Congress as Andy Barnacles got the de- ing [*sic*] strike activity as Vic Olander and Paul Scharrenburg want us to do, and turn our lives over to them. He didn't get it through a National Maritime Board. He got them by fighting, and fighting hard.

Conditions on all capitalist ships are getting worse. Conditions on Soviet ships are getting better on each ship that comes off the ways and Soviet shipyards are working three seven hour shifts making new ones.

Against the chiseling, groveling tactics of the ISU and other reactionary unions, match the fighting tactics of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and the International of Seamen and Harborworkers, our International. The conditions on Soviet ships are the conditions we fight for in every ship of the world. Backing up and bargaining have only lost us what little we had. A fighting program and fighting union can win it back, and win more with it. Join the MWIU and fight for our program.

Where To Join

HEADQUARTERS OF THE M.W.I.U.

New York	140 Broad St.
Boston	24½ Battery St.
Philadelphia	312 So. Second St.
Baltimore	702 S. Broadway
New Orleans	239 Decatur St.
San Francisco	3rd fl., 437 Market St.
Seattle, Wash.	414 Maritime Bldg., 911 Western Ave.
Portland, Ore.	301 Gerlinger Bldg., 220 Alder St.
Liverpool, England	64 So. Castle St.
North Shields, England	11 Upper Pearson St.
Marseilles, France	10 Rue Fauchier
Oslo, Norway	Karl Johansgrad, 2
Gothenburg, Sweden	Allegaten, 2
Leningrad, Soviet Union	Prospect Ogorodnikova 15
Archangel, Soviet Union	Nabereshnaja
Novorossisk, Soviet Union	Sacco Vanzetti St., 7
Vladivostok, Soviet Union	Ulitzia Lenina
Odessa, Soviet Union	Lastotchkina, 2
Copenhagen, Denmark	Tolbogode 16
Esbjerg, Denmark	Borgergade, 60
Antwerp, Belgium	64 Kloosterstraat
Rotterdam, Holland	7a Willemskade
Montevideo, Uruguay	Calle Viejo, 1640
Vancouver, B. C., Canada	159 Powell St.
Durbar, So. Africa	136 Point Rd., 3 Shorts Arcade

Mr. McCuistion. Well, this is one of them, a report of Hays Jones, who was a delegate to the Soviet Union; and when he came back, in this issue, why, he began to compare the conditions on Soviet ships with conditions on American ships and endeavored to indicate a general line by adopting a policy used by the Soviet Union, and by doing that through the Communist Party that we could gain the same condition.

That was indicative of the general line that was followed for 6 months after the return of any delegate to the Soviet Union.

And here is also a list of the various headquarters of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and in addition to that there are one, two—eight halls in the United States; and outside of the United States they list two halls in England, one hall in France, one in Norway, one in Sweden, five in the Soviet Union, two halls in Denmark, one in Belgium, one in Holland, one in Uruguay, one in Canada, and one in South Africa.

All of these are official halls of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

It also deals with the beginning of the wage-strike actions that were conducted at that time.

Mr. STARNES. Are you at a point where you can stop conveniently?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. We will take a recess until 1:30, at which time we will resume the testimony of this witness.

(At 11:55 a. m. a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its session.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM C. McCUISTION—Resumed

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuistion, I asked you a similar question this morning, but I would like to ask again, in order to clarify the record, with reference to your attitude toward trade-union organizations and the N. M. U. in particular, which is the organization we are primarily interested in at the moment.

Mr. McCuistion. My attitude is that I believe labor cannot get anywhere without organization; that they have to have organizations that are controlled by the membership, not by any group of any type—organizations that can really express the doctrines of the membership. And as regards the National Maritime Union, I believe that 2 years ago, at the time of its organization, even before that, that the National Maritime Union really had the opportunity to become a representative union of the seamen and, as such, would have gained much better conditions for the seamen, would have gained many more members and much more prestige, if it had not been for the domination of the Communist Party. And I believe—I know that is the reason I have opposed the Communist Party, and I also know the majority of the men who have been expelled or purged from the union, or just driven off the waterfront for one reason or another, in the last year, were the men who really built the union in the very beginning. And my whole attitude is that we

cannot have a labor movement as long as we have the Communist Party actively participating in it; that we have to eliminate the Communists in order to save the unions.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it is your very vital and real interest in the N. M. U. that prompts you to come here today, in order to disclose the activities which, in your opinion, are undermining it; is that correct?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I have made a seaman out of myself; I have learned my trade, and I cannot go to sea now because of the domination by a very small percentage of the union membership. I was going over it with some friends the other day and we all agreed that less than 7 percent of the union membership are members of the Communist Party, but 95 percent of the union officials are members of the Communist Party. It makes it that really a handful of the union membership are actually controlling the whole destiny of the union. And I know, from my experience, the Communist Party, to gain its own ends, will wreck the National Maritime Union as they wrecked the Marine Workers Industrial Union and wrecked the National Miners' Union, and as they have wrecked any number of unions in the past, and will wreck the whole C. I. O., or the whole A. F. of L. if they get enough of the membership to gain their ends.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCustion, from your experience with the Communist Party and trade-union work for the party, will you tell the committee what is the Communist Party's primary interest in the trade-union field? Is it to help the workers and look after the best interests of the workers in a particular industry?

Mr. McCUSTION. No; it cannot be said to be. The Communist Party will go to work and they will actually have all of their forces at the beginning of the building of a union, or at the beginning of a strike, and their forces will work in a very progressive manner, but every bit of this work will be directed to gain control of the union, to use it for their own purposes.

As an example of this, in the very early days of the National Maritime Union, the Communists even, for a few days or a few months, stepped aside and let the general rank-and-file members of the union go out and take the hard knocks on the picket line and get split heads, go to jail, and they went along and followed the lead of the rank and file and actually conducted themselves all right. But the minute things became stabilized, they came in to bring outside issues in. They led the recruiting for Spain, and they came in to bring in the issue of this and that organization, to take up collections for this and that, and encouraged unwarranted actions in the union—actions that could only serve to stir up discontent. And, as I said, they actually crippled the possibility of the union.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask you a question right there. That is the thing that has impressed me, Mr. McCustion, that wherever the Communists are active, or where they have control of an organization, whether it be a labor organization or what not, we notice that the political activities are brought to the fore constantly. I have been wondering all along how it could help the workers' conditions in America for the Communist Party, or this particular organization, to recruit volunteers for Spain, or to advocate the lifting of the embargo for Spain, or whether it could help the working conditions and

hours in any given industry to place an embargo upon Germany, or an embargo upon Italy, or an embargo upon Japan. And I have often wondered what interest the dairymen had in a marine union, and vice versa, and I have noticed all sorts of political questions constantly creeping in, and in every one of these so-called front organizations you will find some third person in control.

Mr. McCUISTION. The Communist is trained in organizational work, and it is constantly impressed on his mind that he has to consider himself as a professional revolutionist rather than a professional trade-unionist.

A few years ago, when the party was taking a militant stand on certain things, before they began to adopt the popular issues, why, a member of the party on trial before a magistrate or judge in any kind of a case most often gave his occupation as that of a professional revolutionist. Of course, they changed that around somewhat recently, and the whole thing is that the party specializes in certain fields.

For instance, in my case, I was taken off of the water front at one time and sent inland to Kansas City to organize the needle-trade workers, and I could not thread a needle and I won't know anything like that. But they try to build up a cadre of professional organizers and, as I said, you will find seamen even today working in all kinds of industries as organizers around the country. I know in the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee there are several seamen, and I know in the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. unions, both, this happens.

Now, the difference between them and the professional organizer is that the professional organizer puts his interest in the union first, and his own interests, if he is a faker; while the professional revolutionist puts the interest of his party first and, as such, is an opportunist to a degree, working to divert the union activities to serve the interests of his party.

Mr. STARNES. That is very interesting and informative. Then it may be truthfully said when you find one of these professional revolutionists working as an organizer in any given field other than what he is really trained for in the beginning, so far as trade-unions are concerned, that is an indication, where he has not unmasked himself and divulged the real purpose—is an indication that the Communist influence is beginning to seep into that trade-union.

Mr. McCUISTION. It is an indication that the Communist Party is developing its influence for a separate thing. I can truthfully say I was never really interested in what happened at the town meetings of the Communist Party. That is what caused me to get expelled five times from the Communist Party, because I had no interest in anything the party was doing and, of course, overestimated my own influence and underestimated the influence of the Communist Party. We thought we could use the Communist Party and, indeed, found the Communist Party was using us, and the discord was pretty mutual when they no longer needed us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuistion, you have finished explaining the organizational set-up of the various groups or organizations which you named this morning as the forerunners of the present N. M. U. Could you say that the Communist Party was in absolute control of all of those organizations?

Mr. McCuiston. All of the organizations affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League and to the Red International of Labor Unions, they were in positive control, because I cannot remember over a few isolated cases where the officials were ever elected and, when they were elected, the Communist Party selected the candidates and, whenever there were two candidates running against each other, it was to determine who was the most popular.

Mr. Whitley. Will you just name over again for the record the various organizations in existence from 1921 up until 1928 or 1929, that were Communist controlled?

Mr. McCuiston. There were none Communist controlled. Up until 1928 there were absolutely none in the marine industry Communist controlled.

Mr. Whitley. But that was during the period they were establishing themselves?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. They were just beginning to creep in and actually to teach themselves something about the industry. The seaman is not naturally very politically minded, because there are not 5 percent of them that ever vote even. They have no regular homes and are migratory to that degree, and they are not interested in hunger marches and other things.

Mr. Whitley. I have here a photostatic copy of page 3 of the Daily Worker of May 13, 1932, which has to do with the "Danish Seamen's Union Votes to Join Red International." Will you explain the significance of that to the committee?

Mr. McCuiston (after examining). This was a misstatement on the part of the Daily Worker. It was a little bit of propaganda there. It was merely the firemen's section of the Danish Seamen's Union that voted to join the Red International and in one way it paralleled the same thing that happened to us, except they were not able to persuade our marine firemen here to go down the line into the party at that time with them. Later on, a couple of years later, the Danish seamen withdrew.

The significance was—it says "On the same day that Thomas Ray, representing the seamen of the Pacific coast, sailed to attend the World Unity Congress being held in Hamburg May 20," and then identifies some of the international delegates as seamen and harbor workers. It identifies the fact that the Marine Workers Industrial Union is being called upon to really support this whole movement, this whole international movement. Over in the left-hand corner it also refers to the beginning of their intensified anti-"red"-baiting campaign.

Mr. Thomas. What is the date of that?

Mr. McCuiston. May 1932.

Mr. Whitley. It is dated May 13, 1932. In other words, this has to do with the international aspects of the N. M. U., which professes to be strictly an American organization?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. Tommy Ray was a member of the executive committee of the I. S. H.

Mr. Whitley. I offer that as an exhibit.

(The photostat above referred to was received in evidence and marked as an exhibit.)

[From the Daily Worker, New York, Friday, May 13, 1932]

DANISH SEAMEN'S UNION VOTES TO JOIN RED INTERNATIONAL—AMERICAN DELEGATE SAILS FOR WORLD UNITY CONGRESS, IN HAMBURG

NEW YORK.—On the same day that Thomas Ray, representing the seamen of the Pacific coast sailed to attend the World Unity Congress being held in Hamburg May 20 a cable was received by the M. W. I. U. from the Secretariat of the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers, informing that the Danish Seamen's Union (reformist) affiliated to the yellow International Transport Federation, had voted to affiliate to the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers.

The affiliation of the Danish Seamen's Union, which has a large membership, is a big triumph for the revolutionary movement and for the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers, especially, and marks the climax of a long struggle by the rank and file, lead by the "Red" Trade Union Opposition, against the reformist officials.

William Larsen, a leading member of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, who was deported last fall at the request of the I. L. A. officials for participation in the Hoboken longshoremens' outlaw strike, has been one of the leaders of the Red Opposition since his return to Denmark.

The call for the World Unity Congress, issued by the I. S. H., to form an international fighting front against the shipowners and against imperialist war, has met with a splendid response throughout the world. In addition to Ray, four other marine workers have left for the Congress carrying with them the demands and proposals of the seamen, longshoremen and harbor workers of the U. S.

The National Bureau of the M. W. I. U. is calling upon all of its members to prepare to greet the return of the delegates by strengthening the American section of the I. S. H. by carrying through the membership drive already well under way, by intensified work amongst the longshoremen, and to prepare to place itself at the head of the struggles which are already beginning to develop against the sweeping wage cuts, some as high as \$40, which have been made by the shipowners during the past month.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). The date seems to be cut off of this photostat of the Daily Worker. Do you know what the date of that is [exhibiting]?

Mr. McCUSTION (after examining). I can tell you approximately.

Mr. WHITLEY. It has to do with the delegates from the United States.

Mr. McCUSTION. I do not remember the exact year, but that was about 1932—1932; yes—because that is the time we had to do a lot of explaining how the International Congress of Seamen took up 2 days on the *Scottsboro case*—we had to do a lot of explaining to the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. And does that have to do with the delegates from the United States?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; they are mentioned in there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were those delegates to the International Congress of Seamen and Harbor Workers?

Mr. McCUSTION. That was George Mink—it states here, George Mink, heading the American delegation, introduced resolution demanding the release of Tom Mooney. Tommy Ray is identified, and Lorenz is identified. Lorenz, I understand, was not a delegate to that; Lorenz was a delegate to the Friends of the Soviet Union to go to Moscow and, on the way back, happened to be in Hamburg, and they got an extra American delegate at very little expense, so they utilized that fact.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does this further have to do with the Congress, the number of delegates, and the distribution of those delegates?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes: it has to do with that completely.

Mr. Whitley. How many delegates were there at that International Congress?

Mr. McCuiston. There were something over 100, representing about 27 countries. It says here "139 delegates representing the seamen and harbor workers of 27 countries," including Japan, China, and India.

They also mention in this, which is significant, that this is supposed to be a trade-union congress, and they open it by singing the International.

Mr. Whitley. That has as much to do with trade-union activities as the *Scottsboro case* did, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. The *Scottsboro case* might have had some connection with it.

(The photostat last above referred to was received in evidence and marked as an exhibit.)

[From Daily Worker—May 23, 1932—Page 1, Columns 2 and 3]

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SEAMEN AND HARBOR WORKERS CHEERS SCOTTSBORO MOTHER

(By cable to Daily Worker)

HAMBURG, GERMANY, May 22.—A huge banner demanding the release of the nine framed-up innocent Scottsboro Negro boys hangs over the entrance to the large hall which is the scene of the First World Congress of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers. The Congress includes 139 delegates representing the seamen and harbor workers of 27 countries.

Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of two of the Scottsboro boys, and J. Louis Engdahl are seated among the fractional delegates. A Scottsboro resolution calling for the organization of Scottsboro Defense Committees on all ships and in all harbors to cooperate with the International "Red" aid has been unanimously adopted. It was greeted with a thunder of cheers and applause.

George Mink, heading the American delegation, introduced a resolution demanding the release of Tom Mooney.

Tommy Ray of San Francisco, one of the American delegation, made the report on war. The American delegates, Lorenz of New Orleans, and Mink of New York, in discussion raised the Scottsboro and Mooney persecutions as part of the war preparations of American imperialism.

Walter, secretary of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers, reported and by presenting concrete facts proved that the crisis of world capitalism is rapidly deepening, with worsening conditions for the seamen and harbor workers and the whole working class. He showed deepening poverty and famine especially among the colonial seamen and dockers. He presented proof showing a decrease of forty percent in the transport trade with fourteen million tons of shipping laid up, and 24 percent of the ships sailing with cargoes. He showed on the other hand, that the ship tonnage of the Soviet Union has increased 100 percent over 1913, with higher standards for the seamen and harbor workers and no unemployment among any group of Soviet workers.

The Congress sounded the keynote for a united front struggle against wage cuts and imperialist war, and for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union and a stern fight against the transport of arms and munitions to Japan for use against China and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Whitley. This is an excerpt from the Daily Worker of Friday, April 22, 1932, having to do with propaganda for the Soviet and the International Seamen and Harbor Workers [exhibiting]?

Mr. McCuiston (after examining). Yes. This identifies the type of work they were carrying on—the fact that they had the International Seamen's Club set up, the activity that was carried on in Lenin-grad, where they had an elaborate club to introduce American seamen into the social life of Russia.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where is this particular article from?

Mr. McCUISTION. From Leningrad. It is written by "Jack Brown, a seaman."

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he an American seaman?

Mr. McCUISTION. Jack Brown was more or less a name that was used by anybody that wanted to write an article and not identify himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. What you would call a pen name?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. I have used it myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have used it yourself?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

(The photostat last above referred to was received in evidence and marked as an exhibit.)

SEAMEN ALWAYS WANT TO RETURN TO THE PORT OF LENINGRAD—AMERICAN SAILOR TELLS HOW SOVIET GOVERNMENT TREATS MARINERS FROM ALL LANDS—MEDICAL AND DENTAL TREATMENT GIVEN FREE TO VISITING FOREIGN SEAMEN

By Jack Brown (a seaman)

LENINGRAD, U. S. S. R.—Hello, Doc! This is the welcome that issues cordially from many a foc'sle on the ships berthed in Leningrad Harbor when the doctor from the Medical Station for Foreign Seamen makes his appearance on board ship. He is known to the seamen as one of themselves, having served on ships for many years. He is also known as a representative of an institution which works for the benefit of seamen without any ulterior motive in view, something unique in the experience of seafarers, accustomed as they are to the slimy attentions of the missions and other organized gangs of grafters working on behalf of the shipowners.

THE MEDICAL STATION

The Medical Station was first opened in 1930 as a first-aid station and dedicated to the memory of Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian explorer, who organized relief during the famine period in the then newly-born Soviet Union. Since that time it has been enlarged and now consists of a clinic and a dispensary. There is a department for venereal disease and a dental hospital nearby which is connected with the station. Three doctors and a nurse constitute the staff of the station, which is to be open day and night in the future.

During 1932 a medical service is to be established and thus every medical and sanitary need of the seamen will be catered for without them being obliged to leave the dock area. The station is scrupulously clean and many windows give plenty of light and fresh air and a good view of the Baretshnoy Basin, which in summer and autumn is crowded with shipping of all nationalities. Just to enter the station is to be interested. Models, pictures, and charts show measures of labor protection obtaining among Soviet seamen, the danger of infection from the drinking of impure water, statistics of adult and infant mortality in the city (which by the way illustrate one of the triumphs of the October revolution), and other things of interest.

The faces of Lenin and Stalin, Nansen and Jeunkidze look down from the walls. The latter is the president of the Society of the Red Cross and Red Crescent of U. S. S. R. under whose auspices the service was started.

2,167 TREATED

As an example of the good work done here it may be mentioned that in 1931 medical treatment was given to 2,167 seamen and an additional 300 seamen received dental treatment. Medical treatment is entirely free and no humiliating questions are asked as to earnings and personal expenditure as is the case in public hospitals in Britain. Dental treatment, such as plumbing, extractions, etc., are entirely free. Should a seaman desire a set of false teeth he is charged for the materials only and then at half of their cost price. This is necessary because such materials have to be imported. The manufacture of the teeth costs the men nothing.

In cases where seamen are sent to hospitals in the city, the staff of the medical station for foreign seamen does not lose interest in them.

VISITED IN HOSPITAL

The men are visited in hospital and newspapers in their respective languages are provided. If a seaman is too ill to write letters, this is done for him. Sick seamen left behind without clothes are provided with them and, in short, their requirements are studied down to the last detail.

OFFICERS PROTEST

The work of the station is often hampered by the opposition of ships' captains, possibly acting under the instructions of the owners, but sometimes because they themselves are fascist minded. Such captains and officers try to poison the minds of the seamen against the station, so that they will refuse the hand of class aid and comradeship extended to them by the first working-class state.

This is effective only in a few cases now, the seamen who are treated carrying the truth to their comrades. Of all workers needing medical care seamen are in the front rank. Deaths from accidents and sickness are higher among seafarers than among any other class of worker and to those familiar with the living conditions of seamen on the ships of capitalist countries this is not surprising. Typical of these conditions are those existing on a Norwegian ship that visited Leningrad last year.

The sailors' fore'sle is a veritable hellhole. The place is ill-lit and the ventilation is bad. There is accommodation for eight men and a small mess table jammed up against the bulkhead. The cemented deck runs with water day and night, this leaking from a lavatory pipe which runs from the bulkhead to the deckhead and which necessitates continual stooping on the part of the men. Such foul conditions, together with the bad food given, are responsible for the prevalence of sickness among seamen on capitalist-owned ships.

As it is among seamen that the station carries on its work it is natural that there should be a bond of interest between the station and the International Seamen's Club in Leningrad. This, however, has found expression but feebly up till now, but in 1932 it is hoped to organize in conjunction with the club lantern lectures on medical subjects and excursions to the "houses of sanitary enlightenment." This is a step in the right direction, because although both institutions do work of a different type, cooperation can only result in good for both.

The international character of the work of the station is best illustrated by the following figures. Of the 2,107 seamen receiving treatment last year 30 percent were Scandinavian, 25 percent German, 20 percent British and American, 20 percent came from the Baltic countries, Latvia, Finland, etc., and the remaining 5 percent were of other nationalities. No matter from what country they come, or what their rating, they are all accorded the same attention. The variety of the treatment is illustrated by the following: In 1931, of cases treated 50 percent were surgical, 30 percent were venereal and 15 percent were therapeutic.

LETTERS OF APPRECIATION

Statistics are not the only things kept by the workers in the station for foreign seamen. They possess a book full of appreciations written by grateful seamen which they like to show as best emphasizing the value of their work. The seamen of many countries write letters from abroad thanking the staff for their attention and praising the work of the station. An American from the *Argosy* writes: "I wish to express my gratitude for the kind and courteous treatment from your station during my two months of illness."

An English seaman from the *S. S. Klyme Rock* says: "Dear friends: I have been under the treatment at this Red Cross station for an injured arm and I have had every possible care taken of it. I am only a stranger in the country, but I am sure that I could not have had better treatment anywhere."

JACK BROWN.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another photostat from the Marine Workers Voice [exhibiting]. Will you identify or explain the significance of that to the committee?

Mr. McCUSTION (after examining). This came out at the time when the strikes were first beginning to develop on the water front on a small scale, following the California strike of the dock and river

men and the New Orleans rivermen's strike, and a few things like this, where the Communist Party first began, through the medium of the Profintern, and through the medium of the Communist Party of this country, to really begin to bring out the importance of building a union, instead of having it exist merely as a propaganda organization. It lays down the policy that is followed exactly today; this is exactly the policy that the N. M. U. follows today, that is laid down here in this country.

Mr. STARNES. In the Daily Worker?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; in the Daily Worker.

(The photostat above referred to was received in evidence and marked as an exhibit.)

FACE TO THE WATER FRONT!

(By Ralph Simons)

(This is the first of three articles on the importance of the marine transport industry, the weaknesses of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and how to overcome them, the lack of our party's attention that must be corrected. These articles should be read by all workers, and not alone by those in the marine industry.—Editor.)

The question of strengthening and developing the revolutionary trade-union work on the water front was never so sharp and pressing as at the present time. The struggle against the intensive military preparations, in the first place against the only fatherland of the working class of the world, the Soviet Union, the intensive organization of an imperialist united front in order to choke the land which is building socialism, in the organization of which imperialist front the Government of the United States plays a leading role, will be successful only if this struggle becomes an organic part of the everyday struggle of the party and the revolutionary unions of the U. S. A. and not a campaign carried on from time to time.

There is no doubt that with the first cannon shot, all the material resources, all the industry and transport will be mobilized and put on a war basis. All factories having any military significance, or being of any help for military purposes, will be used for war and militarized. The division between the front and the rear will be done away with and the whole working class will be directly or indirectly drawn into the war hysteria. No doubt such basic industries as metal, chemical, coal, automobile, and also railroad and marine transport will play an important and decisive role.

Therefore, it is imperative that in these industries we must work harder in order to stop this coming war adventure and, even when this war will become a fact, to struggle to turn the imperialist war into a class war—civil war—a war of millions of toiling masses against those who make wars.

The winning of the workers employed in the war industry, railroad and marine transport to the side of the class struggle—this is the task which must be placed before the revolutionary trade-union movement in the U. S. A. and which, notwithstanding the difficulties connected with this, must be decided in the affirmative.

WAR PREPARATION

From this point of view, special attention must be given to the work on the waterfront. The marine industry will play a very important part in the coming war. Already now the merchant navy of the U. S. is preparing for war purposes. They are under the control and guidance of the U. S. Shipping Board. The U. S. Shipping Board is assisting the ship owners in the building of ships and giving them financial assistance. The rapid rationalization in the marine industry is connected with these war preparations. The plan for putting the industry on a war basis can be said to have really got under way in 1928 when the Jones-White Act and the Naval Reserve Bill were passed. Under the Jones-White Act \$250,000,000, were appropriated for building of 64 new merchant vessels that could be converted into auxiliary cruisers when necessary.

Under the Act the ship owners receive long term credit loans up to three-quarters of the value of the ship under construction. The only stipulation is that ships be built according to naval specifications and under naval supervision.

Approximately 400,000 marine workers are employed in the industry in the following capacity:

Seamen, 180,000; longshoremen, 100,000; fishermen, 20,000; officers, 40,000; harbor, rivermen, lighthousemen etc., 60,000. Among these are 9.1 per cent Negroes, 6.5 per cent Chinese, Japanese and Philippine workers, British 11.9 per cent, German 7.5 per cent, Spanish 5.1 per cent, Norwegian 2.6 per cent, Dutch 1.6 per cent, Swedish 1.5 per cent, Danish 1.1 per cent, Central American 1 per cent.

The government is trying to change the relations of the nationalities. Under the Jones-White Act 50 percent of the seamen must be citizens and at the end of four years (1932) 2-3 of the crews on these ships built under the Act must be American. This process of terrorism and deportation of the militant foreign born and their replacement by Americans, is part of the war preparations.

SERIOUS ASSISTANCE REQUIRED

From the point of view of the feverish war preparations, the situation in the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the weaknesses and shortcomings in this field of most militant class struggle fronts, cannot be overlooked. Notwithstanding decision of the Profintern and the two last Plenum of the T. U. U. L. which underlined the importance of strengthening of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the necessity of paying the utmost attention and giving help in this work, this field of struggle of the revolutionary unions in the United States remains unsatisfactory. The Marine Workers Industrial Union is not getting help from any other of the industrial unions and this makes it harder to overcome the weaknesses and shortcomings and to make progress in the work.

We must recognize and sharply emphasize that the necessary and serious attention is not given to the work on the waterfront by the Party and by the entire revolutionary trade union movement. This is a reflection and concrete manifestation of the underestimation of the war danger which must be immediately overcome. The present situation in the work on the waterfront cannot remain any longer.

What are the main weaknesses and shortcomings? First of all, the Marine Workers Industrial Union did not yet get out of the stage of agitation and propaganda; it is still a propaganda center instead of a center of action.

Instead of developing broad mass struggles, the union is still carrying on work within its own shell. The revolutionary program of the Marine Workers Industrial Union puts the union in a bright light in the marine transport field against the class collaboration unions which are actually strike-breaking instruments in the hands of the organized owners of the marine industry.

It is one thing to have a good revolutionary program and another thing to carry it out in life. We must state that the question of defending the everyday needs of the marine and dock workers, the question of preparing struggles for concrete economic demands, do not occupy the center place in the work of the union.

Going through the militant school of economic and class solidarity in this present period of crisis, mass unemployment, growing discontent of the masses, stubborn fights, the work of the union takes on more and more a political character, because it puts the workers face to face not only with the bosses' organizations, with the strike-breaking reformist bureaucracy, but also with the bourgeois government. Only in this manner will the marine workers be able to arm themselves with class consciousness and in an organized way come out against the imperialist war and intervention and carry out their class duty.

The union will be able to win the confidence of the marine workers only when it will come out as a capable organizer of militant resistance and struggles against the wage cuts which are being carried through by the ship owners. When the marine workers will see with their own eyes that the Union has not only a good program, that its agitation has revolutionary contents, but that the union is able to transform its agitational fighting slogans into life, and that the union is able to prepare, lead and win struggles.

Only then the marine workers will understand why they need the union, they will have sympathy for the union and they will be drawn into the union and fight under its leadership. The fact is that the Marine Workers Industrial Union, with a very few minor exceptions, did not carry on any important strikes and, more than that, did not prepare any struggles for economic demands on the American boats and in the docks.

In a few cases the union participated in strikes which were led by the reactionary unions (Galveston, 5,000 longshoremen led by the I. L. A.; New Orleans, 6,000 longshoremen led by the I. L. A., etc.). In some cases the union led strikes directly (Stockton, 200 rivermen; Galveston fish headers, New Orleans, September 30, 600 rivermen; Duluth, April 30, 600 dockers).

It is shown in all these strikes that the preparations for these strikes were very weak, that new methods were not brought into the leading of the strikes, the striking masses were not directly activated. But what must be especially emphasized is that these strikes demonstrated the willingness and readiness of the masses to fight against wage cuts. In Philadelphia our preparations for the strike and the demands were made without the knowledge of the marine workers, which naturally brought negative results. We lost 900 longshoremen members.

If these strikes would have been prepared better and if in these strikes a series of mistakes would not have been made, these strikes could have been won. With the exception of the strike of the German marine workers, in which the Industrial Union now shows activity, in the recent period the union has not led any more or less serious economic struggles. And this in the face of the very good objective conditions.

MR. WHITLEY. And here is one other excerpt, a photostatic copy of the Marine Workers Voice, having to do with "Danish Firemen Take Red Course" is the caption of the article. Will you explain the significance of that?

MR. McCUSTION. This says they "elect 23 of 29 delegates to union congress, win all offices, vote I. S. H. affiliation." That means the Danish firemen were fooled just like we were fooled. They had a genuine trade-union movement and they persuaded them they could not get anywhere without the assistance of the Communist Party. So they affiliated. As I say, several years later, they withdrew, after they had found their affiliation wrecked their union, practically.

MR. WHITLEY. That is, they affiliated with the I. S. H.?

MR. McCUSTION. Yes; and internationally with the Red International of Labor Unions at the same time.

(The photostat last above referred to was received in evidence and marked as an exhibit.)

DANISH FIREMEN TAKE RED COURSE—ELECT 23 OF 29 DELEGATES TO UNION CONGRESS, WIN ALL OFFICES—VOTE I. S. H. AFFILIATION

Electing 23 of the 29 delegates to the Danish Marine Firemen's Union Congress, the Red Trade Union opposition group affiliated with the International of Seamen and Harborworkers deposed the I. T. F. (reformist international of transport workers) leadership in the Danish Marine union, and put revolutionary workers in their place. The congress also ordered a referendum vote on the question of withdrawing from the I. T. F. and affiliating with the International of Seamen and Harborworkers.

This victory was the culmination of a long struggle against the reformist leaders who have betrayed the workers on all fronts. The result of the congress means that a reformist union which for 35 years has been in the hands of the social democrats, has been won to the program of revolutionary action.

Its importance is all the greater when we recall that it is won in a country that has for years been influenced by reformist and social democratic traditions. The I. T. F. considered the fight a crucial point in its career and bent every effort to prevent the R. T. U. opposition from gaining control. It even imported Edo Fimmen, head of the I. T. F., to prevent the change. However, the Danish Firemen, who were represented at the Hamburg World Unity Congress last year, carried out the program of the I. S. H. and ousted the traitors, electing revolutionary workers in their places.

The victory was the result of systematic daily work on the economic field. Every ship entering port was visited by the I. S. H. group. Every struggle found

the I. S. H. members leading the fight of the rank and file, for better wages, for enforcement of the wage scales and working conditions, in support of crews of foreign ships striking in Danish ports, and against shipments of munitions.

The work was carried on among the employed and the unemployed. The rotary system of shipping, in Danish ships, made work among the unemployed invaluable, for the worker ashore now would be on a ship in a few months, and carry the I. S. H. program with him.

The result was that the I. S. H. program was spread over every ship in all foreign ports where Danish seamen shipped. In all questions of undermanning, or handling ships manned by scabs (the seamen of Sweden, Finland and Latvia have been on strike during the last nine months, and two strike still continue), the tactics of the I. S. H. have been brought into the foreground and the international solidarity of the I. S. H. exposed the scab tactics of the I. T. F. officials, who forbade solidarity strikes by longshoremen in almost every port where the I. T. F. unions control the longshoremen.

The I. S. H. program of international solidarity to prevent war shipments was also brought to the foreground. Early this year the I. S. H. members in Copenhagen led a struggle against shipment of munitions in the S. S. *Jolantha*. In that action the I. T. F. leaders cooperated with the police to ship war materials to Japan. The I. S. H. also played an active role in urging foreign seamen to strike in Danish ports when strikes were called in their home country. The Latvian strike was started and largely planned in I. S. H. headquarters in Copenhagen. The I. T. F. leaders of the Latvian union only entered the strike after two weeks of rank and file action. Then they entered the strike to betray it, but have not succeeded because the Latvian seamen followed the I. S. H. program.

Besides winning all posts in the Danish Firemen's Union, the I. S. H. group elected their candidate head of the Copenhagen local, and put him in charge of shipment. Therefore the old discrimination against revolutionary workers in shipping out is ended.

One of the chief weapons of the I. S. H. group in their struggle for the Danish Firemen's Union was their paper the "Red Course," of which 5,000 were circulated among the Danish marine workers monthly. The paper was supported entirely by collections made for that purpose among the marine workers.

This victory of the I. S. H. has sharpened the struggle against the reformist leadership in the I. T. F. unions. The I. T. F. realizes its importance, and fears further losses among the transport unions. A campaign of terror among the seamen of Sweden, conducted by the reformist leadership, has been largely counteracted by the refusal of the workers themselves to support it. Will Sweden be next?

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, are you acquainted with any of the following, and if so, please identify them and tell how you became acquainted with them: William Z. Foster?

MR. MCCUISTON. Yes. I met him in numerous meetings of the National Maritime Union, where he presided over the national fraction of the National Maritime Union.

MR. WHITLEY. And what is his position in the Communist Party?

MR. MCCUISTON. Well, when I first met him he was secretary, but now he is the chairman of the Communist Party.

MR. STARNES. Was he a seaman?

MR. MCCUISTON. Not that that I know of.

MR. WHITLEY. But he presided over the Communist Party fraction of the maritime industry?

MR. MCCUISTON. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Earl Browder?

MR. MCCUISTON. In the same manner. In addition, I was with Earl Browder in 1934 in Buffalo, N. Y., shortly prior to May 1, and we were holding a meeting with representatives of the central committee of the Canadian Party and planning for an international demonstration at Niagara Falls. The police raided the meeting and Browder identified himself as a member of the executive committee

of the I. W. O. to the police. There were copies of the May Day issue of the Daily Worker there, though, so the police knew then, but they evidently did not realize the international significance of the meeting; because, after shaking the place down and slapping one of the Negro members around a little bit, and one of the Canadians around a little bit, why, they went away and left us alone, also warning me I had better get out of town, because they had seen too much of me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Jack Johnstone?

Mr. McCUISTION. The first time I met Jack Johnstone was when he was in charge of the trade-union work of the Communist Party in New York, and when we were deciding as to who would be delegates to the fifth congress of the R. I. T. U. This was a national fraction meeting night prior to the opening of the Marine Workers' League, and he was presiding.

Mr. WHITLEY. A national fraction meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; of the marine section of the Communist Party, and he was presiding. So we got a little rebellious there and decided to elect Red McGrath, and do quite a few other things. He said finally it was no use; they had decided to name this official, Tommy Ray, to represent us. As a result, we got our orders, and as a result, that was the first time I dropped out of the party. I got out of the party the next day, and some others.

Mr. STARNES. Was Jack Johnstone a seaman?

Mr. McCUISTION. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. But he was deciding the policies of the workers' group?

Mr. McCUISTION. He was deciding the policy of the workers' group; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what position Jack Johnstone is holding in the Communist Party at the present time?

Mr. McCUISTION. I don't; no. I know I see his name now and then cropping up; but it will be in a key position somewhere, because he is one of the members of the Central Committee, and one of the prominent members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Jack Stachel?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. I worked pretty regularly with Jack Stachel in 1932 and 1933, when Jack Stachel, if not on the stationery, was actually the head of the Trade Union Unity League, and he was at all national fraction meetings, and even attended all national bureau meetings of the National Maritime Union itself, as representing the T. U. U. L., and in the fraction meeting as representing the Central Committee of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he a seaman?

Mr. McCUISTION. No. He said he worked 5 days as a longshoreman one time, but I doubt it.

Mr. WHITLEY. He represented the Communist Party, but took a leading part in determining the maritime policies in the organization and unions?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. William Weinstone?

Mr. McCUISTION. William Weinstone at one time was head of the whole national fraction. You see, the marine section did not respect party policies as much at that time as the other unions did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did the party give the marine workers more latitude?

Mr. McCUISTION. They gave us a pretty large leeway. In other words, we could miss unit meetings, and refuse to attend demonstration meetings, and got by with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why was that?

Mr. McCUISTION. Because we were a basic industry and the concentration point of a possible Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were interested enough in that industry that they overlooked some of the discipline?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And gave you more leeway?

Mr. McCUISTION. We obtained more leeway. We were in sort of rebellion over the policy—this was in 1933—over the policy relative to the west coast, and at that time, why, William Weinstone was brought in to us and introduced—brought into the national fraction meetings—and he came with authority direct from Moscow and said he wanted us to understand we could not think of adopting a separate policy for the American seaman that they would not adopt in all other countries, and so the policy henceforth would have to be toward getting into the reformation unions and seizing the records and control of the reformation unions, as he called them, and turning them into class-struggle unions.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time, had Mr. Weinstone just shortly before returned from Moscow, where he was a representative of the American party to the Comintern?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was what we were told, but I did not know Mr. Weinstone personally, except meeting him several times. I know he was kidded a lot, and him and George Mink were always at one another's throat—another case of jealousy. Mink used to kid him about being a eugenic father, or something like that.

Well, there was one of the seamen at this meeting who poked Weinstone in the jaw over some remark there. This was Joe Bianca, who was killed in Spain later on, and Weinstone told him he would be expelled from the party for doing certain things, and Mink said to Weinstone, "You will be expelled from the party before any of these seamen will."

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Beal testified here recently that when he was in Moscow Weinstone was there as the representative of the American party. Are you acquainted with William Weiner?

Mr. McCUISTION. I know him. I gave him money at various times—a good many times.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his position?

Mr. McCUISTION. He handles money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he the financial secretary?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. He does not handle the actual cash, but he passes on it. Benson handles the money, and Weinstone gives the orders.

Mr. WHITLEY. He gives the orders, and the other man handles the cash?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir. That is Benson. The name changes, but the individual is the same.

Mr. Whitley. Weiner makes the clearance or gives the orders, and Benson handles the cash?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir.

Mr. Whitley. Is Weiner a seaman?

Mr. McCuiston. No, sir; he never participated in anything except financial affairs. Once in awhile I would meet him on the street. He was a hail fellow well met, but do not ask anything about business. He would tell you about his great hurry. He had five or six telephones in his office, and he was always either borrowing a thousand dollars or paying back a thousand dollars.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with Clarence Hathaway?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir; very well.

Mr. Whitley. Under what circumstances did you know him?

Mr. McCuiston. I knew him as a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, and I knew him when he was presiding over meetings. He is the editor of the Daily Worker. Personally, he is a friend and a good companion. We have been often together, and have been drinking together. He is a man who more or less plays the role of looking after the young ones or the young members or raising the young ones up. He was a man to talk to about almost anything.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with Israel Amter?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir.

Mr. Whitley. How did you become acquainted with him?

Mr. McCuiston. I knew him as a district organizer of the New York district, and later on as State organizer, when they changed to State organizers instead of district organizers. I knew him as presiding over various meetings. I knew him as presiding over international bureau meetings. He was a member of the executive committee of the Trade Union Unity League. I met Amter through a man who testified the other day, Joseph Zack. Joseph Zack introduced me to him first.

Mr. Whitley. Do you know Joseph Zack?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir; I know him very well. I was guilty of making the motion that resulted in his removal as the head of the Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. Whitley. You knew him when he was the head of the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with Walter Hoenig?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir; he is the editor of the official publication of the Trade Union Unity League. We had to go to him for instructions on how to prepare articles for publication. He conducted an informal educational course in trade-union journalism.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with James Matles?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir; I met him first when he was organizational secretary of the Communist Party, New York district. He was also active in the Metal Workers Industrial Union. Since then I have come in contact with him at the Pittsburgh C. I. O. convention. I understand he is the power behind the throne in the United Radio Workers. Although he is in a trade union, he takes his orders from

the Communist Party. He has been active, and has a good record in trade-union work. He is a member of the Central Committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with David Leeds?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you meet him, and under what circumstances?

Mr. McCUSTION. I knew him first as financial secretary of the New York district of the Communist Party. We knew him as tight-fisted guy who hated to make subsidies.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he the David Leeds who signed the checks for the Madison Square Garden rally?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; he is the same one. I met him a number of years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. How does the Trade Union Unity League operate with respect to the maritime industry? As I understand it, from previous testimony, the Trade Union Unity League was an independent system of trade unions which the Communist Party at one time set up in this country in competition with existing unions.

Mr. McCUSTION. They operated with the T. U. U. L., but they had no authority over the marine officials, so far as policy went. We would meet with the T. U. U. L., and we used to laugh about it. We would elect a representative to their executive committee, but when we elected him, he would not attend the meetings. We would get money from them to print leaflets, and so forth. Technically, we were affiliated with them, but our authority came direct from Hudson and Ray. In other words, the Trade Union Unity League could not make us subscribe to their general policies.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are referring to participation in the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The M. W. I. U. in their program, beginning with the T. U. U. L., automatically became a member of the Red International Labor Union?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; because the T. U. U. L. was the American section of the Red International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the T. U. U. L. affiliated with the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers?

Mr. McCUSTION. No, sir. That was where we could get off there. We had it from two sources. They might tell us of something that was not in accordance with the policy of the International.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers was a separate and distinct trade-union international which was set up in Moscow, or set up by the Soviet Government, to handle the marine industry throughout the world.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir. It was set up, and the American headquarters were at Hamburg, Germany.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the reason for that?

Mr. McCUSTION. The reason for that was that they could more easily control it. If it were in Moscow, it would be subject to Soviet politics, while if they could separate it from Moscow, they could control it directly without being influenced by the Profintern representative, who might not like the national policy with regard to the marine workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. With reference to the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers. I show you a photostat copy of the Marine Workers Voice, March 1933. Will you explain the significance of this article under the caption "Defend I. S. H. From Fascist Attack"?

DEFEND I. S. H. FROM FASCIST ATTACK

Fascism has broken out in full force in Germany. Hitler has taken command as the last despairing gesture of the German bourgeoisie. His struggle for power is the death struggle of the barons of steel and coal, of electric power and merchant shipping.

The workers of Germany, and especially the revolutionary workers, in their unions and party, face the most difficult period, the period just before the final triumph. How well the labor organizations of Germany can hold together is one of the big tests of how soon the workers will triumph and set up in Germany a workers republic.

On all hands are the enemies seeking to crush the workers, to drive their organizations underground, and destroy them.

Among the organizations Hitler desires to crush is the International of Seamen and Harborworkers, the fighting international of the toilers of the sea, which is putting up a strong and winning battle against the wage cuts, longer hours and starvation plans of the international shipowners.

Marine workers! Rally to the support of your International. Force hands off your fighting organizations. Prepare to DEFEND THE I. S. H.

Mr. McCUSTION. The significance of that was this: Sometime prior to Hitler's rise to power, it was felt that everything that happened in the I. S. H. was known to the Fascist element in Germany, and at the time when Hitler came into power, Waters, the head of the I. S. H., had made certain arrangements to safeguard their records. He had the whole thing arranged there for the two American representatives. He had them set for a get-away, and while they are waiting, he marched in in uniform. He had turned himself into a gestapo agent, and he put them under arrest. He was in the Communist Party; he was a comrade, but he has been with Hitler since Munich.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is an article in this issue, on the same page, under the caption "Build Union at S. American Meet." Will you explain that?

BUILD UNION AT S. AMERICAN MEET

Two great working class congresses are being held in Montevideo. The Marine Workers Industrial Union has sent a delegate to be present at both.

One congress deals with the problem of war. The other deals with the workers in ships and harbors of Latin-American countries. Both involve the marine workers of the United States.

In the first congress the workers of all the South and Central American nations will have representatives, to discuss ways and means of putting a stop, through working-class action, to the slaughter of workers in the Gran Chaco and the upper Amazon Valley, before it spreads into a continent and world-wide massacre of workers in the interests of the rival capitalists.

This involves the marine workers of the United States, because American capital is backing, and supplying arms to its lackeys Bolivia and Colombia, to fight against the lackeys of Britain for control of the resources and markets of the continent.

American ships carry munitions to those countries in spite of the virtuous resolutions and pretenses of Congress and the President. The only thing that will stop the shipment of munitions, which go south by the shipload—notably on Grace Line ships—is straight mass action, by the American marine workers, organized and led by the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

The second congress is the plenum of the seamen and harborworkers of Latin America. This congress will work out the problems of unified organization and

action among all the marine workers of Latin America. They will take up the program of the International of Seamen and Harborworkers: three watches, full crews, full longshore gangs, and resistance to all wage-cuts.

They will also consider affiliation with the I. S. H.

The presence of a member of the National Committee of the Marine Workers Industrial Union puts the North American marine workers in close touch with their fighting fellow workers in Latin America, to work out joint problems of organization and action together.

There are thousands of Spanish-speaking seamen in the ships of the American merchant marine. To organize these seamen is the function of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. To organize them and lead them in the fight for better wages and working conditions, and to eventual freedom from wage slavery.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union will find that jobs grow easier through close cooperation with the marine workers of South and Central America and the Caribbean Islands.

Greetings to the new section of the I. S. H.

Mr. McCUSTION. American ships were carrying munitions to South American countries, or Bolivia and Colombia. The article reads:

This involves the marine workers of the United States, because American capital is backing and supplying arms to its lackeys. Bolivia and Colombia, to fight against the lackeys of Britain for control of the resources and markets of the continent.

American ships carry munitions to those countries in spite of the virtuous resolutions and pretenses of Congress and the President. The only thing that would stop the shipment of munitions, which go south by the shipload—notably on Grace Line ships—is straight mass action, by the American Marine Workers, organized and led by the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostat copy of an article by Ralph Simons. Are you acquainted with Ralph Simons?

Mr. McCUSTION. No, sir. There was a Bill Simons.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is entitled "Face to the Waterfront," and it concerns the Communist Party's marine program.

FACE TO THE WATERFRONT!

By Ralph Simons

(This is the final article of three on this subject, pointing out the importance of the marine industry, the way to overcome the weaknesses in the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, and the need for our Party to correct its lack of attention to the waterfront.—Editor.)

If the work of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union was based on a normal functioning lower organization on the ships and docks, and also in the International clubs, on a broad mass ship delegate system with active participation in the everyday struggles, if in the union there would be more trade union democracy and if the work would be planned and systematically organized, it would be possible, firstly, to educate and bring out new cadres which is very important for the further growth of the union, carry on more energetic and mass struggles and make a break with this inactivity and weakness.

It would be possible on the basis of concrete economic demands for improvement of conditions on the basis of the united front to draw in broad masses of marine workers and longshoremen. It would be possible to successfully unite the struggle for bettering of conditions of the employed with the struggles of the unemployed for concrete immediate help, for unemployment insurance, against using of gangsters by the bosses, and reactionary unions, against injunctions, police terror and deportation of foreign born militant workers.

In this way we would be able to draw in new and broad masses of workers into our union. It would be possible to draw in longshoremen who stand aside of the union. We would be able to get the sympathy of the most exploited groups of workers in the marine transport, the Negroes. It would be possible to organize the broad mass of unorganized marine workers and longshoremen. It would be possible to also build up a strong financial basis.

WORK THEORIES OBSTRUCT WORK

The question of finances becomes very serious. The financial situation in the union is very critical. If the present situation remains, it will bring demoralization of our functionaries and destroy the work. The financial difficulties now become an obstacle in the way of strengthening of the work and all energetic efforts must be made immediately to overcome this. But first of all we should overcome such theories as that the marine worker is different than the worker in other industries, will never pay their dues regularly, that the character of the marine workers is to neglect to fulfill their financial duties to the union, that it is hopeless to try to build up a finance committee directly from the marine workers and build up an independent financial basis.

The orientation of getting financial help from broader revolutionary trade unions and skepticism to various methods for the purpose of getting finances with their own forces, must be overcome. To build up the lower organs of the union, bring in mass activity, develop economic struggles, build up a collective leadership, system and plan means to build up a basis for strengthening the finances of the union.

We must stress the fact that in the work of the Industrial Union there is very little attention being paid to the work in the reactionary unions. This is a big underestimation. There exists in the union an underestimation of the forces and influence of the company unions. There is an absence of understanding in the necessity of developing systematic work in these unions and of building up in them revolutionary oppositions.

MORE WRONG THEORIES.

We often hear such arguments as that these unions are very weak and do not play a role, that first of all we must build up the Industrial Union. There are ideas that the work of winning of the members of reformist unions is impossible because there is no elementary trade union democracy, because they do not call membership meetings of the union.

Instead of mobilizing the forces to penetrate into these unions, carry on systematic work among the members, mobilize the workers to fight for the calling of regular membership meetings, for elementary rights of the members, for trade union democracy, instead of carrying this work on directly among the members of these unions, concentrating mainly and directly on the ships and docks, our comrades are hopelessly resigned.

It is true that numerically the opponent unions are not big and are weak. Against the Marine Workers' Industrial Union there are the International Longshoremen's Association with 34,000 members, the International Seamen's Association with 2,500 members, the I. W. W. with 300 members, and last of all the Associated Marine Workers' Union with 6,000 members. But all these so-called unions, due to their class collaboration policy, with the help of the employers and with the help of the government, will still play an important role in breaking strikes and selling out the workers. The field for organizing strong groups of revolutionary opposition in these unions is very favorable because of the great discontent of the workers who are members of these reactionary unions due to the strikebreaking role which the reactionary leaders of these unions play. But the fact is that no work is also being carried on inside the religious and charity organizations such as the Seamen's Friend, the Seamen's Bethel, Salvation Army, YMCA, the Seamen's Church Institute, etc.

THE PARTY MUST BE CRITICIZED.

The work of the fraction is very weak. Until recent times the marine workers did not feel the guidance of the Party committees. Not only in such places like Philadelphia and Boston, but also in New York they did not feel the guidance and help of the Party organizations. No help was given also by the Central Committee of the party. The Central Committee did not mobilize the party for the work on the waterfront, did not give concrete guidance to the District Party committees in this direction.

Not long ago for the first time the Political Bureau handled and discussed the question of the importance of the work on the waterfront in connection with the war danger. But the decisions of the Political Bureau are not yet carried through by the Party and the respective Party organizations are not mobilized for the work on the waterfront. They do not make any efforts to get nearer

to the waterfront. The Party and the trade union press did not handle the questions of the work on the waterfront.

The Party is not brought forth on the waterfront before the marine and longshoremen masses. They do not hear the voice of the Party. There exists very many concrete facts which manifest the impossible neglect of this work. Amongst the seamen, we trace syndicalist tendencies, these tendencies should be energetically combatted and must be overcome. The Central Committee, therefore, must not only give more attention, but check up the carrying out of its decisions. We should not forget at the same time that if we do not give the necessary attention to the waterfront, the Lovestoneites are making energetic efforts to get connections and find a basis on the waterfront.

We emphasized so sharply the weaknesses and shortcomings, not because there are no positive gains in the union, and not because the condition is so deplorable, but because we are positive that by sharply self-criticizing our weaknesses and shortcomings and drawing the attention of the Party and revolutionary trade unions in the United States and securing their very serious attention and help, it will be possible with the help of the Party and unions in an organized manner to more quickly overcome these weaknesses and shortcomings and create a field for the quicker growth of our union.

No, we are not afraid of self criticism. We are not afraid to openly bring out our failures, mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings. That is our method of overcoming the weaknesses in our work, of mobilizing the masses for this purpose. This open, uncovered self-criticism for us is a guaranty for the success and further development of the work ahead of us.

What must we do as a whole to overcome these weaknesses and shortcomings and guarantee further political and organizational strengthening?

WHAT MUST BE DONE.

First of all the Party and T. U. U. L. must turn their face and get politically and organizationally nearer to the waterfront. Good functioning fractions must be built up in the union and guidance given by the district party committees. We also must strengthen the party work on the waterfront, and at the same time, combat the syndicalist and opportunist tendencies amongst the seamen.

The Industrial Union must intensively go over from propaganda and agitation to action, prepare and carry through on the basis of independent leadership the economic struggles, on the basis of the united front tactic, overcome the tendency to divide strikes into "ours" and "theirs," uniting them with the struggle for unemployment insurance and immediate relief, gradually carrying it to a more highly political level. We must carry through more systematic work in the reformist and company unions and build revolutionary opposition groups there.

This work must be taken care of immediately. For this purpose a special plan must be worked out with concrete tasks. These tasks must be given the greatest attention by the union. We must concentrate in the coming period the work of the union first of all mainly in New York (Atlantic coast district), New Orleans (Gulf coast), and San Francisco (Pacific coast). The union must turn its face to the ships and docks and must carry over the center of gravity of the everyday work of the union onto the ships and docks. We must see that the trade-union groups (ship branches or groups) begin to function regularly. We must instruct the ship groups and ship delegates constantly in their work. We must work out concrete instructions for the work of the ship branches. We must better the work in the International clubs.

Very serious attention must be given to the drawing in of American elements, organize a collective leadership (dock bureau), organize a broad "active," draw into the clubs not only members of the Industrial Union, but also marine workers and longshoremen who are members of the reformist and company unions and unorganized. The activities of the union must be planned and carried out systematically.

RECRUIT MEMBERS!

A broad recruiting campaign should be started, opening it with a two weeks' mass campaign. It is imperative to open wide the doors, particularly for the longshoremen, organizing a special section in the union for the longshoremen. In this broad campaign, special attention should be given to drawing in masses of Negro workers into the union.

In all the organizations from top to bottom, also in the International clubs, special departments for the work among the Negroes should be organized, to more energetically draw them into leading posts of the unions and the clubs.

The "Marine Workers Voice" must be turned into a mass militant organ, must organize a broad net of worker correspondence directly from the ships and docks, organize periodical conferences with the correspondents and readers, start a broad campaign for subscribers and readers, increase the circulation in the coming months to 15,000. Alongside with this we must start systematic cultural and educational work by organizing with the help of the Cultural Federation lectures, reports, concerts, etc. For the purpose of developing new cadres of leaders we must organize short courses on trade union problems.

In order to improve the financial situation of our union, we should find out those who do not pay their dues regularly and carry on a campaign for regular payment of dues. Organize affairs, create finance committees in all organizations, organize auditing committees and have periodical finance auditing, limit the expenses of the union, work out a budget and see that the expenditures are carried on within the budget, take some steps in order to build a strike fund.

All these tasks can be carried through when the Party and T. U. U. L. will give help and guidance to the Marine Workers' Industrial Union and really turn their faces to the waterfront.

In May, 1932, there will be held in Hamburg (Germany), the first International Congress of marine workers, longshoremen, rivermen and fishermen. If instead of the old methods of slow tempo, we will bring in new contents and new methods of mass work, collective leadership, system, plans and mass activity of the membership, the Industrial Union will be able to participate in the International Congress as an important link in the International arm of militant fighters on the transport field and bring to the Congress its share of militant experience in the work.

Mr. McCUSTION. This is a continuation of some articles identified a while ago. This is propaganda that was leading up to the Hamburg International Congress. It deals with that in connection with the building of inner clubs. It says here—

In all the organizations from top to bottom, also in the International clubs, special departments for the work among the Negroes should be organized, to more energetically draw them into leading posts of the unions and the clubs.

He is putting the party organization right into the unions instead of setting it up in district departments.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostat copy of a page of the Marine Workers Voice, January 1932, and call your attention to this article under the heading "Hitler Gangs Raid Unions, Jail Leaders." Does that have to do with the situation you have described with reference to supporting the I. S. H. in Germany?

HITLER GANGS RAID UNIONS, JAIL LEADERS

Adolph Hitler dropped the mask from fascism when he took power in Germany and unleashed a reign of terror against working class organizations and leaders, crushing and smashing the headquarters of all labor organizations. Even Socialist party organizations were smashed, although the Socialist leaders hastened to tell Hitler that they were "loyal" and only wanted the wages they had been drawing.

Among the first to be raided was the International of Seamen and Harbor-workers in Hamburg, with which the M. W. I. U. is affiliated. This was the shipowners revenge on the I. S. H. for stopping a 33% wage cut and 32 other cuts in working and living conditions on German ships last Fall.

When the I. S. H. was raided the Nazis smashed the office furniture destroyed the records and stole the office machinery. Albert Walters, international secretary of the I. S. H. and many others working there, were taken to prison, and beaten and tortured.

PROMISE BOSSES HELP

Next day, Herr Krogmann, new Nazi chief mayor of Hamburg, who is a prominent shipowner, requested Marius Boeger, head of the Hamburg American

Line and chairman of the Hamburg Shipowners Ass'n, "to submit proposals as to how German shipping can best be restored to a flourishing condition," says the New York Times.

That means the renewal of the offensive on wages and working conditions on German ships, in which there will be no union to stop it and the Nazi Government will back the cuts. They have already started firing anti-Nazi's from ships and putting Fascist crews aboard.

WILL AFFECT ALL SEAMEN

The international nature of the marine industry makes it certain that wage cuts on the German ships will be followed by wage cuts on American ships and on all other ships competing with the Fascists. American seamen must fight shoulder to shoulder with the seamen of all countries to keep the standards of the industry up. Otherwise we will all be sinking below the \$12 a month scale now effective on Italian ships where fascism has had its death grip on the workers for ten years.

The I. S. H., acting with other labor organizations of the Fascist countries, Germany, Italy, and Poland, has called an European Anti-Fascist congress which will meet in Copenhagen. American seamen are called on to fight against fascism, as the last weapon of the shipowners and other capitalists to keep the wages and living conditions down.

What fascism means to workers is told in another article in this issue of the Voice.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir. It deals with Hitler's smashing of the organization. The article says:

Even Socialist Party organizations were smashed, although the Socialist leaders hasten to tell Hitler that they were "loyal," and only wanted the wages they had been drawing.

Among the first to be raided was the International Seamen and Harbor Workers in Hamburg, with which the M. W. I. U. is affiliated.

It says further—

When the I. S. H. was raided the Nazis smashed the office furniture, destroyed the records, and stole the office machinery. Albert Walters, international secretary of the I. S. H., and many others working there, were taken to prison and beaten and tortured.

They were beaten and tortured, but Walters did the beating. It was one of the worst blows that the seamen's union ever had.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the general policy of the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. McCUSTION. The general policy of the M. W. I. U. was to build an organization that would be in a position to either gain an independent position where it could smash the other organizations that were definitely dual in character—to either smash the other organizations, or else build up sufficient organizational strength to force amalgamation with the other organizations. That was the definite purpose. The M. W. I. U. was actually leading in mass membership, but at no time was it conceived that the M. W. I. U. would be a permanent organization. Some of us who built the organization up were reluctant to let go of something that we had built, but we were given orders that the M. W. I. U. must be liquidated because the policy now was to go into the American Federation of Labor. We had a very strong organization at that time and were improving the working conditions. The M. W. I. U. was composed entirely of Communists, and they were running the danger of getting in a place where the Communists would be outvoted. However, they decided to liquidate it, and go into the American Federation of Labor with the policy of building nuclei that we could control.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you an original letter dated August 6, 1936, "S. S. *President Taft*, Balboa, Canal Zone," addressed to "Friend Joe." The letter is signed "Fraternally yours, Peter J. Innes, Jr." Are you acquainted with Innes?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain the significance of that letter, and read any portion of it in the record that will explain it. Who is "Dear Joe"?

Mr. McCUISTION. Joe Curran. He had confidential correspondence at that time. The letter says—

Trip so far uneventful, although we—that is, several others and yours truly—did get a couple of scabs here off of the *Santa Clara*, which will probably be good news to you. Have not had any word concerning the M. F. O. W. elections, although I had Sparks contact ARTA in New York last night, and there is a possibility that I may have word tonite. In any event, I hope that everything has come out O. K. for the rank and file.

About the only real significance of that is that they were at that time following out the Communist Party policy which was to utilize the radio operators. They kept the radio operators from affiliating directly with us. They wanted to keep that organization apart so as to use them in communications from ship to shore. Naturally, that would be a better system of communications. The other mentioned is the fact that a program was in effect at that time to colonize keymen on various ships so as to get those who had been placed in the program.

Mr. WHITLEY. This shows a tie-up between the marine workers and the communications organization, or the A. R. T. A.?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. The A. R. T. A. organization was more or less in the same situation as the N. M. U. is today. The majority of the radio operators would not have anything to do with the Communist Party in their organization. They were building a good union, and the Communist Party was using everything in its power to keep the union like a sectarian union, because they had special use for them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain at this time a little more about the A. R. T. A. and its successor, the A. C. A., as it existed at that time and as it exists today?

Mr. McCUISTION. At that time, going back some years, say to 1933, the A. R. T. A. had as its president Hoyt Haddock. We had not paid much attention to them, because the radio operators generally considered themselves as white collar workers in the marine industry. They had just a small organization. Haddock approached the Communist Party direct in New York, and said that his organization was in a place where it was going to go under unless we could do something; so I was assigned to work with Haddock and with others in the organization at that time, to try to get something out of it. We decided to adopt a militant program, similar to that of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, but a majority of the radio workers were afraid of that. We called a strike against the I. M. M., and the result was that they were in a key position. We called a strike, and the union grew so that from that time on they had a much larger membership than they had on shore. The Communist Party radio operators stayed on shore, while the real sincere operators went to sea and paid the dues. In that way the Communist Party was able

to get control of the organization, and they still have control of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. A. R. T. means the American Radio Telegraphists Association?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And its successor is the C. I. O. American Communications Association?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you, as a member of the Communist Party, were assigned by the Communist Party to help build up the A. R. T. A.?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it increased its size and prestige so that the Communist Party could not maintain control over it?

Mr. WHITLEY. And that control was obtained and has been maintained?

Mr. McCUSTION. Has been maintained continuously. They have had several splits and factional fights. The Communist Party has constantly tried to keep them as a separate unit away from the seamen and keep them where they could work more or less alone. I opposed this policy and I withdrew from the work with them, because I saw that it was splitting the labor front by keeping them away.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there a very close connection and tie-up and working arrangement between the N. M. U. and the A. C. A. today?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; there is. But the A. C. A. does not only take in the maritime operators. The A. C. A. takes in aviation operators; takes in shore-station operators; takes in various others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does it take in the commercial operators, employees?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is the head of the American Communications Association at the present time?

Mr. McCUSTION. I do not know the set-up. I would not try to answer that. I do not know it. I know the power in the whole thing, though, is Mervyn Rathborne and that he was the guy who rose to power after Haddock decided that there were better pork chops with the Standard Oil than with the telegraphists' association.

Mr. VOORHIS. What percentage of the membership of the A. C. A. do you think are Communists?

Mr. McCUSTION. Of the marine division of them?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. McCUSTION. Of the marine division, I would say a very small percentage, a maximum of 12 percent would be members of the Communist Party. In some of their locals, the New Orleans local and several others, they are very definitely anti-Communist and refuse to accept the instructions of the national office when it comes to dealing in political matters, things like that.

Mr. VOORHIS. What did you mean awhile ago when you said that the Communists stayed ashore and got the jobs and the other radio operators went to sea and paid the dues?

Mr. McCUSTION. Just this, that the operators that stayed ashore, Communist operators, were able to get a little subsidy from the party now and then and look to the future. So they stayed ashore and

visited and met with any and all the other operators who, by virtue of being on different ships—

Mr. VOORHIS. You meant that they got the ships in the union, is that what you meant?

Mr. McCUSTION. In the union, yes; they took all the official jobs.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Mervyn Rathborne as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I know him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is of your own knowledge, he is a member; you know that of your own knowledge as a member yourself?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to know how he knows that he is a member.

Mr. McCUSTION. I know Mervyn Rathborne is a member of the Communist Party, because Mervyn Rathborne and I as members of the Communist Party have met together; because Mervyn Rathborne and I have discussed communism and discussed recruiting of Communist members, not on very many occasions, but a few occasions.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you seen him at any meetings, Communist meetings?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You have seen him at Communist meetings?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question about this man Haddock. You testified this morning and this afternoon that he was employed by the Standard Oil Co.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know whether the Standard Oil Co. has an agreement with the union whereby the union puts a man in there?

Mr. McCUSTION. The Standard Oil has not even an agreement with the union. The Standard Oil has a lockout—well, it has not a lockout, but the union lost a strike against the Standard Oil recently. Just before that strike was called, it was another one of these abortive actions arranged by the Communist Party to wreck the N. M. U. so that they would have an excuse then to raise the cry of labor spy and all this kind of stuff; just before—well, in December of last year—Joe Curran, president of the National Maritime Union and Hoyt Haddock, representative of the Standard Oil Co., made a tour of the Gulf ports, of all the tanker ports, living at the same hotels, traveling together, meeting with officials at various places together. I don't know—I, myself, and a bunch of others, got a little bit suspicious that there was a little bit of labor spying going on there and I know that the La Follette committee has been informed of this through various sources. I know that there are members in the Gulf working on this information to try to establish a direct tie-up of labor espionage between Joe Curran and Hoyt Haddock whereby some of the national officers and Communist Party members of the N. M. U. have definitely, in order to gain their own ends, have sold the union out, in the Standard Oil strike.

Mr. THOMAS. You think there is a possibility that Curran may be spying for the industrial concern?

Mr. McCuiston. There is a lot of smoke there. He travels with him and that is against union principles. That is, for a trade-union official; I would not dare, as a trade-union member, even to take a trip with an employer around the country, if I was a well-known trade-union member. I would know that it would look bad to the membership anyway. But Joe Curran, of course, explained it off.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know who paid their expenses?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; the expenses were jointly shared, supposedly.

Mr. THOMAS. Between the Standard Oil and who?

Mr. McCuiston. Between the Standard Oil and the National Maritime Union.

Mr. Voorhis. I understood you to say that the Standard Oil Co. knew that Mr. Haddock was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. Certainly, they knew it. They cannot help but know it.

Mr. Voorhis. And they hired him for what purpose?

Mr. McCuiston. They hired him because probably when the Communists were militant—after all, being a Communist does not make a man honest, and he might have been giving them information about other Communist activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a photostatic copy of a letter, Mr. Chairman, dated November 9, 1934, "*S. S. President Adams, in transit, Panama Canal.*" The letter is signed "Mervyn." Would that be Mervyn Rathborne?

Mr. McCuiston. That is his signature.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain that letter to the committee, and its significance?

Mr. McCuiston. At the time this letter was written, the A. R. T. A. membership had become united on an anti-Communist program and an opposition that was led by an anti-Communist named Howe, in New York. They knew that they had to get rid of Haddock some way and of some of the others that were Communists, that had been in the leadership, because the membership were asking questions such as, "How soon are we going to have the hammer and sickle on our union book?" and things like that.

I know from my knowledge, when this thing happened, personally, that the decision was made in the national fraction that Rathborne would have to take the stand of being an anti-communist and as such take a liberal approach toward the whole thing, and then it would be easy to work him into the position of being the recognized leader of the union. This shows the very facile program of the Communist Party, where they can change face without any trouble. He says here:

Yes; Hoyt told me that he plans to visit the west coast about the middle of December and I am going to try to lay the groundwork for his campaign.

That was when Haddock was going to run for office again.

If we are to win this campaign and save the A. R. T. A. from being used, sabotaged, and kicked overboard by the Communists, we are going to have to use more positive methods.

The word "positive" is underlined.

Mr. THOMAS. Who said that?

Mr. McCUSTION. Mervyn Rathborne said that. He signs this letter "Mervyn." Later on he says:

If we can get 10 or 15 men—

This is a campaign letter, and I will show you why—

Mr. THOMAS. Read it to us so we can all hear it.

Mr. McCUSTION. I will read all of it.

What do you think of the idea of forming a committee for the preservation of the A. R. T. A. as an American institution (sounds like an excerpt from an oration of a windy political spellbinder). The members of this committee to be A. R. T. A. men who are *not* running for office. The idea is that the committee will issue a bulletin endorsing certain candidates, giving reasons for the endorsement. An active committee is not necessary. If we can get ten or fifteen men to sponsor the candidacy of Haddock and myself we will take care of the preparation and issue of the bulletin. It is important that the bulletin be *signed*, thus the reason for the group I have suggested. Except to close personal friends, it is neither ethical nor good politics to write to persons asking them to "vote for me and my friends," even though the cause is good and the issues burning. Please let me know your reaction to this suggestion. If favorable, try to contact men who will permit their names to be used on campaign material for our side. Naturally, any bulletins we issue will have to be approved by them.

If possible, please send me one or more copies of Mathison's campaign outbursts, especially those with the "American Radio Technicians" heading.

I will identify this Mathison as a leader of the anti-communist group on the west coast. He was purged later on.

Also, please try to impress Hoyt with the *absolute necessity of mailing ballots to members as soon as possible*. The longer he postpones this the greater will be the danger of his defeat. As it is now he will have time to issue two A. R. T. A. bulletins before voting takes place and this number should be sufficient for his purpose.

In order to avoid working at cross purposes we should contact each other as often as possible. In your next letters it is suggested that you ask Haddock, Golden, Thomas, and the others to keep me advised of new developments and to be sure to forward any material which will be of value in defeating Mathison.

The rest of the letter is personal stuff down to the last point where he says:

If you have time you might write to the following: L. S. Henderson (KFS), Half Moon Bay, Calif.; Lawrence Weston, radio technician, KFOX, Long Beach, Calif.; James Brown, chief radio technician, WFAC-KFVD, Auburn-Cord Co., Los Angeles, Calif.; Ronald G. Martin, manager KUP, San Francisco, Examiner, Third and Market Streets. It is not necessary to write personal letters to all, a note attached to a carbon copy will do. These men are in key positions in the west-coast broadcast field. Please explain the situation and ask them to *investigate for themselves*. The introduction of the resolutions approving certain communist undertakings by Mathison at the National Convention is damning evidence and if we can bring it before these men I think we can shoot Mathison's cause full of holes out west.

This is where they begin the frame-up against Mathison by introducing phony resolutions purporting to be from him.

Incidentally, you might let the word pass around that the U. S. Department of Justice is making a careful investigation of the records of M., B., and Tabackman to determine their citizenship status and previous connection with Communist undertakings. Such is the fact. However, the person who instigated the investigation must never be known. Perhaps, if word reaches these worthies that they are being looked up, they may take a "run out powder." A guilty conscience, if one exists, may work wonders. Uncle Sam is taking no chances with the communication system on merchant-marine boats.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another letter dated February 4, 1931, addressed to Frank B. Powers, C. T. U. of N. A. What is that?

Mr. McCUISTION. That is the Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is signed Mervyn Rathborne. What is the significance of that letter?

Mr. McCUISTION. They were trying to get an affiliation with the A. F. of L. and get the jurisdiction, and there was a jurisdiction fight, and when they could not settle the jurisdictional fight, then they came out with an opposing program to the C. T. U. Mervyn Rathborne says in this letter:

If the C. T. U. is no longer interested in a radio division please advise me at your earliest convenience so we may make plans to establish an independent organization. Incidentally, the Communist Party, in great contrast to the C. T. U., is eager and willing to organize the operators. Of course their idea is to cause a tie-up of American shipping and to make trouble, but one would think that an American organization, such as the A. F. of L., would be willing to do as much as a foreign outfit bent on making trouble.

That is when he uses the threat of turning the A. R. T. A. over to the Communist Party if the C. T. U. won't cooperate with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he later did that very thing, did he not?

Mr. McCUISTION. He did exactly that. He has changed face from an anti-Communist to an absolute Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to read the portion of that paragraph again.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. WHITLEY. February 4, 1931.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the C. T. U.?

Mr. WHITLEY. The Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America. This letter is addressed to Mr. Frank B. Powers, C. T. U. of N. A., 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. He says:

If the C. T. U. is no longer interested in a radio division please advise me at your earliest convenience so we may make plans to establish an independent organization. Incidentally, the Communist Party, in great contrast to the C. T. U., is eager and willing to organize the operators. Of course, their idea is to cause a tie-up of American shipping and to make trouble, but one would think that an American organization, such as the A. F. of L., would be willing to do as much as a foreign outfit bent on making trouble.

I would judge from that that Mr. Rathborne's subsequent membership in the Communist Party was not without knowledge as to their purposes and foreign connections.

Mr. McCUISTION. He made a deal with them. If they would support him he would support them, and therefore the deal was made, signed, sealed, and delivered, and the good organization ruined.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are several other letters here from Mr. Rathborne, Mr. Chairman. I do not know whether there is anything particularly important in them.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you got any late communications?

Mr. WHITLEY. The latest is December 11, 1934.

Mr. McCUISTION. He has learned to be careful. These [referring to documents] are nothing except establishing the fact of how he goes closer and closer to the party, and how all the time he is interested in his personal political advancement, and is willing to make

deals all the way through with anybody or anything. Each one of these letters shows that.

Mr. WHITLEY. These latter two letters are dated October 18, 1932, and December 11, 1934, both being written by Mr. Rathborne on the letterhead of the American Radio Telegraphists Association, 20 Irving Place, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. After they have been identified, they may be attached to the record as exhibits.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

S. S. "PRESIDENT ADAMS",
IN TRANSIT, PANAMA CANAL,
November 9, 1934.

Many thanks for your letter of the fourth and the carbon copies of your recent letters to Nesbit, Golden, Croncy, and Van Erman. Good work, old man. I enclose another copy of the bulletin we have prepared for Dollar Line radio officers. Your suggestions and criticism are desired.

Yes; Hoyt told me that he plans to visit the west coast about the middle of December and I am going to try to lay the ground work for his campaign.

If we are to win this campaign and save the Arta from being used, sabotaged, and kicked overboard by the Communists we are going to have to use more *positive* methods. What do you think of the idea of forming a committee for the preservation of the Arta as an American institution (sounds like an excerpt for an oration of a windy political spellbinder). The members of this committee to be Arta men who are *not* running for office. The idea is that the committee will issue a bulletin endorsing certain candidates, giving reasons for the endorsement. An active committee is not necessary. If we can get 10 or 15 men to sponsor the candidacy of Haddock and myself we will take care of the preparation and issue of the bulletin. It is important that the *bulletin* be *signed*, thus the reason for the group I have suggested. Except to close personal friends, it is neither ethical nor good politics to write to persons asking them to "vote for me and my friends", even though the cause is good and the issues burning. Please let me know your reaction to this suggestion. If favorable, try to contact men who will permit their names to be used on campaign material for our side. Naturally, any bulletins we issue will have to be approved by them.

If possible, please send me one or more copies of Mathison's campaign outbursts, especially those with the "American radio technician's" heading.

Also, please try to impress Hoyt with the *absolute necessity of mailing ballots to members as soon as possible*. The longer he postpones this the greater will be the danger of his defeat. As it is now he will have time to issue two Arta bulletins before voting takes place and this number should be sufficient for his purpose.

In order to avoid working at cross purposes we should contact each other as often as possible. In your next letters it is suggested that you ask Haddock, Golden, Thomas, and the others to keep me advised of new developments and to be sure to forward any material which will be of value in defeating Mathison.

It looks as if the quiet holiday I had planned at home during the Christmas holidays is going to be turned into a campaign tour.

While Mathison is busy trying to swing the east coast in his favor I am going to be equally as busy undermining, openly, of course, his cause on the west coast.

Upon arrival in San Francisco I am going into a long session with Roy Pyle, who is a personal friend and a likeable fellow even though he is a Mathison man.

If you have time you might write to the following: L. S. Henderson (KFS), Half Moon Bay, Calif.; Lawrence Weston, radio technician, KFOX, Long Beach, Calif.; James Brown, chief radio technician, KFAC-KFVD, Auburn-Cord Co., Los Angeles, Calif.; Ronald G. Martin, manager KUP, San Francisco "Examiner", Third and Market streets. It is not necessary to write personal letters to all, a note attached to a carbon copy will do. These men are in key positions in the west coast broadcast field. Please explain the situation and ask them to *investigate for themselves*. The introduction of the resolutions approving certain Communist undertakings by Mathison at the national convention is damning evidence and if we can bring it before these men I think we can shoot Mathison's cause full of holes out West.

Incidentally, you might let the word pass around that the U. S. Department of Justice is making a careful investigation of the records of M., B. and Tabackman to determine their citizenship status and previous connection with Communist undertakings. Such is the fact. However, the person who instigated the investigation must never be known. Perhaps, if word reaches these worthies that they are being looked up, they may take a "run-out powder." A guilty conscience, if one exists, may work wonders. Uncle Sam is taking no chances with the communication system on merchant marine boats.

Thanks, again, O. M. I am looking forward to hearing from you on the twentieth.

MERVYN.

1725 BEDFORD ROAD, SAN MARINO, CALIF.,

February 4, 1931.

MR. FRANK B. POWERS,

C. T. U. of N. A., 113 South Ashland Blvd.,

Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Relative to my letter of January 20 I would appreciate some indication from you as to just what the officials of the C. T. U. intend to do in regard to the Pacific Marine Radio Division. During the past two weeks two new members have joined, I had been working on these men for a long time and did not want to stop them from joining at the last moment while there was still a chance of settling the present difficulties in regard to support.

If the C. T. U. is no longer interested in a radio division please advise me at your earliest convenience so we may make plans to establish an independent organization. Incidentally, the Communist Party, in great contrast to the C. T. U., is eager and willing to organize the operators. Of course, their idea is to cause a tie-up of American shipping and to make trouble, but one would think that an American organization, such as the A. F. of L., would be willing to do as much as a foreign outfit bent on making trouble.

I am still convinced that I can obtain a substantial number of new members if I were permitted to get out and organize, results have proved this so far as each time I have been to the harbor I have obtained one member.

Trusting that I may hear from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

MERVYN R. RATHBORNE.

[Letterhead of American Radio Telegraphists Association, Inc.]

52 CALIFORNIA STREET, SAN FRANCISCO,

December 11, 1934.

This will acknowledge receipt of the following: Letter dated November 12, from Miami; Letter dated December 3, from Miami; Bulletin to all non-Communist A. R. T. A. members. These three enclosed in large envelope, received yesterday. Envelope containing printed Communist literature and typewritten sheets.

The difficulty regarding my mailing address has been straightened out and you can send letters to 919 Sutter with the assurance that they will be delivered. Our plans have changed and we will be in San Francisco until March, at least.

You need not be concerned about the S. S. owners taking advantage of the Mathison mess. The affair was handled quickly and quietly. Now that it is over everyone, including S. S. men, knows that Mat is out. We are still straightening out unnecessary disputes that he had with radio and S. S. officials. He was not the Holy Terror you imagine. In fact, if he had remained in power much longer the A. R. T. A. would be unable to even talk with employers out here. At present, many of them refuse to see us until they are assured that Mat is not present. On at least one occasion he pledged the word of the A. R. T. A. to an employer and then broke it. He promised the Dollar Line that no action would be taken by the A. R. T. A. until after January 1, 1935, when three men were put on the \$ ships. In September he pulled the operators off the *President Coolidge* when the Pacific Steam strike broke. An entirely unnecessary move.

Your stand regarding "outside influences" in the A. R. T. A. (page 2, of your letter of November 12) is splendid. It reflects my opinion very well.

However, you must remember that a good Communist cannot be a member of the A. R. T. A. and remain a good C. P. man. The nature of the C. P. *oblige*s him to carry on underhanded intrigues, plots, and plans in any other non-Communist organization. I believe that it is impossible for a man to be a sincere and loyal Communist and a good A. R. T. A. member at the same time.

For the sake of the record I will work up the bulletin you prepared and mail copies to Golden, Thomas, Roberson, Croncy, Pyle, and Van Erman. Pyle is still up to his ears in work. He has repeatedly stated that he is going to write to you just as soon as he gets a breathing spell.

Hoyt left for Seattle last Saturday morning (the eighth). He should be back here by the twentieth. A crisis has arisen in the broadcasting field up there and he may have a strike to settle.

I have not done a bit of campaigning. As far as I know there are very few members who know that I am a candidate for the Secretary-Treasurers office. Bliss' name has not been mentioned by myself and I have said nothing about his activities. As far as I can determine there is no reason for carrying out an active campaign out here. I hate politics and political maneuverings and if it were not for the fact that it appeared vital I never would have sought political office in the A. R. T. A.

In the event of my election I want you to consider that the columns of Arta are yours to use as you see fit, subject, of course to space limitations and the usual matters of policy and interest. Would you accept joint editorship with me? It is understood by Haddock, you, and myself that you are eventually to become editor of Arta. Just as soon as the Association is in a position to support a paid editor we want you to take the job. This is a matter that will have to be handled and approved by the N. E. C. but I think that if Hoyt, Pyle, and myself are pulling for you we will encounter little difficulty in convincing the E. C. that you are the man.

Please send me your suggestions as to the size, make-up, type, format, etc. for Arta. If you can find time you might prepare a sample copy. I am asking Haddock and Pyle for their ideas. If we all work together we should be able to put out a readable and attractive magazine.

Since the Mathison blow-up things have been running smoothly here. We are polling the Dollar and States Lines preparatory to entering negotiations with employers. A sample of the letter, ballot, and authorization as sent to the States Line men is enclosed. These are the joint work of Pyle and myself. We are also attempting to establish job control with Mackay, R. C. A. and Globe. This will take time and *diplomacy*. However, Pyle stands ace-high with R. C. A. and Mackay, and through his connections we may be able to swing a deal whereby *all* operators shipped out of S. F. are hired through the A. R. T. A. office. The radio company officials have expressed themselves, unofficially, as being in favor of such a plan. At present all Pacific Steam operators are placed through this office, approximately seventeen men are employed in the P. S. fleet.

Organization work has been at a standstill but we plan to hit the ball just as soon as the routine work is out of the way (about the end of this week). We are cooperating with, and officially represented on, the Council of Marine Crafts of America, composed of representatives of *all* maritime unions. The Council meets every two weeks and discusses matters pertaining to labor problems on ships. The I. S. U. has been recognized out here by all companies except American-Hawaiian and Luckenbach. Our connections with the I. S. U. are close and cordial. The M. W. I. U. is virtually dead on this Coast. Official recognition of the I. S. U. broke what little hold the M. W. I. U. had on the seamen.

During the past ten days I have been "*advised*" twice that my well-being and health will continue to be good only if I withdraw from the race for the Secretary-Treasurership. The advice was given in anonymous telephone calls, one at two a. m. I'm still healthy. Nil hr nw.

Sincerely and fraternally,

MERVYN.

[Letterhead of American Radio Telegraphists Association, Inc.]

THE LYNMORE HOTEL, 20 IRVING PLACE, NEW YORK CITY.

Oct. 18, 1932.

Reply to 1725 Bedford Rd., San Marino, Calif.

Acknowledging your letter of October 7.

The money order for \$5.00 sent by you on July 26, was at that time credited toward an A. R. T. A. membership for yourself. I enclose a receipt showing that you have paid \$5.00 toward an active membership.

Your letters and the article of which you speak must have been forwarded to New York during my absence on a voyage along the coast of Lower California. I left instructions that all mail regarding the A. R. T. A. should be forwarded to Delaney or McGeady in N. Y. C. At any rate, upon my return there were no letters here.

Incidentally, there was a record of your \$5.00 payment in reports I forwarded to Delaney.

My reasons for resigning from the A. R. T. A. were two: 1—I was broke and could not afford to go in the hole any further; 2—I did not, and do not, agree with the policies and methods of Delaney and the New York group. I was unable to get along with the secretary and we did nothing but wrangle and fight and disagree from the time of the merger between the C. R. P. A. & A. R. T. A. and my resignation. I dropped some \$2,000 of my savings in "CQ" and the Association and could not continue further without seriously affecting the welfare of those dependent upon me. It may interest you to know that I am now slowly paying a debt of \$1750.00 incurred in the publication of "CQ." I am not complaining, rather explaining why I could not continue financing the magazine.

The five dollar money order you sent was cashed and put into the Association treasury.

At present I am working for Dr. Lee de Forest. Dr. de Forest has invented and is developing a new and radically different system of television. He has a large experimental laboratory in Hollywood. At nights I am teaching commercial radio at the Frank Wiggins Trade School in Los Angeles—this institution is maintained by the state for teaching vocational subjects.

I advise you to carefully investigate the A. R. T. A. and support it if you think it deserving of your consideration. I know absolutely nothing of the present policies or aims of the Association. During the time I was supposed to be an official I was unable to learn what was going on in New York. This, also, was a reason for my resignation.

Hoping you are successful in having your articles on marine radio disasters published.

Kindest regards and 73.

MERVYN R. RATHBORNE.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you give our attorney the names—not necessarily at a public hearing—of any other people who have seen Mr. Rathborne at Communist meetings?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I can give the attorney those names later on. I can give some of those names here.

Mr. THOMAS. If it is all right with the rest of the committee, I think you should give them.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it is important.

Mr. THOMAS. Give us the names here.

Mr. McCUSTION. Thomas Ray, Roy Hudson, Al Lannon, Frederick Myers, Ted Lewis, John Robinson, Ed Phillips, Ed Bruen, Jack Flaherty. That is a group of them.

Mr. MASON. All Communists who will swear if necessary that they were at a meeting?

Mr. McCUSTION. They will either swear that or perjure themselves, one of the two.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know any people who will admit that they saw them at Communist meetings?

Mr. McCUSTION. I think the attorney is in touch with certain people that will tell him that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Maybe I am not interpreting Mr. Thomas' idea rightly. My feeling is here we have certain letters from Mr. Rathborne respecting a certain point of view. The witness states that that point of view has changed radically, and to some extent the correspondence indicates that it might have, but in the absence of similar evidence to show a changed attitude on his part, the record is not plain and clear.

Mr. MASON. But it will be made plain and clear by later testimony.

Mr. STARNES. Let me say to both the gentlemen, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Voorhis, who have raised the point, that there is additional testimony, I am informed, to be presented, with reference to this entire transaction.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are other witnesses who will follow Mr. McCuiston.

Mr. STARNES. Additional and cumulative evidence with reference to the statement made by Mr. McCuiston.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, we have been discussing in general the policy of the M. W. I. U. Was that policy reflected in the official organ of the M. W. I. U., which is known as the Marine Workers Voice?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; that policy was reflected in the publication, and the National Board was the editorial board; the members of the National Board were members of that board.

Mr. WHITLEY. And does this excerpt from the organ indicate that attitude?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; this indicates the evidence that was introduced before the Commission right up to that time.

Here is an article by H. Baxter who at that time was organizer for the M. W. I. U. in Baltimore.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostat copy of the pamphlet under the caption "A Guide For Communist Work Aboard Ship," issued by "Water Front Section, 230 Seventh Avenue." That is of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain that document and read pertinent excerpts to the committee, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. This is a document similar to the documents issued regularly by the Communist Party as a guide for the Communist members aboard ships so they will be able to know how to carry out the work aboard ships.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a regular instruction to Communist members aboard ships?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. Here is one under the head "Organization and Activity of the Unit."

Every ship and factory must become a stronghold for our party.

Later you see here.

The unit needs an organizer, educational director, literature agent and dues payment (finance) secretary. In other words, this unit functions like a shore-side shop unit.

That deals with the units aboard the ships.

Another under the heading "Meet Regularly Aboard Ship."

While meeting regularly, care must be taken not to expose the party as such. A little thinking will determine how to go about this, depending on the individual ship. Generally, two things expose the party: One, carelessness, two, poor work.

Another excerpt, that the general conditions should be discussed aboard ship by the crew, that they should not discuss with a crew—with the non-Communist members of the crew—anything but general conditions; and in discussing the general conditions when they find the reaction is favorable that is when they first began to enter into the Communist discussion.

This is literature on that, and that discussion is put out in this paper, and we have several exhibits which have been given to you on that.

Mr. STARNES. All those items have been identified so they can be recognized in the record?

Mr. McCUITION. Yes; they are all marked.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCUITION. And in conclusion they say, "You also carry the responsibility of forming the party's policies and carrying that out."

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCUITION. And then they give a list of the party headquarters which they can contact when they are in the locality of these various headquarters.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to have these excerpts from that paper go in the record.

Mr. STARNES. Have it set forth in the record in detail.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the date of that?

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not believe it is dated.

Mr. McCUITION. This is one of the regular propaganda bulletins.

Mr. VOORHIS. That still goes out?

Mr. McCUITION. Yes; that still goes out; it could be any date, so far as the policy is concerned.

(The document referred to is printed in the record as follows.)

A GUIDE FOR COMMUNIST WORK ABOARD SHIP

Issued by Waterfront Section 230 7 Ave.

THE PARTY IS THE LEADER!

The campaign and mobilization of the workers for struggle must be carried out by all party organizations * * * above all by the factory nuclei (unit) * * * the factory (ship or dock) must be the center for carrying on our Party and trade union work in carrying on for the struggle.

It is on the ship that we must ROOT ourselves. Abstract agitation around general issues that may be meaningless to the average seaman will gain us nothing.

Work in the union meetings only will not solve the issues.

We must prove that our party deserves their support and loyalty by giving correct leadership in their day to day struggles and demands.

A UNIT ABOARD EVERY SHIP!

To accomplish the rooting of the Party aboard the ships is the duty of every Party member. He must build a unit by recruiting aboard his ship and establishing his prestige as a capable seaman and fighter for the crew's interests. He must have a long range view of the need of the Party being the leader of the workers in the ultimate struggle for power. The presence of Party units, leaders of the rank and file, are our only guarantee of response to strikes and actions. To build units mean that comrades will have to stick to ships. We have to overcome the natural tendency for turn-over.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE UNIT

Comrades working in mills and factories do not think of leaving their jobs (unless fired) without party permission. We must have the same feeling of responsibility. *Every ship and factory must become a stronghold for our Party.*

It takes 3 or more comrades to form a unit. These units belong to the Waterfront Section, but are independent of the shore unit. They are furnished with their own dues, stamps, etc.

The unit needs an organizer, educational director, literature agent and dues payment (finance) secretary. In other words, this unit functions like a shore-side shop unit.

PARTY IS NOT A CRAFT ORGANIZATION!

Every comrade aboard the ship will belong to the unit. Craft functions have nothing to do with Party organization.

The organizer will see to it that the unit carries out the work decided upon. The educational director is responsible for the general presentation of the Party to the crew (agitation, etc.) and for the political study and development of the members and sympathizers, arranges forums, etc.

If membership is large enough, several units can be organized on a watch basis, with coordination through the organizers.

KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE SHORESIDE

Before sailing, the unit must meet with a Section representative. These meetings will be for the purpose of reporting on the functioning of the unit, planning future work, correction of work, etc.

MEET REGULARLY ABOARD SHIP

While meeting regularly, care must be taken not to expose the Party as such. A little thinking will determine how to go about this, depending on the individual ship. Generally, two things expose the Party: (1) Carelessness; (2) poor work.

The first gives the spies an easy indication of the Party membership and apparatus. The second gives red-baiters and backward workers a chance to gripe at the Party.

ELECT THE UNIT LEADERSHIP

Be frank and self-critical in getting the unit organized and electing the leadership, because, once elected, *the leadership must be respected and obeyed.*

YOUR FIRST MEETING

Discuss the general conditions aboard ship and select a common grievance as the first task of the delegates of the departments. *This for mobilizing the crew and getting an opportunity to "classify" the members of it.*

Organize the meeting times and places.

Plan a definite campaign of activity in all the divisions of the work on the basis of a discussion as to what seems the most proper methods of work, in the union, political education, etc.

ISSUE A SHIP'S PAPER

This paper should be handwritten, typed or mimeoed, depending on the ship situation, length of trips, etc. The paper should reflect ship and company news and should also raise issues for the crew.

Establish contact with "Sparks" and if he is willing and capable he can be of great help in getting out timely leaflets, bulletins, etc. He can also give careful interpretation of news in his regular bulletin.

LITERATURE

Establish our literature in the regular library, if possible. Have it aboard and in circulation, at any event.

If possible, get contacts to subscribe to the cost of it. Don't throw the "pulp" junk overboard! This is sectarian and plays into the hands of the red-baiters.

CLASSES AND FORUMS

The unit leadership should determine the type of classes and study groups that can be established. A union class in current maritime problems and union strategy is generally possible. Smaller political study groups can be organized among the members and sympathizers. Where possible, organize forums and lectures, using people from the passengers, etc.

Develop any type of activity along these lines that will involve any number of the crew in it. If some of the men want to study a language, etc., and if there is someone aboard who can help them, get it going.

WE ARE THE PARTY FRACTION IN THE UNION

We must see to it that union work is carried on in the correct manner.

But we must not become a substitute for it.

We should always try to develop honest, capable non-Party forces in the work. We must not function as only a progressive union group. We are not Wobblies. We are revolutionary workers preparing for the decisive struggle to end capitalism. We have to exist as an independent and influential force in our own right, not just be the "tail" for the union work.

FRATERNALIZE WITH THE SHORESIDE WORKERS

When ashore in the home port, particularly, we should see to it that as many members of the crew as possible get acquainted with the longshoremen and fraternize with them. In union meetings aboard ship, a report on the current I. L. A. situation should be made. This information can be secured by reading the rank and file paper of longshoremen and by inquiring at the Section.

It also goes as a matter of course that we should be informed as to the current situation in the licensed men's unions.

Proper attention to the above two points will speed the actual building of the federation spirit in the industry.

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

We should try to establish the broadest fraternal relations with the foreign workers and people. Where the workers' movements are legal this can be done very effectively and on a mass scale by arranging for dances, shows, etc., in their halls. In fascist countries we cannot operate so easily. Each unit should decide on what is to be done in this case.

It is not wise for individual members to act on their own in these countries.

REPORT TO PARTY REGULARLY

When ashore, if a Party organization exists, report to it. Write to your home port Party organization regularly, if on extended trips.

Each Party member should feel at liberty to write articles for the union and Party papers, discuss any problems or questions with Party leaders, etc.

From the day you get your Party book you have a full vote and all rights of a member. *You also carry the responsibility of forming the Party's policies and carrying them out.*

Try to study systematically. The Educational Committee comrades and more experienced comrades will always be glad to help you plan a course of study while at sea or ashore. But try to establish the habit of reading the "Communist" which is the monthly scientific magazine of our Party; the "Communist International," the monthly magazine of the C. I., and the "Party Organizer" which monthly gives concrete examples of work and experiences of Party organizations that will be of help to you.

YOU CAN GET LITERATURE CREDIT BEFORE SAILING

Here is a list of the major Party headquarters or book shops on both coasts and the Lakes:

Boston-----	S Beach Street	Baltimore----	501 A. N. Eutaw Street
Buffalo-----	61 W. Chippewa	Chicago-----	200 W. Van Buren Street
Cleveland-----	1522 Prospect Av.	Detroit-----	3537 Woodward Av.
Duluth-----	28 E. 1st Str.	Los Angeles-----	230 S. Spring St.
Milwaukee-----	419 W. State St.	Newark-----	33 Halway Street
New Orleans-----	130 Chartres St.	New York-----	35 East 12th St.
Oakland-----	567 12th St.	Philadelphia-----	104 S. 9th Str.
Portland, Ore-----	314 W. S. Madison	Providence-----	335 Westminster St.
Sacramento-----	1024 6th St.		(Room 42)
St. Louis-----	350 Franklin Av.	San Diego-----	635 East Street
San Francisco-----	121 Haight Str.	San Pedro-----	244 West 6th St.
Seattle-----	713½ Pine St.	Superior-----	601 Tower Avenue
Tacoma-----	1315 Tacoma Ave.	Toledo-----	214 Michigan St.

If you have any questions, come to the Section; also write to the following address: J. Robinson, 50 East 13th St.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, did the policy of the M. W. I. U., as described by you, parallel or correspond with or was it identical with the policy of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Yes; it was identical to the Communist Trade Union program as set out in the Daily Worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. As shown in the Daily Worker?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And detailed in the Daily Worker?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostat copy of an excerpt from the Marine Workers Voice, the official organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union for May 1934, and ask you to explain the significance of that point which is similar to or parallels the program.

Mr. MCCUISTON. Well, this parallels the program; this is from the official organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union; and that list at the bottom of the article is just slogans: "Workers of the world, unite; Rebel, ye oppressed; Long live the world revolution; Long live just and generous peace; Long live socialism."

THE BALTIC FLEET TO THE WORKING CLASS

The manifesto printed here is a stirring example of the heroic spirit that made the Soviet Revolution a success. In 1917 the Russian fleet faced the immeasurably greater strength of the German fleet in the Baltic. They fought off the Germans in spite of this handicap, not because Kerensky ordered them to, but to protect the revolutionary workers of Petrograd, and to defend the Revolution of the Russian workers, who later threw out Kerensky and the capitalists, and set up the first successful workers government in the world.

The manifesto had a great effect on the crews of the German Navy, as well as on the workers of the world. Later, the German, Austrian, Hungarian and other workers responded to it and other manifestos of the Russian workers, and threw out their capitalist governors, only to be betrayed back into capitalist hands by their own "Socialist" and "labor" leaders.

* * * * *

OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES:

In this fatal hour, at this moment when the cry of battle, the cry of death, resounds in our ears, we renew our appeal and we send you greetings and make known to you our last testament. Attacked by the mighty German fleet, our ships approach destruction in unequal combat. Not one of our ships will seek to avoid battle, not a single sailor seek safety on land.

The slandered, much maligned fleet will do its duty by the great revolution. We have bound ourselves to hold the front and to defend the approaches of Petrograd. We will fulfill all the obligations we have bound ourselves to.

We do not do this at the behest of some miserable Russian Bonaparte, whom only the revolution's infinite patience has left in command. Nor do we go into this conflict because of our treaties with our "allies", which clamp handcuffs onto Russian freedom. We follow the dictates of our revolutionary consciousness. We go into battle with the name of the great revolution in our inflamed hearts and on our lips which do not grow pale.

The Russian fleet has ever stood in the front ranks of the revolution. The names of its sailors are inscribed with golden letters in the book which records the history of the struggle against Czarism. In the battles of the revolution, sailors fought in the foremost ranks of the workers to attain our utmost aims—freedom from all oppressions. This victorious struggle gives us the right to call upon all you proletarians of all countries with a loud voice, the voice of those who look death in the face, to rise against the oppressors. Break your chains, you who are oppressed. Rouse yourselves for combat! You have nothing to lose but your chains.

We believed in the victory of the revolution. We are uplifted by the thought of this victory. We know that our brothers in the revolution will do their duty to the end, to the last battle on the barricades. A great conflict has been kindled. Already the glow of this uprising of the oppressed is visible on the horizon.

At the moment when the waves of the Baltic Sea are reddened with the blood of our brothers, when the waves close over them, at this very moment we raise our voices. Already in the last agony of death, we send you, O, oppressed of all countries, this passionate cry:

Workers of the world, unite!
 Rebel, ye oppressed!
 Long live the world revolution!
 Long live just and generous peace!
 Long live socialism!

WHERE TO JOIN

HEADQUARTERS OF THE M. W. I. U.

Boston	382 Commercial St.
New York	140 Broad St.
Philadelphia	312 So. Second St.
Baltimore	716 S. Broadway
New Orleans	239 Decatur St.
San Francisco	3rd fl., 437 Market St.
Seattle, Wash.	70 Marion St.
Portland, Ore., 301 Gerlinger Bldg.	220 Alder St.
Buffalo	200 Ellicott St.
Liverpool, England	64 So. Castle St.
North Shields, England	11 Upper Pearson St.
Oslo, Norway	Karl Johansgade, 2
Gothenburg, Sweden	Allegaten, 2
Leningrad, Soviet Union	Prospect Ogorodnikova 15
Archangel, Soviet Union	Nabereshnaja
Novorossisk, Soviet Union	Sacco Vanzetti St., 7
Vladivostok, Soviet Union	Ulitsa Lenina
Odessa, Soviet Union	Lastotchkina, 2
Copenhagen, Denmark	Tolbogode 16
Esbjerg, Denmark	Borgergade, 60
Antwerp, Belgium	64 Kloosterstraat
Rotterdam, Holland	7a Willemsskade
Montevideo, Uruguay	Calle Viejo, 1640
Vancouver, B. C., Canada	159 Powell St.

At the very beginning the Communist Party members were careful in describing conditions that existed at that time. They have a picture here of the delegates going aboard a Soviet ship.

They have another article here from a pamphlet that I wrote for the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

And, they have a picture in the upper right-hand corner "Kim Gets Big Welcome From New York Workers."

And at the bottom of the second page there is a list of the various union halls.

While this is in the Marine Workers Voice, it could have been taken from the Daily Worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have here a number of pamphlets, one "The Role of the Labor Union in the Russian Revolution" by A. Lozovsky, and an excerpt from page 17 of that pamphlet.

Another, "The Point Gorda Strike," is the caption on the pamphlet, which is published by the Marine Workers Industrial Union, 140 Broad Street, New York.

Another, "The Struggle of the Marine Workers," by Ned Sparks, with an excerpt from page 57 of that pamphlet.

"Party Organizer," in the issue of August 1935, issued by the central committee, Communist Party of the United States, except from page 18.

Also an excerpt from page 19 and page 31.

"Who Are the Reds," by Roy Hudson, and an excerpt from pages 4 and 21.

Another pamphlet, the "Party Organizer," October issue, 1937, issued by the central committee, Communist Party of the United States of America, excerpt from page 7.

I will not read these excerpts, but I would like to have them introduced into the record.

MR. STARNES. You want those excerpts made a part of the record?

MR. WHITLEY. Yes. They show that the M. W. I. U., under the leadership of the Communist Party, follows the Communist Party line.

MR. STARNES. All right; they may be made a part of the record. (The excerpts referred to are printed in the record, as follows:)

THE ROLE OF THE LABOR UNIONS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

A. Lozovsky

Page 17.

"Only children can imagine that during the Revolution one can do without the unions or that the Communist influence in the labor movement is an accidental and passing phenomenon. In the beginning of the 1917 Revolution the Bolsheviks were in the minority in the unions; but they did not think of leaving them in order to form others, small, but very proper and very pure ones. The Bolsheviks said: 'We are in the minority, therefore, we must double our work in the unions, for if our theory is correct and we must win the toiling masses, we shall conquer the unions as well, which are the organizations of these masses. On the contrary, if we cannot conquer the unions, i. e., the toiling masses, it shows that our theory is not worth a penny, for it evidently is in contradiction with the tendencies of the labor movement.' By long, tenacious and methodical work, the Bolsheviks obtained a majority in the labor unions, and that conquest would have been impossible if the interests of the great mass of workers were opposed to the theory and practice of the Russian Communist Party."

THE POINT GORDA STRIKE—M. W. I. U.

Pages 19-20.

"3rd. Educational and propaganda activity on the program of the I. S. H. and its American section the M. W. I. U., political events, and mass movements taking place daily and their significance, to awaken the crew politically. From this work organizational conclusions must be drawn. For this purpose the 'Voice' and the pamphlets and the program of the I. S. H., Life of a Soviet Seaman, Strike of the Dredging Fleet, and the Strike of the Black Sea, anti-Soviet lies and the danger of war and intervention against the Soviet Union. The pamphlet, 'The Struggle of the Marine Workers' by Sparks proved to be one of the most popular bits of reading we had. I would recommend that it be revised and brought up to date with special emphasis on the program and role on the I. S. H. and data on the Soviet Merchant Marine and socialist construction, especially in the Marine Industry. There is also an immediate need to popularize the struggles in other countries (such as the strike of the Polish and Dutch seamen and longshoremen just passed), especially the colonial countries. Knowledge of these struggles is greatly in demand but is quite in the background at present. (Hongkong strike, Gdynia longshoremen against the shipment of munitions, Chilean seamen, etc.) Pamphlets dealing with the fight against Hunger and the program of the Unemployed Councils is valuable too."

THE STRUGGLE OF THE MARINE WORKERS

N. Sparks

Page 57.

"The Soviet Union is the fatherland of the working class. We have seen in the previous chapter the splendid conditions that the marine workers enjoy under the Soviet Government. The defense of the Soviet Union is the greatest political task before the world's workers to-day, and in the carrying out of this task, the marine workers will play a leading role. In the words of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union: 'The attack against the Soviet Union will begin right here in the ports where the arms and munitions are loaded aboard the ships to be carried across to be used against the Workers' Republic. The marine workers must begin to organize against the coming attack now. The seamen must prepare to boycott all transportation of military supplies, the longshoremen to refuse to load or unload them. The Marine Workers' Industrial Union declares that it will defend the Soviet Union against all attacks of the imperialist governments by every means in its power!'"

PARTY ORGANIZER, AUGUST, 1935—CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

Page 18.

"We must change this. It is not enough to be able to criticize. We must convince the workers that we also know how to lead them in struggles for better conditions. It is precisely because of the fact that today in many of the local unions we are in the leadership, that we must drop this opposition on principle attitude. *We must begin to learn the most elementary forms of strike strategy and tactics. We must learn how and when to call strikes and also when to call them off. These are questions that face us daily in our work in the A. F. of L. unions. We must learn when to retreat and when to advance.* In short, we must convince the workers in the trade unions that the Communists are responsible trade union leaders."

Page 19.

WIN THE LOCAL LEADERSHIP

"Comrade Williamson has already mentioned in his report that in approaching the local leadership in the A. F. of L., we must do so from the viewpoint that many of these local leaders can be won for our Party. That this can be done has been proven on numerous occasions. This is especially true of the leadership in the newly formed federal local unions, whose leadership is composed in the main of workers from the shop. We must be patient with these people and do everything in our power to win them over to our program."

Page 31.

"The problem of penetration of the shops and the problem of the development of the strike movement, the problem of building the trade unions, is the problem of how to develop confidence among the masses in our leadership, by showing them that we know how to do things, by winning one thing here and one thing there, always make one thing lead to another, to a higher stage of struggle, or broadening out the struggle, or deepening the political character of it. Moving from success to success, making of every success the foundation of immediately moving forward to another one. In this we have one of the basic principles of concentration." (Earl Browder, Report to Extraordinary Party Conference, July 7, 1933.)

WHO ARE THE REDS?

Roy Hudson

Page 4.

"Who and What Are the Communists?"

"Are there any Communists in the marine and trucking industries? Yes, there are. There are quite a number of us and the Communist Party would like to speak a few plain words on who we are and what we stand for.

"First, let us answer some questions that are in the minds of many marine trade unionists, questions that have been put there by reactionaries of all shades."

Page 21.

"In recent years the maritime workers have had to meet many serious, complicated questions and make important decisions. On all these questions the

rank and file adopted decisions which life has proven were correct—which enabled them to defeat the attacks of the shipowners, maintain and strengthen their unions, defeat the old line reactionaries and secure improvement in wages and working conditions.

“Every important decision was adopted by the rank and file after thorough democratic discussion. These policies which enabled the rank and file to march forward were advocated and proposed by members of the Communist Party.”

PARTY ORGANIZER, OCTOBER, 1937—CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

Page 7.

“It should make our comrades proud to think of a Party of 100,000 in the United States! It should enthuse each one to think of the possibility of saying, ‘I am a member of a Communist Party of 100,000, with organized discipline; a Party which leads millions! For a Party of 100,000 can and will lead millions!’”

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. McCuiston, do you know whether M. W. I. U. did receive a subsidy from the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; I have collected it myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in what form was that subsidy received?

Mr. McCUISTION. Cash.

Mr. WHITLEY. And where—

Mr. McCUISTION (interposing). And they also assigned organizers, when there was a need for speakers to talk about the program, or strikes, they would furnish them when needed.

Mr. WHITLEY. And were additional subsidies received from the international office?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; there was a subsidy came direct from the International to the Seamen and Harbor Workers’ Union, from the Profintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how was that received?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was received—I have only known two men who have ever received it, and although I haven’t been in very close contact with it, I know that it came direct to Mink and even the Communist Party leader wasn’t allowed to question how much he wanted or how he could use it.

And later on a regular subsidy was sent to Roy Hudson; and it came direct from Hamburg, Germany. His subsidy ranged in amounts from \$400 to \$1,000, coming regularly, at monthly intervals; later on, during times of strike it would come at more frequent intervals.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have already testified that George Mink was the Communist connected with the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he make frequent trips to the Latin-American countries during that period?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And while he was away who was in charge of the marine workers in his place?

Mr. McCUISTION. As late as 1931, why Hudson was in charge, but it was Hudson, Harry Jackson, and Thomas Ray who generally were the ones who would carry on the same type of work Mink did. In other words, they would have the secret instruction to handle the cash.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you stated this morning you were acquainted with Dirba?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was the Comintern representative?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of his activity in connection with the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. McCUISTION. He didn't ever mix very much. He was a quiet sort of fellow; he spoke very little; he was a good listener.

He kept a complete record of every prominent member in the Communist Party and Mink was always bragging that he knew them; and, Mink took me up to Dirba's office to introduce me and Dirba showed me the original file, and picked out the file and said, "You were born at such and such place; you were on such and such ship, sailed on a ship, and so forth."

In other words, he wanted to impress you with his knowledge of any member, and of his importance as a leader of the Communist Party; and when any charges were made, why Dirba always held the proceedings.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now during 1930—the start of 1931 to 1933, did the M. W. I. U. institute certain jobs actions?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of those activities?

Mr. McCUISTION. Those were short strikes; and a few sit-down strikes, actions for various small demands aboard ships. For instance, we had several strikes demanding additional water buckets, extra buckets; that was in the days before we had showers and we would strike even to get extra buckets to wash in.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they successful?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; they were largely successful strikes because they were generally brought with simple demands to remedy unsatisfactory conditions under which the seamen were living.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, did the M. W. I. U. later on take control, complete control and charge of the port of Baltimore?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year was that, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was in the later part of 1933 or the early part of 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain how that was actually accomplished?

Mr. McCUISTION. Well, that was done by getting control of the Relief Administration, to seamen which the Government made. We occupied the Y. M. C. A., the Seamen's Y. M. C. A., and we sent, constantly, delegations over here to various Government agencies showing that we could administer the relief much more efficiently than the Government could, and the Government gave us control over the relief.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say "we." Did you participate in that?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; I participated in that.

And when we had control of relief it was plenty powerful; we had control over whether a man would eat or would not eat. In other words, if they wanted to ship they had to come through our organization; they had to accept the Marine Workers Industrial Union, or the committee in charge of the relief, in control of the relief through our own committee or subcommittee, and if a man would not play ball with us, why, he would not eat, and so they

had to register. If a man wanted to go on a ship he had to register. In that way we were able to gain control of shipping in Baltimore by having control over the men.

Mr. STARNES. By the use of Government-relief funds?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Technically you were given control over relief funds—

Mr. McCUISTION. The relief funds were handled directly by the Relief Administration but it was handled through us and the Government would not furnish relief except through us. There was a subcommittee of three that was not paid, that handled or administered the relief, but the organization could hold up the payment, so they could not go on the pay roll and unless they were they would not be paid by the Government.

We determined who those people should be and in that way we were in position to determine who would be paid by the Government.

Mr. VOORHIS. These men were paid by the Government?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you selected those who were to be paid?

Mr. McCUISTION. They were selected by the unemployed committee of the water-front organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was what I was referring to.

Mr. McCUISTION. But we did administer the relief, so far as the administration is concerned, for less than the Government was able to administer it, and the records will bear that out.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you were using that to build up the Maritime Industrial Union?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in furtherance of the policy of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. That is how we got control of shipping.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostat copy of the Marine Workers Voice.

Mr. STARNES (interposing). What became of the fellow who would not go along with you?

Mr. McCUISTION. Well, we would deport him from Baltimore if he got to be much of an obstacle; just tell him he had to leave, and he left; that was all.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostat copy of the Marine Workers Voice for June 1934, headed by an article "National Action, Under United Leadership for Common Demands, by R. B. Hudson."

What does that article refer to, Mr. McCuistion?

[From the MARINE WORKERS VOICE, June, 1934]

NATIONAL ACTION, UNDER UNITED LEADERSHIP FOR COMMON DEMANDS

By R. B. Hudson

The shipowners received a real warning during the month of May that the seamen and longshoremen are determined to go forward in the fight for higher wages, better conditions and unemployment relief. Let us see what has happened during this month.

1,000 Negro longshoremen struck in Norfolk under the leadership of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

In the Gulf over 8,000 Negro and white longshoremen took up the banner of struggle despite the misleadership of the I. L. A. officials.

Pacific coast longshoremen numbering close to 15,000 smashed through the barriers of the N. R. A. promises, of Roosevelt's no-strike order; of the sabotaging of the Ryans and Lewis, and are fighting for a \$1 hour and 6 hour day.

Side by side with the west coast longshoremen the crews of between 50 and 60 ships have taken up the struggle for their own demands.

During the month over 10 strikes in Baltimore; two in Philadelphia and several in New York. As the Voice goes to press the struggles continue to spread and 4,000 New Orleans longshoremen are out on strike and already a number of ships crews have come out on strike with them.

Militant mass struggles; longshoremen and seamen fighting shoulder to shoulder; united action of the members of the various unions against the ship-owners! Surely these events during the month of May show that the seamen and longshorement EVERYWHERE are through with N. R. A. promises and are ready to write their own code with strike action!

These tremendous struggles are arousing other workers to action. Seamen and longshoremen in other ports are saying—We should act too! All workers, including those now on strike, see the need, even from the present strikes, of preparing for National action. Let us look into the present strikes for a moment and everyone of us will understand the reason why.

Strikes have taken place throughout the country, involving many thousands of workers, including both seamen and longshoremen. But these strikes are not unified! By this we mean that the workers have been striking all over the country, for different demands and under different leaderships. For instance the Gulf and West Coast Longshoremen, members of the same organization, were striking at the same time, for different demands and the Gulf strike was brought to a close before any settlement had been reached on the coast. Now, there is no doubt that these struggles will result in some victories for the workers. It is just as certain, however, if these strikes had been for the same demands and under one leadership much more would have been won.

That these were not united actions is due solely to the officials of the International Longshoremen's Association who in all respects were opposed to the struggles. But these struggles show the workers are ready to struggle, want united action of all ports and are ready to fight together regardless of what union they belong to!

Therefore the Marine Workers Industrial Union states that these mighty struggles of May should be stepping stones toward a National strike of seamen and longshoremen for a National scale of wages and working conditions.

How to do it? What is the next step? The National Unity Conference of seamen and longshoremen, which the MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION proposes be held in Baltimore on Sept. 1st and 2nd must be the answer to these questions.

Why should this conference be held? Why should every worker endorse it, help elect delegates to it, and stand 100% behind it? The Conference is necessary in order that the representatives of the seamen and longshoremen, organized and unorganized from all ports can come together and discuss the problems of the Marine workers. The Marine Workers Industrial Union proposes to all Marine workers that such a representative conference should decide upon a National scale of wages and working conditions to be presented to the shipowners. The Conference should decide when the demands should be presented and what action taken in the event of their refusal by the shipowners.

NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Finally this conference should elect a broad rank and file National Action Committee composed of seamen and longshoremen, of the representatives of all trade unions and the unorganized. This National Action Committee should be instructed to carry out the decision of the Conference regarding presentation of demands and the initiation of actions necessary to enforce the demands.

It is clear therefore the Unity Conference is called to unite our forces for National action to win Uniform National Wage scale and better conditions, relief for the unemployed and the right to organize and strike. The success of the conference will depend upon its preparation and the organizations that stand behind it. Workers everywhere should rally immediately to the support of the Conference and its preparations. We can win.

CAN AND MUST UNITE

The Marine Workers Industrial Union states that it is possible, and necessary, for the seamen and longshoremen, regardless of what union they belong to, to meet together for the purpose of mutually agreeing upon demands and the action necessary to win. In the past the Ryans, Furuseths, Lewis's and Scharrenbergs have always opposed struggle, have endeavoured to betray them, and have always fought against united action. Therefore the Marine Workers Industrial Union appeals directly to the rank and file of the I. S. U. and I. L. A. to seriously consider the call issued for the Conference; to see that all local bodies of their organizations discuss it, go on record endorsing it and elect delegates to the Conference.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union states that the main preparation for the conference should be the immediate organization of Action Committees on every ship and dock. What do we mean by this? That the men on every ship and dock, no matter what union they belong to or if unorganized, should come together, discuss and endorse the conference. They should draw up resolutions and recommendations to the conference. If possible they should elect their own rank and file delegates to the conference. Where this is not possible then they should join with workers from other ships and docks in electing the delegates to the Conference at general meetings called for this purpose. Finally a United Front Action committee should be elected to lead the fight for the immediate demands and to back up the conference when the time comes. In this manner every ship and dock can be solidly organized, an unbreakable united front established, and the rank and file will be able to control every phase of the struggle.

Mr. McCUSTION. This is when they were first contemplating the liquidation of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

At that time they were beginning to plan the amalgamation of the two unions, the establishment of a national union in this labor program and to lay the basis for the liquidation of the M. W. I. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that also have to do with the Baltimore situation?

Mr. McCUSTION. It has to do somewhat with the Baltimore situation, although our playhouse had collapsed at that time somewhat, but it is leading up to the fact that was later brought out that the only way we could get anything was to fight, to get a national strike; that is what we needed to do.

Mr. WHITLEY. I also show you a photostat copy of an excerpt from the Marine Workers Voice, dated New York, May 1934. Will you please explain the significance of that?

[From Marine Workers Voice, May 1934]

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ACTION—WE MUST PREPARE FOR MASS STRIKES—
URGES ACTION ON WIDER AND DEEPER SCALE: CALLS FOR DELEGATES FROM SHIPS
AND DOCKS—GROWING STRIKES POINT TO VICTORY

Representatives of seamen, longshoremen and harborworkers from all U. S. ports assembled in Baltimore on April 11 and 15 in a historic meeting of the National Committee of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. These delegates reported that throughout the country the marine workers have begun to take militant action against their rotten conditions and low wages. The committee meeting discussed ways and means of making the struggles more effective, how best to defeat the shipowners' code. Convinced that the mass of seamen and longshoremen are ready to rally around a fighting National program of action the Committee meeting determined to prepare for a National Unity Conference and has issued the following call to action and appeal for Unity:

To all Seamen and Longshoremen, Organized and Unorganized, Negro and White.

To all Licensed Officers.

To all Marine Trade Unions.

The time has arrived when we can and must unite to take action for enforcement of an increased standard of wages; to compel a shortening of working hours, improvement of conditions, unemployment relief and insurance.

All these things were promised by the NRA. But these promises have not bettered wages or conditions. On the contrary, the shipowners and NRA have made every effort to enforce a code only in the interests of the shipowners.

The code as it now stands after nine months of stalling and "consideration" of our demands, contains no definite provisions covering wages and conditions of the longshoremen. For the seamen, it proposes a starvation minimum wage of \$50, no overtime pay or improvement of working conditions in any department aboard ship. This code, if adopted, will uphold company unionism, drive thousands of longshoremen off the waterfront through the decasualization plan, and through the establishment of the National Shipping Labor Board will outlaw strikes and make arbitration compulsory. It is truly a slave code.

Marine Workers: While the N. R. A. has done nothing for the workers, organized militant action has: During this period the strike of the coal coats forced wages above the scale called for by that proposed code: Crew after crew have won important demands on the Ore and other lines! The historic 40 odd strikes on the Munson Line have become an inspiration to workers throughout the industry. The longshoremen in St. Louis, Baltimore, Philadelphia and other ports have compelled increases in wages through strike action.

These actions were taken, and successes won, despite the officials of the I. S. U. and I. L. A. who have done everything possible to prevent struggles. For instance, Ryan of the I. L. A., in co-operation with President Roosevelt, prevented 12,000 West Coast longshoremen from taking action after their strike vote. These officials have betrayed struggles when they broke out. They have endorsed all the fake promises of the N. R. A., and become part of its strike-breaking machinery. Even to the extent of proposing the National Maritime Board which outlaws strike action! We must learn that only defeat can be expected from the hands of these gentlemen.

Workers, the past year has seen strike after strike take place on the East Coast, a number in the Gulf and West Coast. It has witnessed the first mass struggle of seamen in Boston; the threatened strike of 12,000 longshoremen on the West Coast; the smashing of the blacklist and the establishment of control of shipping by the Baltimore seamen. It has witnessed a number of joint actions of seamen and longshoremen. In no period since 1923 have the marine workers been so willing to take action; in no period of years have they been so successful. Never has the unity of employed and unemployed been greater.

* * * unorganized, Negro and * * * is time for all of us * * * are faced with new at- * * * the shipowners. At the * * * the mood to organize and * * * is growing. By uniting * * * on every ship and dock * * * port, we will then gain * * * engh to defeat the at- * * * in greater demands and * * * our right to organize * * * of our own choosing and the right to strike.

There is no time to lose. We must establish unity in our ranks and work out our plans. For this purpose the National Committee of the Marine Workers Industrial Union takes the initiative in calling for the Convening of a National Unity conference of seamen and longshoremen. We propose that this conference be called on September 1st and 2nd in Baltimore, scene of many important recent struggles.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union calls for the workers in the marine industry to elect delegates to this conference in order that they can collectively decide upon the following:

1. How best to fight against the shipowners proposed code and for the right to belong to unions of our own choosing; the right to strike; and against the discrimination of foreign born and Negro workers.

2. To jointly work out National demands covering minimum wages, working conditions and hours, relief for the unemployed for both seamen (engine, deck, steward, licensed and unlicensed) and longshoremen.

3. To elect a representative united front committee to present the demands worked out to the specified companies and N. R. A.

4. To work out ways and means for immediate action to compel the enforcement of these demands in case of their refusal.

Seamen and Longshoremen, the Marine Workers Industrial Union has been the organizer and leader of all the seamen's struggles and of many of the longshoremen. It has proved in deeds its readiness to help forge the united

front of all workers regardless of organization. Our union will exert every effort to prepare for this conference and calls upon every worker in the marine industry, regardless of organization, to help make it a rallying point for the united action that alone will enable us to go forward to greater victories.

NEED SUPPORT OF ALL

The Conference can be successful only if there is organization behind it. Therefore we appeal to all workers, and especially members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, to exert every effort in organizing unity action committees on every ship and dock. Unite behind these United Front Committees and begin the fight now for your immediate demands—for three watches, full crews, full wages and pay for all overtime, for full longshore gangs, smaller slingloads. Prepare to elect delegates from the place where you work, regardless of your membership or non-membership in any union. If you are unable to elect delegates directly from your ship or dock, send in your recommendations to the Conference, ratify rank and file delegates elected at general meetings, and stand ready to back up the decisions of the conference with organized action.

We also propose that preparations be made for the election of delegates at general meeting of employed and unemployed workers in various ports.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union appeals to the members of other marine unions to have their organizations endorse the conference, to help in its preparation, to do everything possible to insure its success, and to elect delegates directly from their respective branches or locals.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union appeals to every worker and sympathizer to support the Conference by taking out a special 50¢ Conference Stamp and by circulating the special lists for funds.

Build Action Committees on Every Ship and Dock!

For Rank and File Delegates From Every Marine Union!

On to the National Conference!

For United Struggle Against the Shipowners!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Mr. McCUSTION. This ties up the question of the Baltimore seamen at the time they began to rebel a little bit against the policy which we were using against them, when they were forced, or had marched on Washington, to demand a change in the relief program for seamen.

This ties up with the various purposes of the march, and the strikes that were connected with the program; that is, to stop the local strikes and instead the program was to have a national strike instead of little, individual strikes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the movement was gathering momentum?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you take part in the march on Washington?

Mr. McCUSTION. I opposed it and I didn't go.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCUSTION. And I got in trouble with the party again.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostat of a page from the Marine Workers Voice relative to the situation at Norfolk. Will you explain the significance of that?

[From Marine Workers Voice]

NORFOLK I. L. A. LOCALS FORCED INTO RELIEF FIGHT

(By A. Wright)

NORFOLK, Va.—Things are working fine at present. The committee that was elected from Locals 978 and 1221 of the I. L. A. are doing good work. They met last Monday night and worked out their program for the week. A com-

mittee was appointed to confer with the Unemployed Council to take up relief problems. This was done on Tuesday.

A committee of I. L. A. men and Unemployed Council men went to the meeting of Local 1221 Tuesday night and took up the relief question from the floor. At this point the vice-president, George Millner, tried to have those from Local 978 put out of the hall, but this met with strong protest from the local. A vote was taken and Millner's wishes were over-ruled. Then men rose and asked Millner why these men should not be allowed to stay in the meeting. They exposed Millner's dirty trickery and his role of selling them out, splitting their ranks, drawing a big salary and doing nothing for them.

Things got so hot that one man was going for Millner's hide and instead of the men from Local 978 being put out, Millner had to sneak out himself. After things cooled down a bit the question of relief was taken up. A committee was elected from the floor to broaden the committee to collect names of needy cases and meet at the Unemployed Council headquarters Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock to go to the united charities.

At this point the secretary got up and said, "You men can fool with that mess if you want to, I know what it is. It's nothing but communists, and if we find that you are going to fool with that mess, off goes your head as far as those three letters go."

A worker rose and said: "If you take those three letters from us we will add one more to the name of our union, but it won't be I. L. A. It will be M. W. I. U. We have listened to this bunk long enough. We are not going to let our families starve because of your threats. Mess or no mess, we are going to get something to eat. If the I. L. A. can't feed us, then to hell with it."

Wednesday we went to the charities and presented our demands. We were met by Mrs. Gordon, who tried to tell us about god. But she was cut short when a worker from the M. W. I. U. told her they came there for bread, not preaching. The others agreed and a heated argument followed. The men stuck to their point and brought Mrs. Gordon back to earth. The men were too hot for her, so she went into the office and sent the other skipilot, Rev. Griffett. He came in and tried to show the men that he was in sympathy with them, but they would have to wait. They could not be served for three or four days.

At this point the men were seeing red. They demanded food at once. The Rev. Griffett soon saw he couldn't show them any pie in the sky. So he called the President from his home. After hanging up the phone he turned to the men and said: "He won't be able to get here for an hour or so." This was met with such a protest that he had to call him again and tell him he'd better come now.

Very soon a big car rolled up and out steps, then and there, another big, fat bellied preacher. After he had listened to the workers he asked them why they didn't go to their locals for relief. They told him that when they were working they were taxed so much a week to contribute to this place and the amount was five thousand four hundred and forty-one dollars (\$5,441). You didn't have any red tape when you were taking our money. Now you tell us we will have to work before we get anything to eat. We demand food for our families and we want it today.

The good skipilot saw that the workers meant business and knew what they wanted. So he said: "Now brothers, I tell you what I'll do. I will see that a special investigation starts this afternoon. You men come back tomorrow morning and you will get food." This the workers knew was a victory because it takes from a week to ten days to get an investigation.

So, after battling in the Local four hours the night before, and then battling in the charities four, they had applied the Roosevelt recovery act. The next step will be to make the local give relief to all unemployed and part time workers of all locals.

Mr. McCUSTION. The significance of that is that they were using the Baltimore situation, trying to duplicate it in other places: and in places, particularly like Buffalo, New York, and on down to Norfolk, Va.

That is where they formed the idea of having some permanent basis and they started at that time to include longshoremen in the program.

OPEN FORUM

3 P.M. SUNDAY 8TH APR.

WAR AND THE NRA



SPEAKER

HAYS JONES

EDITOR OF "MARINE WORKERS VOICE" AND "DOGHOUSE NEWS"

QUESTIONS

AUSPICES

DISCUSSION

MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION

140 BROAD STREET.

Photograph of circular showing Hays Jones as editor of "Marine Workers Voice," and "Dog House News."

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, you have already submitted a statement with reference to the water-front unemployment council. Will you tell us how it functioned and whether it was connected with the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTON. It was. The Water Front Unemployment Council was really composed of members of the M. W. I. U., plus sympathetic non-members. The membership was less; we had the principal membership but we wanted to get them into the Marine Workers Industrial Union and lay the foundation.

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Did you make the statement that the Communist Party controlled the Water Front Council?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes; absolutely, 100 percent.

Mr. THOMAS. And the Government was really paying relief to a Communist organization?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes. However, the Government was in charge but this council handled the relief.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, this Communist organization was really handling the relief of the Government?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes, and you have got to give it credit that it did handle it at a less cost, and the records will show that it was handled for less cost.

Mr. WHITLEY. With reference to the Water Front Unemployed Council, Mr. McCuiston, I show you a mimeographed publication, captioned "Dog House News," published by the Water Front Unemployed Council. This particular issue is dated October 24, 1933; and there are several other issues attached to it.

Will you please explain the significance of that publication, and what is the purpose of it?

[Doghouse News, published by the Waterfront Unemployed Council, No. 239, Oct. 24, 1933, 140 Broad St., New York, Price, 1c]

YOU TELL US: WE TELL THE BEACH

SAME OLD BUNK

Billy Green says that 3,600,000 have gone "back to work". Roosevelt says 4,000,000 have "gone back" and the rest "don't want to work". The same old line that every parasite hands out.

No doubt most of us would like to "grow cotton" like Roosevelt does, collecting on what other people plow and hoe, and even on what they are forced to plow under. But till Mr. Roosevelt offers them jobs and sees them refuse jobs at decent wages and hours, he's libelling the 10,000,000 workers who are unemployed.

The answer is to get organized and make the bosses and Roosevelt put out the jobs instead of the BULL.

And he's stalling us off and telling us we'll have to starve a few few years more for the glory of the profits.

A "delegate of the NRA union" went aboard the *Washington* yesterday, and asked the men to come across with \$5 each. They asked him what union it was. He wouldn't tell them, but said "You will have to join in another month.

The best answer to crooks of that kind, whether his "NRA Union" is the ISU, the National Association of American Seamen" or just a plain racket, is to organize in the MWIU, which is not an NRA union, but a union of the workers in the marine industry to fight for better wages, better hours, and better working conditions.

And we'll never get them without fighting.

Join the MWIU and fight for it.

EDITOR TAKES VACATION

Silas B. Axtell and the editor of the Dog House News have one thing in common. Both think the editor would be improved by a job on a ship. Silas wants ye editor to make a trip. So does the editor.

Silas is going to get his wish. The editor is going to get one wish filled, but not that one. He is making the trip, but not as an A.B.

Much as he would like that, he is making it as a passenger, which he doesn't like, but he is going to the Soviet Union for a couple of months, which he likes immensely.

We hope the seamen on the beach treat our successor as well as they have treated us in bringing in the news for the Dog House News.

After all, it is your paper, and it gets along just as well as you bring in the news—no better.

The editor is assigned the job of going to the Soviet Union to see what is going on over there. He will spend a couple of months in the workers republic, seeing all he can see. Once before he got a sniff at his heels, so to speak, by getting logged two for one for taking a couple of days off on an Export ship. This time he will see all that he didn't see that time.

The crowd at Sunday night's meeting asked him about fifty questions to find the answers to, and with those questions to answer, he will have to keep digging to see the stuff.

So, till Christmas, support the Dog House News as you have in the past and carry on the fight for unemployment insurance, for three watches, full crews, full wages, and a rank and file code for the marine industry. There'll be reports when the editor gets back. Reports on everything, and all questions answered to the best of our ability.

Not one seaman without relief! Full crews—3 watches—no workaways.

[No. B. 8, Pass the Dog House News Along, November 7, 1934]

MONEY FOR MONKEYS NOT BABIES

A letter in the "NY Times" states that 400 thousand dollars is being spent for a new monkey house at 65th St. and 5th Ave., while the N. Y. Nursery and Childs Hospital is likely to have to close its doors for lack of funds.

Every day in every way the bosses are trying to make us more and more like monkeys and it now seems that they are paying more attention to the monkeys.

After all however they may be preparing to train the monkeys to become skilled "Social Workers" on the pattern of "Gorilla" Robber-some of the Seamen's House.

* * * * *

THE "HOLY" BOUNCERS

A short time ago a Seaman was bounced out of the "Seamen's House" for sleeping in a chair after he had pounded the pavement all day long looking for a job. In addition he was barred from the joint and when he complained to the Chief, Gorilla "Robber-some" he was told:

"Yes you are barred from this place—for your own good."

Evidently this Holy Robber wants Seamen to be out of the YMCA all day so he can ship his own boys when the phone rings.

When the Seaman reported this to the Government man, the "impartial" one replied; "This is a delicate matter, very, very, delicate, I will have to look into it."

Three weeks have passed and the Seaman is still barred from the tax-exempt Y. M. C. A.

A Good committee organized inside the Seamen's House will stop this quicker than all the Government men in Washington. Remember it wasn't so long ago when the Seamen used to seize all the "Forums" in the Y. M. C. A. and put up their own speakers. ORGANIZATION WILL DO THIS AGAIN—Lets get busy.

* * * * *

TOMORROWS ISSUE

In tomorrows issue of the DOG HOUSE NEWS the second installment of the story of the life and work of the Rev. H. H. (Hunger House) Kelley, will appear. He hasn't answered us yet.

LONG ISLAND AND GERMANY

Eighteen Years ago today the Royal Family of Russia was in power and the Tzar with his flock of Crown Princes, Grand Dukes, Generals and Priests, made the laws for Russia sending thousands of workers to the front daily to be murdered in the world war. Workers who raised their voices in protest were sent to the Gallows, to Siberia and to face a firing squad.

Seventeen Years ago today the workers in Russia siezed power and the rulers who a year before "had made the laws" were stuffing the crown jewels in their pockets and madly scrambling for the border.

Those who got away are doing everything from pimping in the Orient to peddling atrocity stories to the Saturday Evening Post but none of them are "making laws." The majority who stayed in Russia, including the Tzar, are pushing up daisies.

Workers everywhere in the world are celebrating today as the 17th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The thought of what happened 17 years ago today in Russia, makes the Hitlers tremble and even the little two-bit Sheriff in Nassau County must rub his neck nervously for in this anniversary they see a picture of their future.

* * * * *

DOG HOUSE MEMORIES

I remember when I cast my vote,
My conscience was at ease;
I little thought I was the Goat,
When I answered Roosevelts pleas.

I hung his picture in my den,
I cheered him as he spoke,
I thought the time was coming when;
No longer I'd be broke.

His picture is tatooed on my chest;
It makes my conscience burn,
And I have sworn I'll never rest,
Till' its transferred to my stern.

—Seattle Slim.

* * * * *

DONATIONS TO THE DOG HOUSE NEWS HAVE BEEN INCREASING. When you get your copy either pay the penny or make a donation. Paper, ink and stencils cost money. The DOG HOUSE NEWS must be supported by the Seamen—THE MORE SUPPORT WE GET—THE BETTER PAPER YOU GET!

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

"Bolshevism is knocking at our gates. We can't afford to let it in. We have got to organize ourselves against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the workers away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy"

We'll give you three guesses as to who said that. At first reading, it sounds like Shyster Si. Axtell, or maybe William Randolph Hearst, Own D. Young.

But all those are wrong. It was none other than that sterling American and patriot, Al Capone.

Thus you have Si Axtell, Al Capone, Hearst and Owen Young all agreed.

As Lenin put it: "The rich and the rogues band together against the workers" And the Holy Racketeers go along, of course.

WHY WE WANT A CSB

Unity: I went aboard the *Scanmail*, trying for a messboy's job. The former messboy had gone ashore, and I was the first looking for the job, at 11 A. M. I spoke to Chief Steward Thomas, who looked at my discharges and kept the last one, telling me to "wait a while"

Another chap, who came looking for the job, turned to without orders and served supper. Meanwhile Thomas passed me many times, not noticing me any more than a bulkhead.

About 5:15 I got tired of waiting and braced Thomas, who handed me back the discharge, with the polite sentiment "Sorry but I can't use you. Come around tomorrow, something may turn up"

He also volunteered the information that the Port Steward had replaced the old messboy. I asked the guy in the messroom if he had been given the job. He said "No."

There were four others waiting for the job. I think this happening, which is pretty common, is as good an argument for the Centralized Shipping Bureau, run by the seamen, as a whole dictionary full of words in Monday's papers. Besides, crimps and holy rackets will still ship the men, although ISU men will get "preference." Preference in buying jobs, probably.

If the ISU officials do ship the men, there is nothing to prevent them from engaging in the same dishonest, racketeering system of shipping men who pay them, bring them "gifts" and the like, while they discriminate against militants and fighters. That is the history of all such shipping, where the seamen have not direct control and a rotary list.

The seamen's demands are thrown out the window, shamelessly betrayed for the dues collecting racket.

Seamen are protesting. The best protest possible would be for the whole crew to march down to the ISU hall and tell the Officials that they repudiate this "agreement" and will fight against it. THEN ORGANIZE YOUR UNITED FRONT SHIP COMMITTEE ISU, MWIU, and UNORGANIZED, TO FIGHT OFF THE PHONEY AGREEMENT.

Demand a referendum on the agreement.

Come to the MWIU meeting, tonight, Wednesday, at 7:30, to hear about the fight on the agreement, and to take part in that fight. SMASH THE SELLOUT.

The shipowners are worried about only one thing: "Will the seamen accept the agreement". They don't have to worry about the ISU officials, who have already perfumed themselves for the shipowners' embrace. The shipowners are afraid of action. Afraid of united action of all the seamen. We cannot delay any longer. Send in protest telegrams and letters, demanding trade union democracy, a referendum on the "agreement." Back up this demand with letters, telegrams, delegations of protest. Smash the sellout.

In the days of the windjammers, before the war, you had to play penochle with the gamblers in the ISU Hall, or you didn't ship. Will it be so again? Stop it.

Tomorrow (Thursday) Night, Regular Meeting, Brooklyn Local, M. W. I. A., 19 Hamilton Av., 7:30 P. M.

[Dog House News, published by the Waterfront Unemployed Council]

NOTICE—The regular membership meeting of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union will be held tonight at 6:00 at the hall, 140 Broad St.

IMM HYSTERICS

The Dog-House New's was featured in the Jefferson Market Magistrates Court last week when, in the trial of a Seaman on a trumped up charge, Captain Lee, the Port Supervisor of the I. M. M. waved it as if it were the American flag.

"This sheet," he said, "is in our opinion subversive and inflammatory, our crews are content & we intend to stop its circulation on IMM properties. We also intend to stop all the activities of such men as the defendant, an alien by the way, who try to disrupt the smooth efficiency of our organization, undermining the discipline of the crew to the endangerment of the safety of our passengers."

The Seaman was permitted to retort that the shipowners couldn't expect loyalty from men who were underpaid and overworked and that a crew work-

ing under the ideal conditions that a strong union could enforce, would be more likely to respond to the demands of a moment of crisis.

But the Seaman was only a worker while Capt. Lee represented the I. M. M. so the Magistrate said—"Guilty" and the Seaman was led off to be fingerprinted wondering what Section 7-A, meant????????

SPECIAL MEETING!

In preparation for the demands of the unemployed Seamen for better relief, and for the Unemployed Conference Sunday November 11, the regular membership meeting tomorrow night will be used to prepare both for the conference and for the presentation of the petitions by a mass delegation of unemployed Seamen.

Every signer of the petitions and every unemployed Seaman should attend the meeting without fail to discuss the present situation and to make plans for future action. DONT FORGET THE TIME AND PLACE—Be on time.

7: P. M. Thursday, Nov. 9, at 140 Broad St.

LONG ISLAND AND GERMANY

A letter from a seaman signing him- "I-Splice" states;

I see by the newspapers that Hitler's new joint has a bomb proof roof, made of concrete 40 feet thick (as thick as his head).

Evidently Hitler is becoming more and more alarmed at what might happen to him in Germany but while discussing Hitler our attention is called to an Editorial in the N. Y. Post which tells of a little two-bit Hitler in Nassau County who put an unemployed Council member in solitary confinement for 60 days refusing him visitors and reading material and explaining his position by saying:

"I make the laws in Nassau County."

1. CENTRALIZED SHIPPING BUREAU, CONTROLLED BY SEAMEN.
2. No discrimination because of race, color, nationality, creed or political opinion.
3. Seamen's control of relief.
4. Passage of Workers' Unemployment and Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598).

UNITY

The New York Publication of the Marine Workers Industrial Union

OPEN MEETING OF MARINE WORKERS IND. UNION TONIGHT (WEDNESDAY) 7:30
AT 140 BROAD ST. ALL SEAMEN WELCOME

Unity: At the last meeting of the ISU, of which I am a member, one of the officials made his phoney report on the Agreement, and forced it down our throats without a vote—because all old timers have "faith" in the Old Man of the Sea, Andy Furuseth.

But here lately I've begun to see through the screens of Furuseth and Olander. The MWIU had warned the seamen about these traitors and carried on the struggle with their militant policies. I didn't like the agreement, and said so.

One fellow member of the ISU put a motion on the floor that the editor of the Bulletin, Leslie Jones, be removed. This rat gets \$10 a week for his red baiting propaganda.

The officials defended him on the ground that his "services" were needed to fight against "Hudson and his associates in the dual union" and that Jones had done "good work" in Baltimore, where he was instrumental in breaking up seamen's control of relief and the Centralized Shipping Bureau.

Yes, he has done "wonderful" work in the interests of the shipowners. That's why his jaw was broken and the focsle thief can't stay in Baltimore.

Fellow members, fight to expell this traitor from our union. The MWIU expelled him, and Furuseth and his crowd openly embraced the rat to sabotage the struggles of the seamen.—ISU member.

Fight the \$57.50 wage scale.

MASS PROTESTS WILL HALT PHONEY ISU AGREEMENT

Already telegrams and letters of protest have come in from several ships demanding that the ISU stop its efforts to sell the seamen out for a \$57.50 wage scale, and the other robberies contained in the "agreement" they signed with the shipowners. Bozo has been chased off one ship, half a dozen ships' crews have torn up the ISU leaflets and several have sent in the protest telegrams and letters demanding their original demands, and a referendum vote on any agreement before it becomes official.

Indignation is high at the effort of the ISU fakers to grab off the dues paying racket in exchange for this flagrant sellout of the seamen's interests.

In place of the \$75 demanded by the seamen, the ISU "agreed to \$57.50. In place of the 8 hour day for all members of the crew, the ISU "agreed" to 2 watches and no pay for overtime, (for which the seamen demanded 75¢ an hour) although they place meaningless "limits" on the overtime. Most overtime is worked, either on mail, or on rigging out the ship for entry into a port, or clearing her on departure. For none of these things will overtime be forbidden, or paid.

The seamen demanded a Centralized Shipping Bureau, controlled by the seamen, with rotary shipping. The ISU Officials "agreed" to "preference" for ISU men, although the companies can and will still give preference to company men, with ISU consent and approval.

READ GOOD BOOKS

Those who like to read a good book should pay a visit to the library of the International Seamen's Club, second floor, at 140 Broad Street.

One book that should interest all workers, and which you will find there, is the Brown Book of Hitler Terror, published by the International Committee that investigated the burning of the Reichstag and other Hitler terror methods.

This book, and many others, fiction economics history are now in the library. There are also foreign language newspapers.

Come up and use the club.

WAR SHIPMENTS GROW

Import of nickel, a chief ingredient of munitions steels, into England increased to four times its former volume. Into Holland it increased six times. Most of it is for re-export to continental countries. Just a straw showing how the winds of war are blowing up.

KICKED OUT FOR EATING TWICE

He was hungry, so he doubled up on the stew at Seraton House, and he got thrown out for doing it. He went to the police station and told the Captain, who bought him a feed and sent him back with a cop to get reinstated.

Sometimes it happens. A cop may have a soft spot in his heart. But that softheartedness doesn't stop them from beating workers over the head when they fight for something to eat, or demand decent wages for the work they do. Even a "soft hearted cop" is an agent to protect property from the hungry. The working class doesn't need cops. Its the owners of property, and the cops know it. Don't trust even the soft hearted ones.

"Grocery Sales Rose 3.1% in September" headlines the papers. But the story reports that less commodities were sold, which means that we got less to eat. You don't eat prices, but food.

We are informed that Harry Hawkins was one of the SCI scabs who took jobs on the Diamond Cement. We are also informed that these jobs are Harry's specialty. Know him? How do you treat that kind?

MUGGED AND FINGERPRINTED

Brewery workers are going to be mugged and fingerprinted. And those who don't like this police persecution will be out of a job. "Racketeering" is the excuse. It is to stop the "muscling in". However we never heard of fingerprinting and mugging the owners of the breweries. So we don't see how it will stop the muscling in, or racketeering.

It is the men who operate automatic capping machines, and tend vats who are to be mugged and printed, and those who juggle barrels.

Whoever heard of a racketeer muscling in on a \$12 a week job? They go in for higher things. Like the business office, where the fingerprints aren't taken.

It's just another blacklisting trick. The move is afoot to fingerprint and mug all the workers, as a first step toward an internal passport system, and a universal blacklist.

Then, if the shipowner fires you for wanting more wages, or organizing the crews of his vessels, you won't be able to fall back on the old trick of a changed name. Your fingerprints will be on the blacklist and your mug. It will work more efficiently than the Shipping Board list does now.

And the way to put a stop to it is at the source. All workers should take part in the protest against the game of making criminals out of workers.

The "American Eagle" and the "American Temple" etc. are the fine cognomens by which the hungry gutted slave pots that carry sulphur for DuPont are known.

Recently a fireman on the American Eagle was either poisoned or starved to death at sea off the Florida Keys. After being dead four hours his body was transferred to a Coast Guard cutter and he was labelled "ill with apendicitis".

Plenty of these "over and under" ships come into Galveston and Houston—overworked and underfed, underpaid and undermanned.

They are doing away with 2d cooks, messboys, wipers and watertenders and half the deck crew. Where does the NRA fit in?

Red.

Mr. McCUSTION. That was the purpose served, leading to the relief and strategy: relief and strategy was in the hands of the Seamen's Institute, water-front Y. M. C. A.'s and so forth, and so on. They referred to the Seamen's Church Institute, as it was commonly referred to, as the Dog House by the seamen. Generally the seamen did not go there until they were broke, and they called it the Dog House. And, a campaign was on against it. Well, this was a further publication that was called out, put out, for the purpose of filling up the gap in between the Marine Workers Voice, and it developed rather rapidly. It developed and had for its purpose the organizing of every marine worker into the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say they used that as a recruiting ground in the Communist Party, among themselves?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Let that be identified and attached to the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to have those marked in the record as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a photostatic copy of a page of the Marine Workers Voice dated May, 1934, containing an argument "Mass Struggles Can Defend Ship Owners' Code," by Roy Hudson. Will you explain the significance of that article to the committee, please.

MASS STRUGGLES CAN DEFEAT SHIPOWNERS' CODE

These mass struggles are not far off. The continued manoeuvres of the NRA show that the shipowners are determined to enforce the wage cutting ship-owners code, which tens of thousands of seamen and longshoremen have pro-

tested against. Through this code, with its infamous National Shipping Labor Board, they will try to outlaw militant unionism, company unionize the I.S.U. and I.L.A. and check the growing strike movement by declaring strikes illegal and making arbitration compulsory.

These attacks can be defeated. Increased wages, improved conditions, unemployment insurance can be won. The past four years prove that. But there is only one way to accomplish this. That is, through organized action, through struggle and strikes upon a mass scale—through the way pointed out by the MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION.

In the coming year we must make full use of the past four years of experience. Let us organize and go forward to militant victories.

Mr. McCuiston. The significance is that he was or had pretty good information, foresight, because everything that was in there was carried out subsequently; everything that was suggested, and it was the events that led up to this; this is the action of the N. M. U. up to date.

Mr. Whitley. Mr. McCuiston, can you relate the details of the raising of the red flag over the Y. M. C. A. in Baltimore in 1933?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. There was a complaint which came out of the national fraction meeting of the union that Baltimore Communists had not paid enough attention, to recruiting the membership of the Communist Party; that they were satisfied to establish the bureau and gain economic demands for the seamen there, and so forth, and so on; but that they had been very backward in recruiting for the Communist Party, so they put on this big drive that was to reach its height on May 1, on May 1, 1933.

The first information we got of it was that they had staged a Communist demonstration in front of the Y. M. C. A. and that they hoisted the red flag on the staff there, and that all of that showed that they had control of the water front there then, and that caused quite a little bit of let down there. A good many of the water front resented it, and they dropped away, and so they had the alternative of getting their men back.

Mr. Whitley. And on what steamship company or companies were the majority of the job strikes called?

Mr. McCuiston. The majority were on the Orr Steamship Co. That is the Bethlehem, and on the Munson Line.

Mr. Whitley. And, why were they concentrating primarily on those two lines?

Mr. McCuiston. On the Orr Steamship, because they carried what was characterized as checkerboard crews; carried Negro and white crews, mixed, and a good percentage of Spanish speaking in the crews, and as such, why, the program of the M. W. I. U. was they were very much in favor of furthering this program and we really could get to them, because they were one port ships, going down to South America and making one port in South America and right back, and it was easy to pull quick action, because the steel production depended upon getting ore up in time there and they were easy to act on, because if you hit them in time, why they would not shut down a steel mill for one ship. And on the Munson Line, because the Munson we knew at that time was on the verge of bankruptcy anyway and they could not afford to have any very long fights, and we had to have some ship which we could point out as obtaining results on. In addition these ships ran to South American countries, and we could maintain contacts and carry out the instruc-

tions that were given in some of the previous exhibits to establish contacts, so that it would be useful in an international set-up as I said before.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. McCuiston, who was in charge of the work on the Pacific coast at this time?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Tommy Ray and Harry Hines. Harry Hines was killed in Spain in 1937. He was also member of the Profintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are referring specifically now to what period?

Mr. MCCUISTON. The period just before the 1934 strike; 6, 7, or 8 months before that strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you——

Mr. MCCUISTON (interposing). Or a year before.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a copy of the Marine Workers Voice, dated August, 1934, having to do with the tie up at Auckland, New Zealand, and arrest of Roy B. Hudson, Harry Jackson, and others on the coast.

[From Marine Workers Voice, August 1934]

DEFEND YOUR UNION!—SMASH THE TERROR!

Roy B. Hudson, National Secretary Jailed; Harry Jackson, West Coast Organizer, Jailed; Hundreds of other militant seamen jailed; to Smash the West Coast Strike and the M. W. I. U.

Seamen, Longshoremens! Defend Your Fighting Union; Protest to West Coast Mayors, Governors and to Mayor of Norfolk, Va., Demanding Release of arrested workers. Demand Right to Union Chosen by Yourself, Not the Police Force and Shipowners.

Will you explain the significance of that to the committee?

Mr. MCCUISTON. That is merely that they were at that time beginning to get real strength of the M. W. I. U. out there, and they brought this out to show that Hudson, Jackson, and so on and so forth, were making martyrs of themselves out there to show that they had real power to spread the strike on an international basis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you remember whether there was any discussion relative to Harry Bridges prior to the 1934 west-coast strike?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Yes; we discussed him and the question of policy a number of times. At that time, in 1933, the water-front organizers, Hines and Tommy Ray, were putting out what was called The Water Front Worker, at that time, a mimeographed sheet, and under instructions from Mink and from the I. S. H. why, they had taken the line that the whole union was to adopt later; but even the Central Committee of the Communist Party here did not know so much about it at that time. That was to take a general approach to the whole subject, and they at that time started the building up of Harry Bridges; and Harry Bridges and Tommy Ray and Harry Hines were told by Sam Dorsey and those in the Communist Party, officials in California, that this was the wrong program, and they told him, well, what about it; they are out on the job, and they had their instructions; and so, immediately, the appeal came to the International Bureau and it was decided in the International Bureau——

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean in a fractional meeting?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Of the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the M. W. I. U.

Mr. MCCUISTON. Yes. So then we took it into a broad national fractional meeting, and over there the policy was decided to be wrong; it was decided that the policy was wrong; Harry Bridges

should come out and identify himself as a member of the Communist Party, and this paper should identify itself as a Communist paper.

We took the attitude that it was a part of the Communist Party. But, despite that, they kept on, and so we were all called to a meeting and informed that Harry Bridges and Tommy Ray and Hines were right, and that we would have to adopt that policy in the international. So we did.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand the discussion at that time was whether or not Tommy Ray and Hines and others on the west coast, among the west-coast workers in the maritime industry, should come out for the Communist Party, or whether Harry Bridges should come out as a Communist, declare his party affiliations, as well as the others who worked with him. In brief, that was the issue.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then——

Mr. McCUISTION. Instead of working quietly and putting out this paper, and keeping it very quiet about the Communists.

And establishing a dock nuclei; at first a dock nuclei which they had easily established. They had men on the Luckenbach dock out there, and they used that as an example that they were able to organize and break that whole dock down there on that basis, and they argued that by keeping Harry Bridges underground and concentrating on making him popular and avoiding getting him identified as a Communist that they would have a leader developed when the strike occurred, and they had already made plans for a strike.

Mr. THOMAS. On this question of Harry Bridges, I would like to ask Mr. McCuiston: When was it that you advised the Department of Labor that you had certain information relative to Harry Bridges?

Mr. McCUISTION. I gave a statement to them during the course of the hearings.

Mr. THOMAS. During the course of the last hearing?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And whom did you give that statement to?

Mr. McCUISTION. I gave the statement personally in the office in the naturalization office.

Mr. THOMAS. I see.

Mr. McCUISTION. In the Immigration Office in New Orleans.

Mr. THOMAS. A verbal statement?

Mr. McCUISTION. They took it down in shorthand and then it was read off and I made the necessary corrections on it. We went over it completely. There were copies made and sent to all parties interested, and I was subsequently called in and asked if I would testify to it. I said no. At that time and up to very recently I had objected to testifying, because I still had hopes that we might be able to save the National Maritime Union and other unions in the field from being wrecked, but finally a group of us working together on this thing decided this is the only chance to bring the whole thing to the attention of the public and get rid of the Communists; the only chance we have of saving the union.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you recall the name of the man who took the statement from you?

Mr. McCUISTION. He is the man in charge of the office, Mr. Delaney.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Delaney?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I came at his request. He contacted me, because he found out from sources—I did not ask him about—that I had this information and he called me in and asked me if I would make a statement and I said, "Certainly." He wanted to know if I would testify and I said, "No." I said, "You can subpoena me, but I will tell you in advance that I will be a hostile witness," because I did not believe in deportation for labor activities, and I do not yet. I believe that the workers, the laborers, should purge their ranks of these people.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you happen to know whether Mr. Delaney sent that statement to anyone else?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I do; because I have been questioned about it since by other parties.

Mr. THOMAS. You know that the statement was sent off to Washington?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I know that Mr. Delaney was very actively interested in digging up anything he could that would be of advantage to the Government in proving the Government's case.

Mr. THOMAS. And you were able to prove to Mr. Delaney's satisfaction that Harry Bridges was a Communist?

Mr. McCUSTION. I did not try to prove it; I just gave him a statement of what I knew about it.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, do you think that you did prove that Harry Bridges was a Communist?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I think that he was thoroughly convinced of it, but that also he was convinced that it would be hard to prove it in court.

Mr. THOMAS. I see. That is all I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say that during 1933, prior to the 1934 strike, there were a number of discussions in the M. W. I. U. in New York, which is Communist controlled, as to what the policies should be or as to how Harry Bridges should be used on the west coast.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, there were other Communist leaders out there.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. And it was a question as to whether he was to be known as a longshoreman rather than a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the particular issue was whether he should work quietly and keep his membership or his affiliation with the party secret or whether he should come out in the open and identify himself with the party?

Mr. McCUSTION. And it was decided at the time that they would use certain Communists on the water front—Jackson, and others. And there was another thing, at that time. Whisperings were going around already that the Communist were running things and that they were using them as foils to direct the attention of the longshoremen to the fact that these guys were Communists and that Bridges was not; Bridges and these others. In other words, Harry Jackson and so forth, should come out and present a program themselves and thereby direct attention away from Harry Bridges.

Mr. WHITLEY. Give him a chance to build up his following?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And become popular?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. They even at certain times came out and openly opposed him on certain things and had him oppose them on certain things.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was all prearranged?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, the Marine Workers Industrial Union called a strike on October 8, 1934, on the east coast, did they not?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe the purpose and outcome of that strike, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. That is another strike, I and a good many others, disagreed with, because we knew that the A. F. of L. was the only organization that had any strength at all on the coast and we could not hope to have a successful strike without having their cooperation at the same time; but, despite that we were actually voted down in the national fraction and the decision was made to call the strike, because we figured that on the basis of even being able—we did not feel that we would be able to carry on a successful strike—but, on the basis of being able to give ourselves a nuisance value to the extent we could force the A. F. of L. to give us recognition and take joint action with us. The strike petered out in a few days.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, this morning you identified a newspaper photograph of George Mink. I wonder if you can identify that photograph [exhibiting photograph].

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that George Mink?

Mr. McCUISTION. That is George Mink.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no question in your mind about it?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; no question at all about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, I show you a copy of the Daily Worker, July 29, 1936, page 5, having to do with the Communist Party's role in the seaman's strike, Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

[From the Daily Worker, July 29, 1936, p. 5]

ISSUE OF INDUSTRIAL UNION RISES OUT OF LIVES OF WORKERS IN STRUGGLE TO BUILD AND MAINTAIN THEIR ORGANIZATIONS—WEST COAST EVENTS CITED BY HUDSON AT C. P. CONVENTION—DEEP-ROOTED DESIRE OF AMERICAN WORKERS FOR INDUSTRIAL FORMS SEEN IN RECENT STRUGGLES OF WORKERS IN MARITIME INDUSTRIES

LESSONS OF MARITIME FEDERATION

This deep-rooted desire of the American workers for industrial forms of organization has found its best expression in recent years in the struggles of the marine workers for a maritime federation. The Pacific coast seamen and longshoremen and other crafts have fought out this question of industrial cooperation on the picket lines. And we can rest assured that the steel and auto and other workers will give their answer to this question in the same way. . . . The success of the maritime workers in establishing united action on an industrial scale through the maritime federation has undoubtedly been a major factor in helping to stimulate and crystallize a sentiment for industrial unionism throughout the country.

For years there existed bitter friction and quarrels between the existing marine craft unions. Strike after strike was defeated because the workers in one craft lacked the support of the rest of the workers in the industry. The unions were dominated by a leadership that opposed with all its power the united action of all the unions.

This state of affairs contributed much to the fact that for years large sections of the industry remained unorganized. On the west coast none of the craft unions had any substantial strength and on a national scale the seamen remained unorganized for over twelve years. But in the wave of organization that swept the country in 1934 a movement developed amongst the marine workers that was climaxed with the 1934 strike on the west coast. The strike smashed through all craft lines, uniting the mass of workers in one of the greatest industrial strikes in the history of the American Labor movement, and led to the organization of the Maritime Federation, a federation of a number of craft unions, for the purpose of organizing and insuring industrial solidarity.

The beginning of this strike found the workers practically unorganized, with the exception of the longshoremen. The conclusion of it found them united practically 100 percent into five or six powerful craft unions, which the ship-owners were forced to recognize and deal with. I think it safe to say that Industrial Action and Unity was the decisive factor that made possible an improvement of wages and working conditions for all crafts and the organization of tens of thousands of unorganized into the craft unions. Certainly, only the continued cooperation of these unions through the maritime federation has made it possible for craft unions to continue to exist since the termination of the strike.

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. Does that—

Mr. McCuiston (interposing). Why, that is a further program, the same program that you had, the same as the others, except that it is brought up to date, the way they were doing it, as prior to the C. I. O. instead of the other.

Mr. Whitley. In other words, it is the same program that has been identified all of the way through; the Communist Party's program?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. Just brought up to 1936?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; it reads practically the same way.

Mr. Whitley. The same policy; the same strategy; same procedure?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Starnes. That will be identified as an exhibit for the record. All right, Mr. Whitley, what else do you have?

Mr. Whitley. Does the N. M. U. maintain an organization on the Great Lakes, or has it maintained an organization there?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; it has one there now.

Mr. Whitley. And, what was the membership of the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. McCuiston. The national organization or the organization on the Lakes?

Mr. Whitley. Well, the national, first.

Mr. McCuiston. The national, the maximum membership was about 14,000.

Mr. Whitley. And geographically, how was that membership divided, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. About 1,200 on the Great Lakes, about 5,000 on the east coast, and six to seven thousand on the west coast.

Mr. Whitley. And, was that a dues-paying membership?

Mr. McCuiston. Not over 20 percent paid up dues.

Mr. Whitley. In other words, it was maintained largely from subsidies.

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. From what source?

Mr. McCuISTION. Dues were only 50 cents a month, and the initiation fee was a dollar, and the Communist Party furnished the necessary subsidy to make up the operating deficit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the M. W. I. U. ever a self-supporting national organization on a national scale?

Mr. McCuISTION. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Marine Workers Industrial Union participate actively in the west coast strike?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes; they had a separate strike committee set up and separate soup kitchens, and functioned as a union itself.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are referring to the 1934 strike?

Mr. McCuISTION. The 1934 west coast strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the general program of the M. W. I. U. relative to the A. F. of L. at the conclusion of the 1934 west coast strike.

Mr. McCuISTION. The conclusion was that we did not have chance to build the Marine Workers Industrial Union. This program was not the opinion of the membership. It was that the M. W. I. U. did not have a chance to become the predominating union in the industry and therefore we would have to work toward getting a successful bargain, as successful a bargain as we could out of the unions, and either amalgamate or liquidate if necessary, to go to the final extent, we would have to liquidate the union and then they would have to get into the A. F. of L. any way they could.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; and was a decision subsequently reached to liquidate?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir. The decision reached at the national fraction meeting of the Communist Party in January 1935, that—and also by the Central Committee, the Presidium, of the Communist Party, and as such, the International Bureau, and the membership was notified that the M. W. I. U. is automatically no more. Five men made the final notification to the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they were all members of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Officials of the party?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they made the decision affecting the whole union?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes; 14,000 members.

Mr. THOMAS. Who were those parties?

Mr. McCuISTION. There were seven men on the decision, but two of us refused to sign. Joe Bianca and myself refused to sign. In other words the others were Roy Hudson, Al Kaufman, and I cannot recall right now the other two names. I will furnish them to your committee. [Tommy Ray, Al Lannon, and Harry Hines, as furnished to the committee by McCuISTION.] But anyway, two of us refused to sign.

Mr. THOMAS. Was the M. W. I. U. a forerunner of the N. M. U.? That is, an immediate forerunner.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, five men were in position of sufficient control in connection with this labor organization that they could decide to abandon an organization of 14,000 members.

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And, is it not correct, that organization went to pieces in a very short time thereafter?

Mr. McCUISTON. Within 30 days.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, did the Marine Workers Industrial Union submit briefs to the various N. R. A. boards, claiming jurisdiction both as to seamen and longshoremen?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes. I submitted a brief myself, claiming that I represented the longshoremen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been a longshoreman?

Mr. McCUISTON. No; although I was a member of the I. L. A.

Mr. WHITLEY. Although the M. W. I. U. had no jurisdiction over the longshoremen or in their field, they submitted a brief.

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes. They did not have 100 members nationally in the I. L. A. at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did they also submit proposed wage and working condition scales?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. For both longshoremen and seamen?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Harry Bridges a member of the M. W. I. U.?

Mr. McCUISTON. No; Harry Bridges was a member of the I. L. A., and as such instructed to keep away from the M. W. I. U. work in the I. L. A. entirely, although he came out in support after he got power, he came out and constantly told how good the M. W. I. U. was. He may have been a member secretly. I do not know of my own knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, keeping the program concealed, insofar as his connection was concerned.

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. After liquidation of the M. W. I. U., what was the advice or the instructions given to the membership, former membership?

Mr. McCUISTON. The advice and instruction given to the former membership was, "Well, boys, if you want to go to sea, you better go into the A. F. of L. So, get going."

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, go back?

Mr. McCUISTON. They were just dropped.

They were told, "If you want to go into a union, go to the A. F. of L." They were advised to do that.

Mr. WHITLEY. And were definite instructions given to the Communist Party members of the union?

Mr. McCUISTON. Yes; they were furnished with the initiation fees and the first month's dues so that they could go up and get employment right away if they could get in, and they were also instructed to go to specific places and join, and to contact certain favorable men toward the Communist Party that were members of the A. F. of L., and to get in through that means.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the membership have any considerable difficulty in getting into the A. F. of L. union at that time?

Mr. McCUISTON. Not as a whole they did not have a considerable difficulty. The men in leadership had little difficulty, but that was generally arranged, could be arranged by a little money changing hands here and there.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how were the leaders, members of the Communist Party who were members of the M. W. I. U. assisted geographically after liquidation of the union?

Mr. McCUSTION. Took the ones known on the east coast and shipped them to the west coast and took the ones on the west coast who were known and shipped them back to the east coast; just shifted them around to where they were not known, and gave them new fields to work in.

Mr. WHITLEY. And were plans for future strikes a definite part of the program of the marine fraction of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. Every man was instructed that he should keep that as the foremost point. In fact, several different deadlines were set for the strike and they kept being moved up until they were finally successful.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the testimony before this committee Saturday, Mr. Joseph Curran stated that the actual strike action on the steamship *California* in the early part of 1936 was strictly a spontaneous action. He was very emphatic, as I recall his testimony, to that effect.

What is your knowledge of the events leading up to the *California* incident, Mr. McCustion?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well, it could be—it was a spontaneous incident all right, but there was a planned strike on any intercoastal ship, preferably a passenger ship, because it involved more men and would get more publicity; intercoastal ship, because it could involve both coasts, and it could bring about a united basis for a general strike.

This was a spontaneous happening on the *California* and when it happened, why, full advantage was taken of it. I did not know about that incident, because I was pretty sore at the whole program of liquidation of the M. W. I. U., and so forth, and I told them that I preferred to go to sea rather than to participate in any of it, and I went down and got a job. I was in India when that occurred.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Joseph Curran selected as a man to lead that strike action?

Mr. McCUSTION. No; because I did not know Joe Curran personally at that time, but he was a boatswain mate on that ship and, as such, he was looked upon as a sherrang or boss, and he most certainly would never be selected. They always selected someone who has no position of authority to lead strikes or something like that. Joe was also known as a bucko boatswain. He was strictly a company man at that time. He was called—well, he is still called—“No-Coffee-Time-Joe,” because he would not give the boys 15 minutes off in the morning and 15 minutes off in the afternoon for coffee, and he was strictly a company man.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that?

Mr. McCUSTION. Joe was called “No-Coffee-Time-Joe.”

Mr. THOMAS. That is, he was called “No-Coffee-Time-Joe”?

Mr. McCUSTION. He was called “No-Coffee-Time-Joe.” He is known by that name nationally, “No-Coffee-Time-Joe.” He was never popular with the men.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, do you know who was selected to lead that strike on the *California*?

Mr. McCUSTION. There was no man selected. In fact, it was emphasized at that time that Communists should not be selected; should

not be pushed for leadership in any action that would occur for the possible chance that he would be connected with the Communist Party and therefore would be connected with the Communist Party, and might look like it was giving a front to the strike and pushing it ahead. Particularly, they wanted to pick somebody that they could play on their vanity; somebody who would take orders easily and do very little but be satisfied with getting the credit for everything.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Joseph Curran a member of the party at that time?

Mr. McCUSTION. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was early in 1936?

Mr. McCUSTION. I was not a member at that time myself, but I am positive he was not a member, because I was acquainted with all the leading communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a letter under date of October 2, 1936, New York City, written on "Seamen's Defense Committee, 164 Eleventh Avenue, New York City" stationery, "Joseph Curran, chairman."

The letter is addressed to "Peter Innes." The letter head also says "Ralph Emerson, secretary." The letter is addressed to Peter Innes. He has previously been identified by you also.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was on the west coast, active on west coast maritime affairs.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The letter is signed by Joe Curran. A portion of page 2 reads as follows:

I picked up a Voice of the Federation here with a column in it that is raising hell with the men here they are sore as hell at the column that runs me down and it will not increase the circulation because I will give you the reason. The World Telegram refers to me in a headline as "Joe Curran adored by the seamen" and you can see from this that the men don't like that story. It is in the Rank and Filers column. You better tell Bridges to get them to soft peddle that stuff as the men are talking about it all over the waterfront and it is not a good policy for the movement as a whole it will have to be stopped.

What is the significance of that particular quotation?

Mr. McCUSTION. That is just the type; that shows the reasons the Communist Party adopted Joe Curran, because all that he was interested in was pork chops and all the publicity he could get. If he could get his picture in the paper at any time and was given plenty of hero worship, he was satisfied. That is what he wanted in this letter. Why, he did not care what happened, in other words, as long as he was getting his. He always specified that and acted like a spoiled child whenever a meal had to be missed, or whenever money was not coming in. He was always threatening to resign or something like that. But in the meantime when the news-reels came down he would go on and get back in line again.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to have that marked in evidence.

Now, was the Communist Party in contact with Joseph Curran at the time of the first California incident, early in 1936?

Mr. McCUSTION. I would not say that they were in contact with him, no. There might have been Communists aboard ship, and I think there were, because they were assigned to get on those ships. Why, they were probably in contact with him, but the chances were

that he was not in the Communist Party. They just picked him because he presented a good front for the whole thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. If they were there, you do not know it?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; I do not know it. I was in India at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. How was the 1936 spring strike called?

Mr. McCUISTION. I don't know. I cannot answer that either, because as I say I was at sea.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a telegram, Mr. McCuistion, dated November 1, 1936; New York City date line addressed to Peter Innes, room 145, 268 Market Street, San Francisco.

The telegram reads as follows:

AAACF—

what is that AAACF stand for?

Mr. McCUISTION. It is an identification, that is all, as to who sent it; a private identification.

Mr. WHITLEY. A code word?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. We changed them every 2 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. The telegram reads:

AAACF for crews of California and other east coast ships. Sit-down action in support of west coast here on east coast nearly one hundred percent. Advise crews of all east coast ships to take similar action wherever they may be pending further orders from New York.

That is signed:

Strike strategy committee, Joe Curran, Jack Lawrenson, Ferdinand Smith, Frank Jones, McCarthy, Al Lannon, Frank Mulderig, Patrick Keenan, Glenn Skogman.

Now, will you interpret that telegram before the committee, please, Mr. McCuistion?

Mr. McCUISTION. That is the original strike strategy committee and shows that they were set up in New York as a supreme authority to order a strike, without resorting to a referendum or anything. They were to advise the membership merely.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the strike called?

Mr. McCUISTION. It was a successful strike call. It was a timely strike too, at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the call for the strike in the fall of 1936?

Mr. McCUISTION. The only thing that is significant about it is that Lawrenson is on there, and Al Lannon who were at that time water-front leaders of the Communist Party in New York. Both of them were strike strategists for the Communist Party and Lannon is a graduate of the Lenin School, and a former soldier in the Red Army for about 6 months, and a courier all over Europe for them. He goes to sea just once in a while.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of all of the signers of that strike call, how many are Communist members, Mr. McCuistion?

Mr. McCUISTION. At that time, there were only, to my knowledge only two of them who were Communist members at that time. Subsequently several others became Communist members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Only two of them at that time?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; only two of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was in 1936?

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in the fall of 1936.

Mr. McCuiston. That was in 1936.

Mr. Voorhis. I believe you stated that that was the time of the calling of the 1936 strike.

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. I think—I am pretty sure. I could not answer as I was at sea and was not in the party, but it was along about that period, shortly before that that Curran joined the party. But, he was not generally known as a Communist at that time.

Mr. Whitley. You were still working very closely with the Communist Party, were you not?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; I was working very closely with the party.

Mr. Whitley. You stated you were at sea at the time of the calling of the strike. On what ship were you working?

Mr. McCuiston. On *The New Orleans* as an oiler.

Mr. Whitley. And when did you return to the United States Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. May 11, 1936.

Mr. Whitley. May 11?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. At the time of the strike?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. The strike was in progress when I returned.

Mr. Whitley. Did your ship go on strike upon arriving in the United States?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; even most of the licensed officers on our ship went out too.

Mr. Whitley. Was any basis laid for that while the ship was at sea?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. I knew a strike was going to come. In fact I thought it was going to come much sooner and although we could not get any information, why, I worked on the crew the whole way from the time we started on the trip to India and back, 3 months and some odd days, getting them prepared for the strike. We even took strike action, had a job action rather in Calcutta when we demanded a bonus for bringing monkeys back at that time, a bonus of 25 cents apiece for the men whoever had to take care of them and we won the strike by threatening to throw the monkeys overboard if they did not come through. The longshoremen would not work, because they thought that monkeys were sacred and would not let us kill the monkeys. So, we automatically won.

Mr. Voorhis. At this time you say you were not in the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. No.

Mr. Voorhis. You had been before that; is that right?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Voorhis. How could you continue to work closely with them if you had formerly been a member of the Communist Party and was not at that time?

Mr. McCuiston. Because my departure from the Communist Party was not because of a disagreement with the general principles of the Communist Party, but merely due to the fact that I refused to let them convince me to do something that I did not want to do. In other words, if I determined that a policy was correct, I was going to support it until the whole membership decided that it was wrong.

I was disgusted with the action of 5 men liquidating an organization of 14,000 men.

Mr. VOORHIS. I can understand that, but what I want an answer to is why it was that they continued to keep you in their confidence under those circumstances.

Mr. McCUSTION. Because I was known to perhaps to fifteen or twenty seamen then. I know now that they wanted to use whatever influence I had with these seamen.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you at that time in the inter council of the Communists?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; at that time actually I was more in the inter council in one way than I ever have been when I was actually a member of the party, because I was only meeting the top leadership of the party. I had that privilege, whereas before when I was a party member they gave definite orders. At this time they had to convince me that something was right, so I was getting the full benefit of their arguments.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you elected to the strike committee by virtue of your having been a ship's delegate on that trip?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; that automatically made me a member of the strike committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet the strike committee upon your return?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I met with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet the strike committee first, or did the committee participate—

Mr. McCUSTION. Pardon me. They met me at the ship before I even got ashore. I was still on watch when Alexander Bell came aboard and told me that Roy Hudson and Tommy Ray wanted to see me immediately. And, they helped me pack my bag aboard ship so as to get me off in a hurry before I got over to talk to the strike committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. What instructions did they give you?

Mr. McCUSTION. The fact that things had gone wrong on the water front and that Joe Curran was proving to be a problem child for them; that it had given them a sign and Pat Codyre, instead of trying to bring prestige to the party was trying to lead Joe Curran away from the party.

So at that time they were laying their plans for a campaign to get rid of Pat Codyre.

Mr. VOORHIS. Pat Codyre at that time was a Communist?

Mr. McCUSTION. Codyre was a Communist. Yes; Codyre was a Communist, but Codyre was working against the party at that time. And I was not working against Codyre, but Codyre did have a lot of crazy notions. He did not know anything about the union methods. He wrote all Joe Curran's speeches and they were good speeches, and that is why he had so much influence over Joe Curran, and I knew that his policy was wrong about the strike.

The Communists actually had the correct strike strategies laid out at that time to win the strike, but, of course, they always win their points, so I did assist in getting rid of Pat Codyre and winning Curran over closer to the party so that Curran could be prevailed upon to say the right thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, did you receive a specific assignment to get close to Curran?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I was given \$400 by Roy Hudson and told to go out and entertain with that and claim that I won it in a poker game on the ship and win him back. After all my finances were not so good that I would turn down \$400.

Mr. WHITLEY. And so you used that to try to bring Curran closer to the party and win him away from Pat Codyre, who was influencing him away from the party.

Mr. McCUSTION. I did not want to bring him closer to the party. I was not interested in bringing him closer to the party. I was interested in bringing about what I thought was a correct line of strategy and automatically this brought him closer to the party. Actually I did not want to see him join the party. I wanted to keep him out of the party because at that time I was working with anti-Communist. We had the mistaken idea we could use the party and so we agreed we would use the party, but we would see that the party did not get control of the apparatus of the strike; but they fooled us and got control anyway.

Mr. STARNES. And got control of Joe Curren, too?

Mr. McCUSTION. They got Joe, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just when did he join the party, Mr. McCustion?

Mr. McCUSTION. I am of the opinion that he joined it just after the spring strike. I know he joined between the spring strike and the fall strike, because at that time was when he got independent enough of me where he figured he could get along without my advice. He was more or less my stooge all during the spring strike after Codyre was removed, and I wrote his speeches for him up till I became organizer for the Gulf.

Mr. WHITLEY. And from your association with him and the discussions with him and also your contacts in party circles, you know that he joined at some time?

Mr. McCUSTION. Definitely. He tried to get me to go back into the party. Curren definitely tried to recruit me for the party. So, I do not see how, unless he was a party member he would have done that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you want to continue on, Mr. Chairman? I do not think we can finish this afternoon. So I can stop at anytime.

Mr. STARNES. All right. We will adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 3:38 p. m., a recess was taken until 10 a. m. of the following morning, Tuesday, October 31, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies, Dempsey, Voorhis, Casey, Mason, and Starnes.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM C. McCUISTION—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. You may proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, at the time we adjourned yesterday afternoon, we were discussing certain strikes on the New York water front, and the Communist Party's strike policies and tactics. Will you explain to the committee just how the Communist Party was functioning relative to the spring strike and fall strike of 1936?

Mr. McCUISTION. The Communist Party in the spring strike was not very sure of their position among the seamen. The leaders of the seamen, the ones who were actually seamen themselves, and known to be seamen, were not in the Communist Party at that time. They were Frederick Phillips, Jerry King, and Mr. Emerson, later the legislative representative in Washington, and others, who were decidedly anti-communist. The communists knew that the seamen would not follow their leadership at first; so they made no direct effort at first to push themselves into the leadership. Instead of that, they set up committees at various places, subcommittees, and so forth. For instance, they set up a committee to aid the striking seamen, and collected large sums of money, very little of which came to the seamen except in the form of old worn-out clothing, shoes, and so forth. It was headed by Mr. Connally, and was subsequently exposed to the seamen by Mrs. Smith. She exposed the facts to the seamen. It was admitted that they collected about \$900, of which the seamen got only \$40. That was by reason of the fact that the committees were dominated by the Communist Party. They set up various subcommittees. They immediately brought in the International Labor Defense, saying that they would defend the seamen for anything in connection with the strike. They brought in various rigs for the various donations.

It was noticeable that the donations were delivered in person. They set up those committees and subcommittees, and they set up a control committee for the water front, at 237 Fourth Avenue, and they set up various other committees at various other places on the water front to serve the west-side area of New York. At that time when ships came in there was a member of the Communist Party at that place to go on board. They had men who would be given instructions and trained to inject themselves into the activities of the strike to such an extent that they would be able to raise the issue of getting Communist Party support. The Communists began to give little sums of money for relief, I have identified a copy of a little Communist magazine. I do not know whether you have it here, but it is available. It is the August 1937, issue of a little magazine, and there are several exhibits, advertising the work of recruiting 50 members in the Communist Party during the strike by using a coffee truck to go around and distribute coffee on the picket line. With the coffee they would give a copy of the Daily Worker, and while the person was drinking the coffee, there would be some speech-making. In that way, they gradually insinuated themselves into the unions until they got officials in. At all times they were maintaining a series of committees that would discuss policies relative to the strike. In the meetings the Communists and Communist sympathizers on the water front were under instructions and they would nominate the chairman for this position or that position. In that way, they gradually insinuated themselves into the leadership of the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you referring particularly to the 1936 strike, or the fall strike of 1936, or both?

Mr. McCUSTION. I am referring largely to the spring strike, because after that strike they had placed themselves in a position where it was easier to raise the issue of "red" baiting, whereas they were not in a position to do that in the spring strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, after this spring strike, they had increased their influence by recruiting men into the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; that strike brought them leadership.

Mr. WHITLEY. The question of "red" baiting was brought up primarily in the fall strike?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a pamphlet which has been identified as one of the pamphlets put out during the strike by the Communist Party.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; they distributed a large number of these. They must have printed thousands of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. The caption is "Stop Red Baiting," and calls on the people addressed to discourage opposition to the Communist Party. It is signed "Waterfront Section, Communist Party, U. S. A., 35 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y." Then at the bottom it says "Read the Daily Worker."

Mr. CASEY. Is that signed by the Communist Party?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir; it is published by them and was put out on the water front.

(The pamphlet referred to above is as follows:)

STOP RED BAITING!

BROTHERS: The shipowners' policy has always been Divide and Rule. Now they are at it again. Where Grange, Ryan, Hearst and other shipowners' stooges failed they now hope to succeed through such people as Lookes and his clique. To accomplish this they no longer attack the union's policies and leadership as "radical" but yell that it is "conservative and bureaucratic," and at the same time trot out the old red baiting argument that the Reds are out to capture the National Maritime Union and are organized as a faction to do it.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE RED BAITING

What is the purpose of this new outburst of red baiting? To divide your ranks and weaken the negotiations for an agreement and fight to defeat the reactionary legislation before Congress! To prepare for an attack against your union!

The way to meet the attack is to see these real issues. Any idea that the enemies of the union can be defeated by joining with these same people in a "war on the reds," only plays into the hands of the reactionaries and shipowners in their efforts to divide the progressives.

AN ANSWER TO THE SLANDERS

The Communist Party would like to say a few plain words on these questions, not for the purpose of telling you how your union should be run, but in order that you will know the facts as far as the Communist Party is concerned.

The Communist Party as an organization has always supported the seamen in their struggles to better conditions; defeat the labor fakers; and build a powerful democratic union. Seamen, who are members of the Communist Party, have always fought shoulder to shoulder with every other bona fide seaman to achieve these things. This was done, not in order to advance the special interests of the Communist Party, but because it is the policy of the Communist Party to always help advance and defend the interests of the seamen and the working class generally.

Our work on the waterfront speaks for itself, and all that we ask is that we be judged by it. This, of course, does not mean that Communists are perfect, and criticism of our work is welcomed, and is not red baiting, when it is based upon facts and concrete shortcomings.

WE ARE AGAINST FACTIONS

The Communist Party is opposed to the organization of factions in democratic unions. Of course in the days of Hunter and Grange it was correct to organize rank and file groups to defend the interests of the seamen and fight for the right to democratically discuss and decide questions in the Union. But this fight has been won and today in your union where every one has the right to express his opinions and help make decisions, then any one who organized a faction to advance the interests of a group; or to agitate for its policies outside the union; or to attack union policies and decisions of the membership, is thereby violating democracy and sowing confusion and divisions in the ranks of the seamen. Every member has the right and duty to fight for his opinions in the union—also every member must accept the will of the majority, otherwise there can be no powerful union. The Communists do not organize factions—and will join all other progressives in fighting against any one, be they stool pigeons or misguided workers, who do so.

ANOTHER PHONEY ARGUMENT

What then of the arguments that Communists are not bound by the decisions of the membership of the N. M. U.? That elected into office they will be controlled by the Communist Party and not by the membership of the union? These are barefaced lies! The Communist Party insists that its members, who

are elected into office, be responsible to the rank and file of the union; that every Communist respect the decisions of the union democratically arrived at and that they be active in building the union and carrying out the policies of the union. We believe that from your own experience you know that this is true.

NO FALSE ISSUES

In the elections the Communists have no "slate" and are not conducting an organized campaign to secure the election of any individual or group of candidates. You seamen are wholeheartedly for national unity; rank and file control and for the militant and progressive policies expressed in the program of the N. M. U. and C. I. O. Any candidate seeking office would have to pledge support for these policies or face certain defeat. Therefore there is no need for slates of people supporting different programs. Therefore, the main question in the elections is who can most effectively carry out those policies the seamen have already endorsed. This question can and must be settled, not by judging a candidate according to his color, religion, or politics, but on the basis of each individual's record, and proven abilities and trustworthiness.

We hope that these straight-from-the-shoulder answers will help maintain the united front of all seamen, which alone made possible your past victories and will guarantee further advances.

Fraternally yours,

WATERFRONT SECTION, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.,
35 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Read the Daily Worker for the truth about the Communist Party.

Mr. CASEY. I do not think what you have read contains anything that is at all improper.

Mr. WHITLEY. No, sir. This is produced just to corroborate the testimony that they were using this strike for the promotion of their own interests.

Mr. McCuiston, I show you a copy of the minutes of the regular membership meeting of the cooks' and stewards' division, Wednesday, February 9, 1938, submitted by A. Rothbart, chairman, and J. Williams, recording secretary. Will you identify this paper, and read pertinent portions of it?

Mr. McCuiston. There is a quotation from Harry Bridges. It quotes Harry Bridges' statement, "When you see a 'red' baiter watch him, because he is working for somebody and certainly not the workers." The other significant thing about this is that it is signed by A. Rothbart, as chairman. A. Rothbart at the present time is a Government employee on the Government-owned *Ancon*, a Government-owned ship on the Panama Line. He has been known for years by a majority of seamen as a dispatch bearer in European ports, while working on the *Roosevelt*. He is an active Communist, and actively participates in the activities of the Communist Party in various European ports when he goes over, and he brags about it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He was a dispatch bearer for whom?

Mr. McCuiston. A dispatch bearer for the Communist Party in France. They would bring dispatches for Germany to France, and from there they were sent to Antwerp or Rotterdam, and then by canal up to the interior of Germany.

Mr. CASEY. Did he ever tell you that he was a dispatch bearer?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir; he did at Le Havre, after my return from Spain.

Mr. CASEY. Did he tell you that in this country?

Mr. McCuiston. No, sir; not in this country.

Mr. CASEY. How many times did he tell you that he was a dispatch bearer?

Mr. McCUISTION. One time. He has told me that he was a dispatch bearer.

Mr. CASEY. You say that was in France?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; in France.

Mr. CASEY. Was anyone else present?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Who were the other witnesses present?

Mr. McCUISTION. There was present at that time a man called Riff-Raff Rolph.

Mr. CASEY. Where is he?

Mr. McCUISTION. He is working at the present time, I think, on board the *Washington*.

Mr. CASEY. Do you know where the *Washington* is?

Mr. McCUISTION. I do not know. She is making pretty quick trips now.

Mr. CASEY. What is the position of Rolph, and where is he?

Mr. McCUISTION. When I returned from Spain——

Mr. CASEY (interposing). That is not answering my question about Rolph.

Mr. McCUISTION. When I returned from Spain——

Mr. CASEY (interposing). That is not the question.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he is answering the question. Let him answer.

Mr. McCUISTION. I returned from Spain in July, and I spent about 26 days in a detention camp in France. At the instance of Consul General Murphy, they released me, and brought me to Paris. In Paris, I was furnished transportation to Le Havre. As a seaman, I knew Rothbart and the others.

Mr. CASEY. You are giving the names, and I want the date, too.

Mr. McCUISTION. I am giving it in correct sequence.

Mr. CASEY. Can you give the date?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; if it is not a cross examination—I am simply answering your question.

Mr. CASEY. I want the date.

Mr. McCUISTION. This was in August. He was a member of the crew of the *President Roosevelt* at that time.

Mr. CASEY. Was that August 1939?

Mr. McCUISTION. No, sir; August 1938.

Mr. CASEY. At Le Havre, France?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Can you give more definitely the time in the month?

Mr. McCUISTION. No, sir.

Mr. CASEY. You had a conversation with him at Le Havre, in France. What was this conversation?

Mr. McCUISTION. It took place at the Cafe Hispania, the headquarters of the Communist Party on the water front.

Mr. CASEY. What was the name of the man who was present? Did you say a man named Rolph was present?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. What is his full name?

Mr. McCUISTION. He is called Riff-Raff Rolph. I cannot tell you his first name.

Mr. CASEY. Where did you say he worked? Was it on the *Washington*?

Mr. McCuiston. I understand on the *Washington*.

Mr. CASEY. Was anybody else present?

Mr. McCuiston. There were many people hanging around who were members of crews, and there was a non-seaman American in there by the name of Thompson, who was a captain in the International Brigade. He was staying in Le Havre looking for a chance to stowaway to get back.

Mr. CASEY. To whom was the dispatch statement made?

Mr. McCuiston. To me directly.

Mr. CASEY. How did the conversation come about?

Mr. McCuiston. That is what I started to tell about in the beginning. This came about because from the day I returned from Spain, I had been looking for a job on an American ship. I did not want to stowaway. I asked for Rothbart, because he was an acquaintance. He said that this work will be more difficult. He said, "We can use you in carrying dispatches and papers from ships, and in carrying them aboard other ships." He said, "For this we will see that you have enough money so you can build your health up, and you can eat regularly for a change for awhile." He said, "You will get well acquainted with what is going on in the unions, and you will be able to return to America in a better frame of mind, and maybe you will see things differently."

Mr. VOORHIS. At that time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. CASEY. Go ahead with the conversation.

Mr. McCuiston. That is all of it.

Mr. CASEY. He did not tell you that he was dispatch bearer?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir. He was also asking me to carry dispatches for him to another ship.

Mr. CASEY. Is the conversation that you have related to the committee the only conversation on which you base your assertion that he is a dispatch bearer?

Mr. McCuiston. He was a dispatch bearer—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). If he was not a dispatch bearer, he would not have dispatches to give you?

Mr. McCuiston. No, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Did he say that he would give you dispatches?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir. He said he wanted me. I met him walking up the gangway. He was delivering them to other ships, because at that time the French government had begun to shut down on the Communist Party somewhat. It was definitely known that the average seaman was not a Communist. He knew I was a seaman, and wanted to use me because he thought I would not be searched.

Mr. CASEY. Were you out of work at that time?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir; on the beach.

Mr. CASEY. Did you need a job?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Did you accept that offer?

Mr. McCuiston. No, sir; I preferred to go to the office of the consul, Mr. Donaldson, and receive meals, or two meals a day, rather than be a dispatch bearer.

Mr. CASEY. Later, did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. I was a member of the Communist Party many years prior to that time, but I was not a member at that time.

Mr. MASON. The testimony before the committee yesterday showed that he severed his connection with the party. Now why should we go over all that again, because one member happened to be absent yesterday?

Mr. CASEY. I think we should know the facts and circumstances. We are taking the assertion of what somebody said, and I think we should have some of the details.

Mr. MASON. How do you spell that man's name?

Mr. McCuiston. R-o-t-h-b-a-r-t.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does that document that has been identified show in any way where it came from?

Mr. WHITLEY. The document is identified only in this manner, that it is a mimeographed report.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does it show who put it out?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is submitted by the chairman and recording secretary.

Mr. McCuiston. I show you a sheet of minutes of a meeting of May 24, 1936, reconvened at 2:20 p. m., at 21 Bank Street. The meeting was called to order by Vice Chairman Lemmon, and R. Emerson was recording secretary. It is signed by R. Emerson, recording secretary, "Striking members of the I. S. U." What is the significant portion of that particular report?

(The report referred to is as follows:)

MEETING RE-CONVENED AT 2:20 P. M. MAY 24, 1936 AT 21 BANK STREET

Meeting called to order by Vice-Chairman Lemmon. R. Emerson, Recording Secretary.

Roll-Call: Present: Lemmon, Emerson, Waity, Codyre, Martini, Parry, Ray, Steiglitz, Lewis (Bklyn), Mapalian (Hoboken), Brother Bailey from Baltimore, Brother Rowley from Providence.

Brother Gillis from the S. S. *Swift Arrow* was seated.

* * * * *

A motion: That we take part in the American Youth Congress Anti-War parade on May 30th, and that we elect an arrangements committee of three. Motion by Cullinen. Seconded by Wald.

Discussion: Brother Ray: That Brothers Rolf, Wald, and Cullinen comprise the committee of three, and that we send a representative delegation of young seamen in uniform to participate in parade. It was agreed that as many young seamen as possible take part in this movement.

Motion voted on and carried. To be concurred in by membership at meeting.

(signed) R. EMERSON,

Recording Secretary, Striking Members of the I. S. U.

Mr. McCuiston. It is merely a motion that they take part in the American Youth Congress Anti-War parade on May 30, "and that we elect an arrangements committee of three." The motion was by Cullinen, seconded by Wald. I know Cullinen to be a member of the Young Communist League, we having recruited him in the Young Communist League.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did the American Youth Congress parade have to do with the strike or with seamen's problems?

Mr. McCuiston. Nothing whatsoever.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a mimeographed copy of minutes of a membership meeting held at the Manhattan Lyceum on May 6. It

does not show the year. These minutes are signed by R. Emerson, recording secretary. I will ask you to explain or read the pertinent portions of this document.

MINUTES OF MEMBERSHIP MEETING HELD AT THE MANHATTAN LYCEUM ON MAY 6TH

Meeting called to order at 8.30 P. M. by Brother Codyre. Nominations for Chairman: Curran, Whalen, Robbins and Walker. Robbins declines. Whalen and Walker absent. Curran elected by acclamation. R. Emerson, Recording Secretary. Chairman Curran introduces Brother G. E. Powers, Vice-President of the International Workers Order.

Brother Powers: Congratulates us on the victorious ending of the injunction suit. Says that he represents a fraternal organization and outlines its aims. Ready to extend us any help possible and donates \$100.00 to strike fund. Brother Powers extended a rising vote of thanks by membership.

* * * * *

Reports—Finance Committee: Brother Waity in hospital. Chairman Curran reads financial report.

Collections May Day Parade & Collections in Flag----- \$899.69
Expenses:

Panama-Pacific Restaurant-----	\$276.00
Lease on Strike Headquarters-----	\$100.00
Rent for food kitchen-----	\$ 30.00
Balance rent for bunks (last week)-----	\$ 32.50
Rent for bunks (this week)-----	\$129.35
Rent for South St., Headquarters-----	\$ 40.00
South St., Headquarters, expenses-----	\$ 57.00
General Supply Co-----	\$ 27.51
Food Committee, expenses-----	\$ 40.50
Repayment of loan to Lannon-----	\$ 30.00
May Day expenses-----	\$ 38.47
Longshoreman hurt through picket-----	\$ 20.00
Deposit on light & gas (Hoboken)-----	\$ 25.00
Hoboken expenses-----	\$ 5.00

\$852.13

Total taken in May 1st Parade----- \$899.69
Petty cash and misc. bills----- \$200.57

Total expenses----- \$1052.70

Total of more paid out than taken in----- \$163.01

Chairman Curran announced that at present we are all clear of debt. Motion and second to accept financial report. Motion carried.

Mr. McCUSTION. That is a recapitulation of what was collected on the May Day parade, and showing how it was spent.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who made the report of collections on the May Day parade?

Mr. McCUSTION. Chairman Joe Curran read this report in the absence of Brother Waity. The collections were reported as \$899.69, but were about \$2,000 according to other reports. I cannot deal completely with this, due to the fact that in May 1936 I was at sea. These are minutes of May 1936. I can identify them as official minutes signed by Mr. Emerson, who is at Washington now and can identify them. I was at sea at that time. On May 1, I was off Gibraltar on the *New Orleans*. So I cannot identify them any further.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was some testimony yesterday with reference to Codyre and his participation in the spring strike of 1936. Will you explain further to the committee just what part he played in the strike and what eventually happened to him?

Mr. McCUSTION. Patrick Codyre was the publicity man and practically the secretary of Joseph Curran during the strike. During the strike his activity took a form that was opposed by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he a Communist himself at that time?

Mr. McCUSTION. At that time he was a member of the Communist Party. Subsequently he was expelled from the Communist Party, and a notice of it appeared in the Daily Worker. There were several thousand copies of the Daily Worker, marked "copy," distributed on the water front, with the character assassination campaign on him. Subsequently he was practically driven from the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was because he opposed the Communist Party's policy during the spring strike of 1936?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a mimeographed document, containing the minutes of a membership meeting of April 12, 1936, held at the Manhattan Lyceum.

Mr. McCUSTION. This is another case where I can only identify the minutes as being an official record of the minutes of the National Maritime Union. I was at sea at that time working.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a copy of a release signed by Pat Codyre, publicity committee, striking members of I. S. U., 164 Eleventh Avenue.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

To Voice of Federation, 122 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Cal., via Western Union night press rates collect. May 25th, 1936.

"At the request of executive board ISU meeting in Chicago the following proposals were submitted by committee representing striking ISU members, as an equitable basis for ending strike and returning to work, subject to the approval of the ISU membership.

"JOSEPH CURRAN,

"Hotel Metropole, Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill."

"Subject to approval of membership at next membership meeting Thursday night we propose settlement of strike on basis of following minimum demands only. One. Referendum of contract signed by officials with shipowners. Stop. Strikers to be represented on all balloting committees and judges of election. Stop. Referendum voting to last for fullest constitutional period of four weeks and to commence July fifteenth nineteen thirty six. Stop. All members voting shall sign their names and book numbers in tally book under supervision of balloting committee. Two. The union officials to support the placing back on their ships of all union men discharged or blacklisted or who have walked off to strike. Three. Unconditional reinstatement in their respective unions of all members who have been expelled for strike or union activities. Stop. No expulsions or disciplinary action against members for strike activities. Four. Referendum vote on the three district union constitutions this year. Five. An election of officers in all three district unions this year. Six. Complete auditing of books and accounts of the three district unions by a firm of certified public accountants agreeable to both sides. Stop. All membership books issued subsequent to March nineteenth, nineteen thirty six be earmarked for examination.

"Steering Committee: Sherman B. Lemmon, Patrick Codyre, Ralph Emerson, Roland Perry, Sam Kallman, Joseph Martini, Patrick Whalen, Franklin Gustavson, A. Mapalinn, J. Gurtov, S. Stieglitz, W. Waity."

Also sent to Joseph Curran while meeting with executive board was the following telegram from William L. Standard, lawyer:

"Presented to John Daly head of criminal division US attorney's office charge of violating by Luckenbach SS Co of United States code dealing with advances to seamen. Referred to Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

Immediately presented complainant and corroborating witness to Rhea Wheatley, Chief of Bureau of Investigation. Payment of advance was admitted by Chief Engineer Lambert of SS *Walter Luckenbach* as well as Mr. Singleton marine superintendent of Luckenbach SS. Co. Called bureau this morning promised investigation tomorrow.

WILLIAM L. STANDARD."

Ships struck today are SS. *Silver Spruce*, SS. *Scannenn*, SS. *Export*, all one hundred percent. Ships partially affected since last Saturday are SS. *Erminister*, SS. *Black Hawk*, SS. *Huguenot* struck in Providence. At membership meeting this Thursday night Joseph Curran will make a complete report on his conference with ISU officials in Chicago.

PAT CODYRE,

Publicity Committee, Striking Members of ISU, 164 11th Avenue.

MAY 26TH NINE EIGHTEEN. AT NIGHT.

The *Scannenn* walked off just now one hundred per cent. deck, engine, stewards, and even the officers. This ought to cheer you up. We must fight all the harder now.

PAT.

Mr. McCUSTION. That is a type of publicity release that was put out, showing that Patrick Codyre was the publicity director of the strikers.

Mr. WHITLEY. What part did you play in it, if any, insofar as Codyre and Curran were concerned? That is, in the spring strike of 1936, after your return to the United States.

Mr. McCUSTION. I took over Codyre's work without being elected to take over the work. When they harassed him to where he could not work, I moved in and took his place. I unofficially continued to do his work as a member of the strike committee, and I also attached myself closely to Joe Curran in the work, as a substitute, with no change in Curran's ideas of how to conduct the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the Communist Party's program at that time with reference to ending the spring strike?

Mr. McCUSTION. The Communist Party in the beginning was opposed to calling a general strike, on the ground that it would be a premature action, and they favored ending the strike. In fact, they were agitating that we put an end to the strike at the time I returned to the United States on board the *New Orleans*, on May 16, 1936. At a meeting held prior to my return, they had been outvoted on it. As a result, they had recalled Robert Mears, Joe Russell, and others, who had been working at a marine training school. There was a shortage then of leading Communist Party Workers on the water front; but at the same time the Communist Party was recruiting its prestige rather rapidly, and they were organizing to call the strike off.

This time Joe Curran opposed the ending of the strike, although myself and others did follow the Communist Party to the extent that we believed that the men were tired out and that they would be going back to work anyway, and we did not want to do anything that the strikers themselves did not want, so we followed the Communist Party policy in this instance and ended the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have here a copy of the Daily Worker dated Tuesday, June 9, 1936. It has an article headed "Patrick Codyre is expelled from the Communist Party."

The first paragraph reads:

Patrick Codyre, alias Pat Calhoun, is expelled from the Communist Party as an unreliable, untrustworthy, and disruptive person unfit for membership in the Communist Party.

It then goes on for two columns, of what constitutes a character assassination of Mr. Codyre.

And you say that is because he did not entirely approve all of their policies in that strike.

Mr. McCUSTION. Because he opposed the majority of their policies. He also favored continuing the strike to a final show-down and would not accept their instructions on it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I offer this as an exhibit.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[The Daily Worker, June 9, 1936, p. 2, columns 6 and 7]

PATRICK CODYRE IS EXPELLED FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Patrick Codyre, alias Pat Calhoun, is expelled from the Communist Party as an unreliable, untrustworthy and disruptive person unfit for membership in the Communist Party.

Codyre's bureaucratic actions as a member of the Seamen's Strike Committee, his persistent attempts to raise the "red scare," and the failure to deny persistent rumors that he engages in acts of degeneracy, have discredited him in the eyes of the I. S. U. members who did not reelect him to their leading committee at the conclusion of the strike.

Codyre tried to use his personal contacts in the revolutionary movement, which he had because of his membership in the Party, not as a means of mobilizing support for the seamen's strike, but as a means of strengthening his own position and possibilities for carrying on disruptive work, trying to split the ranks of the strikers, by inciting them against the Communists. In his own way he tried to do what Hearst failed to do—create a "red scare."

During the entire course of the strike Codyre refused to meet with the Party or fight for its policy. On the contrary, on a number of occasions he did everything possible to try and prevent the adoption of policies which every event in the strike proved were correct.

His consistent struggle against a correct policy in the strike is indicated by the fact that he was one of the very few at the strikers' meeting of 1,200 that voted against terminating the strike on the terms recommended by the strike committee, although he voted for them in the strike committee.

Although warned a number of times during the strike, Codyre refused to change his course. When notified that charges had been placed against him, and that he should appear before the Section Committee and there answer them and defend himself, he refused to do so.

Codyre's actions show that he was not only disloyal to the Communist Party but also to the best interests of the strikers and members of the International Seamen's Union.

All workers and their organizations should be warned against him as an unreliable, disruptive person, who cannot be entrusted with any responsibility.

Mr. WHITLEY. I also have here a telegram dated Seattle, Wash., February 3, 1937, addressed to Peter Innes and signed Codyre. It reads:

SEATTLE, WASH., February 3, 1937.

PETER INNES,

216 West 6th St.

East Coast men here abide by verdict of West Coast vote now in progress. We are subject to Seattle strike committee and shall act accordingly. Treated as brothers here. If W C decide to return to work we do likewise. East Coast men in all W C ports are subject to strike committee in respective ports. This signed by all E C men 3 crafts.

CODYRE

This is just to establish Codyre's connection with that strike and the tie-up between the east and the west coast.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is any question about these documents, gentlemen, as to whether they are genuine or not, I suggest that they be examined now.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the significance of this document [handing paper to witness]?

Mr. McCURSTON. This is only significant in the fact that it is the letter of resignation submitted by Glen Skogman, a retired chief petty officer from the Navy, who disagreed from the Communist Party and disaffiliated himself with the strike entirely. After his resignation they were not satisfied, and they opened a campaign against him, labeling him as a labor spy and a spy for the A. F. of L. and various things like that, although he left the water front and did not participate and has not to this day participated in water-front activities since his resignation.

Mr. WHITLEY. This document is captioned, "Copy of Glen Skogman's letter of resignation submitted by him to Ivan Hunter for release." It is dated New York, January 5, 1937, addressed to the Strike Strategy Committee, New York, and is signed by Glen Moore Skogman.

I offer this as an exhibit.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[Copy of Glen Skogman's letter of resignation submitted by him to Ivan Hunter for release. He did not submit it to the J. M. S. C.]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 5th, 1937.*

STRIKE STRATEGY COMMITTEE,

New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Since October 31st, 1936, I have been an active and militant member of the Strike Strategy Committee. I entered into the work of the committee because I felt it was representing the Rank and File of the Seamen.

I understood, and still understand, that the seamen principally desired honest, and open election of officers in the International Seamen's Union, of which they are members, and that they desired full co-operation with their brothers on strike on the West Coast, with the further desire that the wages and working conditions on the Atlantic and Gulf be put on a parity with the West Coast.

As long as the Strike Strategy Committee devoted itself to the effort to clean the I. S. U. and make it a respectable collective bargaining organization, the seamen have desired, I have co-operated to the extent of devoting my entire time and finance to this work. I was glad to do this and I hope it may have some beneficial effect in alleviating the Seamen's conditions.

For some time, and principally since the mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, on December 16th., I have doubted that the original purpose of the Strike Strategy Committee is being pursued.

I have further examined the whole structure of the Insurgent strike and, as a result of the examination, I am compelled to RESIGN from the committee. Holding firm to the principle of Trade Unionism as the most important safeguard of the American worker, I am taking this action.

I have interviewed Mr. Ivan Hunter, Sec-Treas., and Mr. Carmell, attorney for the I. S. U., in order that I may take my proper place in this trouble. I cannot associate myself with my effort to pervert the Union movement to opportunism and politics or social agitation, or any efforts to split the American Federation of Labor!

I feel there is too much proof that the insurgent movement is being used for other purposes!

Having examined, most thoroughly, the Constitution and Charter of the International Seamen's Union, and feel that an election can be held with its framework.

Due to my urging, a number of my old shipmates joined the insurgent strike. I lead them in good faith into the movement. I still do not think that our original purpose was any too good! However, I now urge them all to reconsider and to settle for themselves that a further adherence to the Insurgent strike is not going to wreck the Union and do lasting harm to the American Merchant Service. Either of these two results would be disastrous to the American Seamen.

If, therefore, the seamen now on strike on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts reach the conclusion as I have, THAT THE UNION AND THE MERCHANT SERVICE ARE IN DANGER as a result of the strike, under the present conditions, their duty is plain———RETURN TO THEIR UNION AND TO THEIR SHIPS!

Respectfully

(sgd) GLEN MOORE SKOGMAN.

(Dictated over the telephone to strike headquarters.)

Mr. WHITLEY. I have a letter here, Mr. Chairman, that is written on the letterhead of the San Pedro branch of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders, and Wipers Association. It is dated the 16th of March 1938, and is a resolution from Brother Roger Francezon No. 22, tabled from the last meeting. The document is signed, "Fraternally yours, Thomas B. O'Brien, Dispatcher, Marine Firemen's Union."

Will you read the pertinent portions of that resolution and explain it, please, Mr. McCuiston.

Mr. McCUISTION. This is a resolution that was entered at the time that P. Innes began. He had been a fellow traveler up to that time, and is identified by his correspondence with Curran, which was put in yesterday; he began to split with the party line, too, and at this time they figured he was a dangerous fellow so they had to get rid of him. This is a resolution condemning him and demanding his removal and so forth, and so on. The person entering the resolution is identified in this letter as a Communist by correspondence between Communists dealing with activities of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter which is enclosed with this resolution is addressed to "Dear Jack." Who is Jack?

Mr. McCUISTION. Jack Lawrenson.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it is signed Al Yates.

Mr. McCUISTION. Al Yates will be identified in the letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. The letter reads as follows:

Enclosed find agreement signed by McLaren and O'Niel. As there was no letter from the N. M. U. district committee I did not put the agreement on the floor. When said letter comes will do so and then see it gets wide publicity. I tried to get Ferguson to put an add in the Pilot but refused without the approval of the meeting and then it was too late. So that's that.

Does this have to do with this resolution that we were just discussing?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Jack Lawrenson a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; an admitted member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And active in the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Al Yates?

Mr. McCUISTION. Al Yates is an admitted Communist and active on the west coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing with this letter:

I'm hoping we can get some organization in the various fractions to make a drive on this thing—

Does that mean fractions of the water-front section of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. It will be explained later on.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I'm hoping we can get some organization in the various fractions to make a drive on this thing but at the present time our water-front section as a cohesive and unified body with a clear policy and understanding of the whole coast and national situation just doesn't exist. We need a tremendous amount of building up in the church.

Mr. VOORHIS. What does he mean by that, "in the church"?

Mr. McCUISTION. That refers to the party. They refer to the party as the church. "Are you a church member," and so forth, is the general way that they would refer to it on the water front.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the water front section?

Mr. McCUISTION. The section is a section of the Communist Party, an organization covering one zone being known as a section.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the east or the west coast?

Mr. McCUISTION. This is from the west coast to the east coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing with this letter:

This business of expiring agreements is loaded with dynamite.

If Russell or Francezon are still there, tell them that we didn't put the resolution concerning Innes on the floor.

That is this same resolution?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

The set-up here would defeat it. The recent issues as the convention in Portland the present C. I. O. etc., have drawn the lines very sharply in our meeting. Altho the phony element had no use for the little runt—

Who is the little runt?

Mr. McCUISTION. Pete Innes. He is a very short guy.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing reading):

Nevertheless they would battle in his behalf and we would undoubtedly lose the resolution hence we didn't put it up, this was a fraction decision. Please tell Russel and Francezon not to hang around New York, at least not both of them. We need more forces here and altho we have quite a few party members none of them seem to go over much and we are unable to capture any elections for committees, etc.

This letter shows the party were afraid to bring this resolution up because it would be defeated, and they are trying to figure out other means to dispose of a man who does not agree with them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is this letter written from San Pedro?

Mr. McCUISTION. It is written from San Francisco but dealing with San Pedro.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dealing with a situation at San Pedro?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. In what year?

Mr. McCUISTION. In 1936, in the fall of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no date on this.

Mr. McCUISTION. But the events identify it as being in the fall of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing with this letter:

"Also tell Roy"—is that Roy Hudson?

Mr. McCUSTION. Roy Hudson.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Also tell Roy this for me please. I got elected to meet with the Maritime Commission on the question of manning scale, minimum wages, etc. They are holding forth here on the coast starting Tuesday. They are meeting with all the seafaring crafts. If you have any brilliant suggestions send them on to me. You can write me % Neptune Club, 779 Vallejo St.

The next to the last paragraph reads as follows:

Give my regards to Tommy Ray, Roy, Al Lannon, et al.

Is the "Roy" there, Roy Hudson?

Mr. McCUSTION. Probably so; there are other Roys.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

The saviors of rank and file unionism—it has just about vanished from the west coast.

He is being facetious there?

Mr. McCUSTION. I guess so; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

You also might give Roy a song and dance about organization of the waterfront section out here. I'm not just merely criticizing it, I am trying to do something constructive but working from the bottom alone is almost like pulling oneself up by one's boot straps, as it were.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask a general question. Mr. Cuis-tion. How did these documents come into your possession? You have a lot of them here.

Mr. McCUSTION. P. Innes was in charge of the records for some time as an official of the N. M. U. He was purchasing agent and in charge of the records, and just before they managed to purge P. Innes, P. Innes managed to purge the records and turn them over.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, Mr. Attorney, is it not true that you have a number of other witnesses who will connect up and substantiate this evidence?

Mr. WHITLEY. A number of witnesses, yes. All of this is not furnished by Mr. McCuistion by any means. It was furnished by a number of witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuistion, you say that the Communist Party program during the spring 1936 strike was to end that strike just as quick as possible?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Curran disagreed with that policy?

Mr. McCUSTION. Very much so; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you explain to the committee just what action he took by way of opposing that?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well, he took his usual action of a spoiled child. He said: "Well, we just as well disband and give up if we liquidate the strike, because the men will scatter to the four winds and we won't ever get hold of them again." He kept this attitude up until the night of the final meeting. At that time Tommy Ray and myself got him off to the side, and we told him that we had all the speakers of the party and all the speakers who wanted to end the strike lined up and that if he did not speak in favor of calling off the strike we

were going to speak in favor, and also we were going to speak in favor of sending him back to sea and getting him out of activity.

Mr. WHITLEY. You and Tommy Ray were speaking for the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUSTION. Tommy Ray was speaking for the Communist Party. I was speaking at that time for my idea of what should happen. The men were going back to work anyway, and I did not want to see them keep on fighting for a lost cause at that time. I felt they could do better work on the ships.

Mr. CASEY. You were not a Communist?

Mr. McCUSTION. I was not. I was working with the leadership of the Communist Party as a fellow traveler.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask a general question at this point. Is it true or is it not true that among seamen, they drift in and out of the Communist Party? I mean, that the membership in the party is much more lightly regarded among them than among other groups of workers. Would you say that is true?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; because they cannot attend the functions regularly. They cannot be at unit meetings every week. They cannot keep in touch with the life of the party. They are gone for 3 or 4 months at a time on ships. Some of them sail on tankers where they are in port just overnight and then gone again. They never get time to attend a meeting or to pay dues.

But when they get unemployed they come ashore, and the social life of the party, and so forth, drags them back, and again they are a member of the party. And the same thing will happen again. They always have a great deal of leeway.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see. What proportion of the seamen who happen to be members of the party at any given time do you think are informed about the inner workings of the party and its fundamental aims and purposes?

Mr. McCUSTION. They are only the ones that are kept ashore. The party keeps quite a number ashore. Very few of them go to sea with any degree of regularity. They will make perhaps one trip a year in order to be able to still say, "Well, I am a seaman. Here is my latest discharge."

Mr. VOORHIS. But the average seaman on a boat, who goes to sea regularly, who might be a member of the party, would hardly be what you would call an initiated member who really understood what it was all about?

Mr. McCUSTION. No. He relies almost entirely on his contact with shore contacts who come aboard and give him the latest instructions, such as this evidence we introduced yesterday, and give him the line on what had happened while he has been at sea.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does the party have a policy of not enforcing discipline very strictly with regard to seamen?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; except with the seamen who are functionaries; but with the general rank and file—

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean the rank and file. That is what I am talking about altogether.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. The rank and file of the seamen come under the influence of the Communist Party, then, principally when they are unemployed and they have pressing needs?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And then they go to the these socials and these various meetings of the Communist Party, because the Communist Party, I suppose, they consider an instrument for aiding them; is that right?

Mr. McCUSTION. Not necessarily; no.

Mr. CASEY. Why do they go there? Is there any other way they can be helped out of their unemployment situation and in their need?

Mr. McCUSTION. Oh, yes. There are plenty of ways. The Communist Party gives them no material aid of any sort. It is merely the fact that the Communist Party cultivates these men and discusses these things with them. There are no other political parties active on the water front doing that. They are not met at the ship by representatives of the Democrats, the Socialists, the Republicans, or anybody else. They are met by members of the Communist Party, who give them the latest lines and who thus are able to carry on a campaign against this guy or for this guy. They are even supplied with letters while they are aboard the ships. Letters are sent to them.

The Communist program is to colonize at least one man aboard every ship, and on the larger ships to establish actual functioning units of the Communist Party on these ships, to keep them in touch with the party life, more or less generally, so they will be able to be handled when they go ashore.

Mr. CASEY. Does the Communist Party do anything toward getting them employment?

Mr. McCUSTION. No; the Communist Party cannot do anything toward getting them employment. The Communist Party can get their selected members employment, by having Communist dispatchers in the hall and Communist officials who will ship them illegally through the back door, things like that. In other words, they will hold out a job. For instance, a shipowner will telephone to the union hall. Mr. Tony Lucci, for example, in New York, receives a telephone call, "One AB wanted." It is late, toward the closing time. He writes out the job slip and does not put the job on the board. He goes down and says: "Have we got somebody we need to get out of town in a hurry, or somebody that we need to colonize on this ship?" And they send in his name and he goes aboard the ship. And by the time the ship comes back this is forgotten, and it is not a matter of record. That is the way they can get their chosen members aboard on any ship.

Mr. CASEY. Then they do not get employment for any great number of the unemployed.

Mr. McCUSTION. Certainly not. They have no way of doing it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCustion, was the Communist Party conducting a marine training school in New York during the 1936 spring strike?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. Curran knew of the existence of such a school?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I know of that because he complained about it pretty constantly, that Bobby Mears, the financial secretary, had been pulled off the water front to go to this school, and other key Communists were missing. He was opposing the Communist Party at that time on that program. And he said, "There is

your Communist Party for you." That was when I tried to argue that some of their policies were correct. He said, "How can they be correct if they pull men out at a time like a strike and send them to a school. We need them on the water front if they are any good."

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there any secrecy about the existence of the Communist Party training school?

Mr. McCUITION. No secret about it. They collected for it openly.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it was generally known on the water front that there was such a school?

Mr. McCUITION. I think I gave you a receipt when I even donated to the school.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What was the purpose of the marine training school?

Mr. McCUITION. To train Communist leaders for the water front.

Mr. DEMPSEY. To train them in communism?

Mr. McCUITION. To train them in communism, how to conduct Communist work on the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether that school has continued over a period of several years?

Mr. McCUITION. I know that that school is in existence right now. That school is in existence at the present time in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is my recollection that Mr. Curran testified he had no knowledge of the existence of such a school.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know what the address is, where it is conducted?

Mr. McCUITION. There is some evidence here. It has been conducted in various Communist Party camps, such as Camp Unity, Camp Nitgadaget, and various other camps outside. It was shifted two or three times during the course of the school. At one time I remember the school was in the cooperative apartments on Allerton Avenue, and shifted to Camp Nitgadaget, and later on was brought back to the Allerton apartments. In other words, they conducted the school also as a training in methods of underground work and underground activity, and Communist training. Every man that goes to the school is given a fictitious name, and he is not allowed, technically, to associate with anybody outside of the school while he is in the school.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, by way of corroborating verbal testimony concerning Communist Party tactics in the marine industry, I want to read a few short excerpts from an article appearing in the "Party Organizer" for August 1937. The article in question is on page 6 and is entitled, "Building the Party in Marine, by Roy Hudson." He starts by saying:

I wish to deal with some of our experiences in the marine industry in relation to the present problems of the building and functioning of the party. The solution of these questions, in my opinion, is decisive in determining whether or not we will continue to give leadership to the masses.

Another quotation on page 8:

As a result of this systematic presentation of the party's policies on major questions, the party has established quite an authoritative position among large sections of the seamen.

Another quotation on page 10:

Let us take one example. A few weeks ago in New York a small ship with three comrades aboard held an open meeting on the ship which most of the crew who are not Communists attended. A discussion was held on the ship regarding the party, and as a result of the discussion three of the members of the crew were recruited.

Here is an excerpt from page 11:

The party, for the first time, is beginning to establish itself on the job as a result of the work of the Communists on the ships. On one passenger ship a unit of about six people recruited ten new members. On another large passenger ship a party unit of two or three people has grown to sixteen. A number of the people recruited into the party are a direct result of our work on the ships by the comrades who are on the job.

Now, regarding the training program—

Mr. THOMAS. Before you take that up, Mr. Whitley—Mr. Witness, would you say the Communist Party had Communist organizers on practically every American merchant ship?

Mr. McCUSTION. They have them on every passenger ship and on every ship that is on a regular run, and in the course of a year they will have them on every ship. But they come and go. There may be a time when one will lay up and a new crew will come aboard, and it may happen that there are no Communists on that ship. But they will soon arrange to see that one gets on it.

Mr. THOMAS. But at the present time they have Communist organizers on every American passenger ship?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. On page 12 of this same article, and this is the concluding paragraph of the article:

On the question of education and training of forces, I want to speak about the idea of organizing training schools on an industrial basis. Following the strike here we had a three-week marine school, to which we sent the most capable people who were in the strike. We found that it enabled us to teach these comrades more effectively, to get more results. In the future, I think that we should not only have these schools in marine, but in steel, auto, and other industries.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the date of that pamphlet?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is dated August 1937.

Here is a copy of a memorandum captioned, "Memorandum on National Marine Training Schools." This gives an outline of the courses taught at that school, and it is signed, "Marine Training School, Al Lannon, ninth floor, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City."

The CHAIRMAN. You are introducing these documents to substantiate the verbal testimony of the witness?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member of the committee want to see these documents? They are being introduced for the purpose of substantiating his testimony and directly contradicting what Mr. Curran said under oath here the other day.

I would suggest that you pass them along to the members of the committee without taking too much time on each one.

Mr. WHITLEY. This material all has to do with the training school program.

Mr. STARNES. May I ask some questions about this? Mr. Counsel, with reference to these documents here, do they purport to show the party line as it is being carried along by the N. M. U.? Is it documentary proof to the effect that there is a communistic element or communistic influence dominating the N. M. U.?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. The party line is indicated in their own publication right on through, as we established it yesterday by the earlier organizations.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it is direct documentary proof by quotations from the Daily Worker, the Communist official organization, and from other official Communist publications and pamphlets, showing the influence and the domination of the party within the N. M. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive those as evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It strikes me that we could save some time by counsel having the witness identify these documents for the purpose of the record, and then attaching them as exhibits, unless counsel wishes to read certain pertinent excerpts from these documents.

The CHAIRMAN. He has had them identified.

(The documents referred to follow:)

San Pedro Branch

PACIFIC COAST

MARINE FIREMEN, OILERS, WATERTENDERS & WIPERS ASSOCIATION

Affiliated With the International Seamen's Union of America and the American Federation of Labor

206½ West Sixth Street—Telephone San Pedro 2S3S

SAN PEDRO, CALIFORNIA

SAN PEDRO, CALIF., 16th, March 1938.

Resolution from brother Roger Francezon #22 tabled from last meeting.

WHEREAS,

During the 1936-37 Maritime strike, Peter Innes was representing the East Coast seamen on the West Coast, due to his arbitrary attitude on several questions, namely:

a) by his attempt to prevent the west coast to pull the East coast ships out on strike.

b) by opening an East Coast hall in San Pedro, thus isolating the East Coast seamen from their brothers' meetings in the various halls in the west coast.

c) By making certain slandering statements at a business meeting of the N. M. U. (Fireman's Section) To the effect that the East Coast men being dumped right and left in San Pedro and that he had to open a separate hall because of the need to protect East Coast men from phonies like O'Sullivan the business agent of the San Pedro branch of the M. F. O. W. and others like him.

AND WHEREAS: Every action taken by Peter Innes was practically dictated over the protest of the East Coast men then on strike at the time in an arbitrary and bureaucratic way which was strongly resented by the men on the beach at that time.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the membership of the San Pedro branch of the M. F. O. W. strongly protest the action of said Peter Innes and request the N. M. U. to remove him from any official capacity as being incapable and incompetent to represent any real rank and file movement.

Motion made to concur.

Amendment to the motion write to Innes and get his side.

Motion made to table. Carried.

This is authentic copy of the Minutes of July 20, 1937, I should say this is the Motion as I have not time to copy the complete Minutes.

Sincerely hoping this will be sufficient for your needs, any further information you or your Union wishes I will be glad to take time to look up any thing we have or can find.

Fraternally Yours.

THOMAS B. O'BRIEN,
Dispatcher, Marine Firemen's Union.

(In pencil:) NOTE.—Do not disclose O'Brien's name; he is anti C. P. and rank and file.

DEAR JACK: Enclosed find agreement signed by McLaren and O'Neil. As there was no letter from the NMU district committee I did not put the agreement on the floor. When said letter comes will do so and then see it gets wide publicity. I tried to get Fergusson to put an add in the Pilot but refused without the approval of the meeting and then it was too late. So that's that.

Could not take the question up concerning the assessments that East coast pay here. The meeting was too packed with disrupters etc. to argue the question, also will wait until we put the above mentioned agreement on the floor.

You of course know the set up in the sailors and the set up in the firemen's is fast changing. Since every official position in the coast wise MFOW is in the hands of the wrecking element we are slipping quite a lot and the absolute brazenness of Fergusson et al is making it difficult to achieve a great deal. When they are instructed by a meeting if the instructions happen to cramp their wrecking plans they just ignore the whole thing. Trying to force them on the line all the time puts us in the light of sniping at them as it were. When the issues are broad and basic it is all right to go after them otherwise even the rank and file get tired of us hence they get away with a lot.

Last meeting they succeeded in tabling a resolution approving the 5 point program as laid down by the CIO maritime committee. Altho Malone went for the program they tabled it but I'm sure we'll be able to get it across next meeting. Anyway this doesn't stop the progress of the unity conference. The present angle that Lundberg seems to be working now in co-operation with the MFOW stooges is the question of the present agreement. A meeting of a coastwise negotiating or policy committee of the SUP and MFOW is on the books for the 22nd. The Cooks were able to block the call for this meeting. Also the question of balloting. The MFOW went down the line for a ballot individually. Altho we got an amendment in making it void if the majority of the unions in the Federation didn't open agreements it is quite possible the Fergusson will sabotage it. As you know if we don't open negotiations the agreement automatically goes another year. Evidently the plan is to sow a lot of confusion regarding the agreements and it also incidently and perhaps not accidentally, puts us the MFOW and SUP in a position where the shipowners can legally lock us out. It seems to me to be a very tough and serious situation. The ILA has already gone down the line not to open their agreement. I'm hoping we can get some organization in the various fractions to make a drive on this thing but at the present time our waterfront section as a cohesive and unified body with a clear policy and understanding of the whole coast and national situation just doesn't exist. We need a tremendous amount of building up in the church. This business of expiring agreements is loaded with dynamite.

If Russell or Francezon are still there tell them that we didn't put the resolution concerning Innes on the floor. The set up here would defeat it. The recent issues as the Convention in Portland the present CIO etc. have drawn the lines very sharply in our meeting. Altho the phony element had no use for the little runt nevertheless they would battle in his behalf and we would undoubtedly lose the resolution hence we didn't put it up, this was a fraction decision. Please tell Russell and Francezon not to hang around New York, at least not both of them. We need more forces here and altho we have quite a few party members none of them seem to go over much and we are unable to capture any elections for committees etc. The coming month is so important that it is vital that we have some forces. Also tell Roy this for me please. I got elected to meet with the Maritime Commission on the question of manning scale, minimum wages, etc. They are holding forth here on the coast starting

Tuesday. They are meeting with all the seafaring crafts. If you have any brilliant suggestions send them on to me. You can write me % Neptune Club, 779 Vallejo St.

At the next meeting the wreckers are going to try to seal our ballots. We will probably wind up balloting by then as we have been balloting for 6 weeks now. I think we can beat them on this. There is however a concentration of lumpen proletariat here such as Blackie Compean, Evans from Mobile, renegade Joe Wilson and a few others, including Smallman and his twist, she is now working in the office and the pair of them are cementing themselves together into a beautifully happy couple by screwing and sabotaging. Lovers at twilight usually murmur sweet nothings or whisper pledges of eternal devotion but this pair at the midnight hour rub their hands over each other's thigh and lay plans to weld the chain stronger that binds the working class in slavery. The blackhearted bastards!

Try to keep in touch with me or at least have someone write the developments of the NMU convention. Here's hoping we can serve some use out here to make the unity convention a success.

Give my regards to Tommy Ray, Roy, Al Lannon et al. The saviors of rank and file unionism—it has just about vanished from the west coast.

You also might give Roy a song and dance about organization of the waterfront section out here. I'm not just merely criticizing it, I'm trying to do something constructive but working from the bottom alone is almost like pulling oneself up by one's boot straps, as it were.

When I can throw my NMU book in for a job I'll be around N. Y.

Good luck

AL YATES

MEMORANDUM ON NATIONAL MARINE TRAINING SCHOOL

1. The school will be held in pleasant, healthful surroundings in upstate New York beginning October 15th and ending December 15th, 1939.

2. The courses to be taught have not yet been worked out in detail, but they will include the following:

1. History of American Labor Movement.
2. Trade Union Strategy and Tactics.
3. A. F. of L. Craft Unionism vs. C. I. O. industrial unionism.
4. The need for political action.
5. United and Peoples Front * * * National and Social Security * * * 18th Congress, C. P. S. U.

Complete curriculum will be sent as soon as it is worked out. Comrades should feel free to send in any suggestions they may have as to courses, etc.

3. All text books and material used at the school will be furnished free of charge.

4. Competent instructors have already volunteered their services for the duration of the school.

5. The only expense involved is the actual cost of board and lodging, daily expense allowance for cigarettes, etc., fares in to New York and back, etc., which will amount to the sum of \$125. per student.

6. Realizing how difficult it is for maritime workers to save such a large sum of money, we have made arrangements whereby they can forward partial payments from time to time which will be held in trust for them until they have the complete sum necessary.

7. Each candidate for the school will be expected to have the total sum of \$125. turned in not later than September 1st, 1939.

8. Special consideration will be given to those candidates who for good reasons are unable to turn in the entire amount.

9. During the month of August a commission will be set up in N. Y. to interview the candidates and select those comrades who will qualify to attend the school.

10. If any comrade is unable to attend for some reason or another, or if he does not qualify before the commission the entire sum of money he has turned in shall be refunded to him if he so wishes.

11. If any comrade is unable to finish the course for any reason, he will have his money refunded to him, if he so wishes, minus the amount necessary to cover his expenses during the period he attends.

12. This opportunity is open to all maritime comrades, seamen, longshoremen, harbor workers, etc.

13. The sum of \$125 does not cover traveling expenses from other ports to N. Y. This will have to be arranged in the ports themselves.

14. Comrades wishing to attend this school should get an application card *now* from their unit or Section organizer or send to N. Y. for them if unable to secure them in the port.

15. After filling application, it should be sent immediately to N. Y., together with any money the candidate may wish to send in at the moment.

16. Candidates can send in money as often as they wish, and in any amounts possible, so as to turn in the sum of \$125. as soon as possible.

17. All communications, applications, finances, etc. must be sent to:

MARINE TRAINING SCHOOL
% Al Lannon, 9th floor, 35 East 12th Street,
New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuistion, during the spring strike of 1936, did Joseph Curran meet with leading members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand, he himself at that time was not a member?

Mr. MCCUISTION. He was not a member, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you know of your own knowledge that he did meet and confer with members?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Yes. I arranged the meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were some of the members with whom he met?

Mr. MCCUISTION. He met with John Robinson and with me. He met with Roy Hudson and with me. He met with Tommy Ray and with myself, also.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you present at those meetings?

Mr. MCCUISTION. I was present at those meetings and arranged those meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was discussed at those meetings, Mr. McCuistion?

Mr. MCCUISTION. The policy of the Communist Party; how the Communist Party could support the strike; how to end the opposition to the Communist Party; and the question of mutual cooperation between the Communist Party and the strike apparatus; the question of eliminating certain people, such as Codyre and others; that came up at various times and was also discussed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Curran as a general proposition at least follow the suggestions or instructions, whichever they were, that he received?

Mr. MCCUISTION. You could see him leaning more and more toward the party as these meetings progressed. He became quite a reader, and Tommy Ray would be always delivering the latest party pamphlets and the latest party documents to Curran to read, to point out the role the party was playing. At that time Curran defended the Communist Party several times in speeches.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his general attitude regarding the party during that spring strike in 1936?

Mr. MCCUISTION. During the spring strike of 1936 his general attitude was: "Well, we need the party because we have not got much other help, so we will continue to play along with the party whether people like it or not. We will just have to play along with them."

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party help finance the spring strike in any material way?

Mr. McCUISTION. The Communist Party actually made a profit out of the spring strike all the way through. They helped to finance it openly; that is, they would bring down donations, but I went to several of their parties, and so forth and so on, where they would make a \$25 or \$30 collection and send down \$10; and the other money, if you questioned them about it, they would say, "Well, we needed that for expenses," and so forth and so on. But they made an actual physical profit out of the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they hold various benefits to raise money?

Mr. McCUISTION. They held benefits, house parties, cocktail parties, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. We have already gotten the question of Curran's attitude toward calling off the strike. Did he speak at the meeting at which the spring strike of 1936 was called off?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he speak against calling off the strike?

Mr. McCUISTION. He spoke for about 20 minutes against calling off the strike, and then Tommy Ray and myself and others converged on the platform; and he took one look at us moving up, and he changed his mind in the middle of his speech and decided to advocate calling off the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. So he then advocated the termination of the strike?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that change of heart or attitude prompted or influenced by the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. Tommy Ray and myself got him in a corner before the meeting, and we told him what we were going to do. We were going to destroy him on the floor if he did not act in favor of calling off the strike. We told him also that there was a block of 400 men at this meeting that were ready to vote as one, and to shout him down if he tried to continue the strike foolishly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following the termination of the spring strike in 1936, did Joseph Curran make a tour of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of that tour, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. The purpose of that tour was to try to piece together what was left of the strike, to establish functioning branches in various ports, to carry on the rank-and-file activity since the strike was over; to establish organizers in various places, and to establish proper contacts with the Communist Party, and with various other organizations in order that we could get the physical support for the apparatus, because at that time we had no money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who accompanied Joe Curran on that tour?

Mr. McCUISTION. I, for one, accompanied him; McKenzie, the present secretary of the firemen's division of the National Maritime Union, was along; Joe Kane, the secretary of the deck division, was along; and we picked up Dave Ramon, national organizer. Dave Ramon met us in Mobile and had with him one or two.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how did you travel on that trip?

Mr. McCUISTION. We traveled by automobile, in a grey Packard.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many of the persons who accompanied him on that tour were communists or fellow travelers like yourself?

Mr. McCuistion. Fellow travelers; there was only one communist, and that was McKenzie; and I was a fellow traveler.

Mr. Whitley. Will you describe to the committee or is this correct, Mr. McCuistion, that the purpose of that trip on that tour, was to tie together the men who might be influenced by the strike which had just been terminated?

Mr. McCuistion. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. And to lay the foundation for a new organization among the seamen?

Mr. McCuistion. That was the purpose.

Mr. Whitley. That was to lay the foundation for the trade-union organization which later was established as the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCuistion. Yes, that is right; only two represented regular organizations at that time, myself and McKenzie, who were members of the firemen's division of the A. F. of L.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, I see a letter here dated October 2, 1936, signed by Joe Curran. Is that an original letter?

Mr. McCuistion. I could look at it and tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you have him identify it?

Mr. Whitley. There were two or three letters signed by Mr. Curran.

The CHAIRMAN. Original letters?

Mr. Whitley. Identified by the witness.

Mr. McCuistion (examining paper). Yes, this is an original letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter of a man who testified before this committee which shows some very material facts, and we will put that in the record later. We do not have time now.

Mr. Whitley. The witness identified that letter, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Here is another one from Joe Curran.

(Stamped:) 4 Oct. 1936. Rec'd. Pacific Coast Mariner, O. W. T. & W. Assn.

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE
164—11th Avenue, New York City
Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

JOSEPH CURRAN, *Chairman*

RALPH EMERSON, *Secretary*

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 2, 1936.

PETER INNES,

W. C. Rep.

BROTHER: I will begin by telling you that a great victory has been won by the rank and file, the show of strength that went on here in New York the last three days convinced everyone that the Hunter crowd does not control anyone.

We will take the *Roosevelt* first on Wednesday the crew of that ship came off at sailing time 100% and when I say that I mean even the cooks who had been on there for 10 years it was great then they went on the picket line right away well the result of this was that the ship layed at the dock and the passengers sailed on english ships the company was fruit and so was the judge but they were convinced that we were stalling no more and Macarthy of the I. M. M. in a conversation with me said that they would lay up all the ships and let the Gov't sail them I told him that this would be good as maybe we would get some place then.

The *Pennsy* was next and she sat down 100% to well the Judge Hulbert who was trying to stall for the foneys suddenly realised that we meant business and said that if the *Roosevelt* was allowed to sail he would see that an agreement was worked out this of course was to find out who controled the men as he stated that the way things were it looked like no one controlled the men. So we said that we would let go as evidence of our good faith but that

we would hold the *Pennsy* And the *Trader* fast and that if there wasnt an agreement friday when the *Trader* was due to sail we would hold her and that if there was no agreement by Sat. morning at 9 a. m. we would pull every ship on the coast, let me remind you that every ship was clamoring to sit down by this time and it would have been to bad for them.

Well this morning at ten they stated to negotiate again and as they started the Finkiest ship of the lot the *Manhattan* after I had sent a letter aboard promising them that they would be respected on the street and we would forget the past if the cooperated set down 100% well this broke the ice Hunter signed the agreement at 6.30 P. M. afetr we had held up the *Trader* and the Co. had lost all the passengers and he must have felt like a balloon well on the strenght of what we see here we dont need any ballots for action on the 15th they are ready to faall if they hear from me.

About the stipulations of the agreement you will get them complete as soon as Emerson fixes them up it is a victory that means the end of the foneys for once and all. you may tell them on the coast that the East coast is only waiting for the signal to go and that is all.

In your case Jerry King who together with others is now a delegate here tells me to let you know that you are all right out there and they will see that you get your money even if it is unofficial What a victory I just cant get over the fact that the Loyal Union ships are the ones that killed them. You remember the sailors delegate Clipborg well he is betting that within a month the expelled members including myself will be reinstated with full honors so you can see that the foneys are on their last legs now. The defense committtee has sure been busy lately we are now officially recognised as the ruling faction and the foneys dont know what to say in their next edition of the supplemt. there is only one thing that mars our victory and that is that I am afraid that we are up against another clique le us hope not.

Innes be sure to give us all the dope as fast as you get it out there on the coast as we will be depending on you while we go ahead on the fight against the foneys in the sailors union next.

We are having a meefing tomorrow night with a brother who has money with the idea of getting him to finance a trip to the coast for me of course this is only tentative as we are not sure yet. What kind of a reception do you think I would get if I came out there let me know by wire if you think it is a good idea as I think I should get out there to clear up a few points and at the same time let them see me so that they will know me and we can get acquainted before we start to build the National Maritime Federation.

well so long Pete old boy give my regards to all the boys and the boys and the mrs send you theirs from here Emerson will send you the details of the victory, and heres hoping it wont be long before we are all in a clean I. S. U. again so we can show them shipowners who we are yo know that this is a double victory for me because the victims were the I. M. M. my old enemy we actually tied their biggest ships right fast to the dock and they thought this was impossible it is great as it makes my score against them one up from last spring and I wish you could see the expression on the face of Macarthy when he said I was at the bottom of the whole thing.

write soon

Fraternally Yours

JOSEPH CURRAN.

When I write then From Home there will be no seal on them but I will always have this footnote on them (Joe).

"Yours for unity and greater harmony between the Coasts and On to a national Maritime Federation"

(In ink:) Joseph Curran.

If any letters come out there for me with this stamp on them they are not genuine look on the inside of every envelope noe and you will see this stamp that is so you will know they are from me confidential

Mr. WHITLEY. What role or what part did the Communist Party play in that tour from the Atlantic to the Gulf ports by Curran and the individuals you have named?

Mr. McCUSTION. The Communist Party sent out various organizers ahead of the tour; they had a force of mobilizers that met us at every stop of the tour.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, at the stops during that tour there were Communist Party mobilizers met you?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe what points were visited on that tour?

Mr. McCUSTION. The main ports that were visited were Charleston, Savannah, Jacksonville, Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans, Port Arthur, and Houston.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at every one of those ports, did they know you were coming and a delegation of Communists meet you?

Mr. McCUSTION. No; we were not met with a delegation. For instance, in ports like Charleston there were just one or two Communists probably in the whole town, and even myself could not identify them, but being familiar with the party line I could tell by talking to them they had received instructions as to what to do, because I had helped Tom Ray prepare and send out those instructions myself in advance.

Mr. WHITLEY. Instructions were sent out in advance by the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. To these various ports?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; although the Communists would not identify all the parties except the well-known Communists by that method I could identify the Communists who had received the instructions.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of the discussions held out to the organizers at the various ports?

Mr. McCUSTION. The nature of the discussion was as to how we could establish a permanent force, functioning as a small defense committee and maintain an apparatus at that time pending further establishments of the legality of the attacks in the sailor's department as had been done in the firemen's department.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you return to New York with Curran after that tour?

Mr. McCUSTION. No; I stayed in New Orleans.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did you remain on the Gulf?

Mr. McCUSTION. I was appointed by the firemen officials to remain on the Gulf as the organizer for the marine and oilers on the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. You remained on the Gulf for that purpose?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, on this tour, was Mr. Curran at the time of the tour a member of the party, Mr. McCustion?

Mr. McCUSTION. There was evidence that he was a member of the party. For example, at Houston, Tex., why, he insisted on leaving me at Port Arthur while he went to the home of Homer Brooks. He said, "I am going over to Homer Brooks, the organizer for the Houston district, and ports in Texas, to meet with members of the Communist Party."

And he had a number of secret meetings—I cannot say who he met with because he would tell me frankly, "Well, Mac, I have to meet with them, and you are not a member of the party, so I can't take you along to this meeting."

And he would come back and lay down the party line.

Mr. WHITLEY. As the organizer on the Gulf ports, the position you were given while you were down there, were you in charge of the Atlantic-Gulf district for that section?

Mr. McCUISTION. I was in charge of all ports from Savannah to Corpus Christi; that is, for the firemen.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in that capacity did you continue your contacts with the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. I continued my contacts to a degree, and at the same time I worked with Arthur Thomas and others; I maintained the contact in order to know what they were doing and so we could prevent the mistakes we had made in the east coast and prevent the Communists from gaining control. We succeeded in that, and we kept them out of control.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you receive any instructions or advice from the Communist Party while you were speaking as an organizer on Gulf ports?

Mr. McCUISTION. I received instructions, advice, and even threats at various times, but most of them were confined to the wastebasket. If we agreed with them, we might use them. If they had something they wanted us to submit, to replace the rank and file, if we agreed on them we would take it up with the rank and file and would make known the set-up of the Communist; otherwise, we would not do anything and throw them in the wastebasket.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, in the fall strike, in 1936, which was called about November 1, what was the response to that call in New Orleans?

Mr. McCUISTION. In New Orleans we had practically a 100-percent response. We had the full confidence of the membership and they were of the opinion that the Communists were not in control and that we were prepared to go ahead.

Mr. VOORHIS. You testified the other day that they were not in control.

Mr. McCUISTION. They were not; they were not in control.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the impression might be gained from your statement that the membership thought that.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Actually they were not?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; they did get, finally, the control for a while.

Mr. VOORHIS. In New Orleans?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You were elected the strike foreman?

Mr. McCUISTION. I was elected strike chairman, the first strike chairman of the first strike committee in New Orleans.

Mr. VOORHIS. And how long did you function in that capacity?

Mr. McCUISTION. Just a few days. We were annoyed almost continually by the New Orleans police by arrests; they would arrest some of the strikers, break up meetings, and at that time my own opposition was Robert Meers, who was himself among the Communists. And subsequently I was recalled to New York, and Jack Lawrenson sent me, telegraphed me for transportation to New York by airplane, telling me to come back immediately, that it was the desire of the strike committee——

Mr. STARNES (interposing). Who was Robert Meers?

Mr. McCUISTION. Robert Meers was previously identified as being acting secretary of the 1936 strike committee.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same Robert Meers to whom the letter is addressed from Charles R. Mertz?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Charles Mertz?

Mr. McCUISTION. I don't know Mertz.

Mr. STARNES. This letter is addressed to Mr. Robert Meers, from Savannah, Ga., branch of the National Maritime Union of America to Robert Meers, 224 Crossman Street, New Orleans, La., care N. M. U., and reads:

HELLO BOB: Writing to you and asking you to go over to the peoples book store and get me my membership book. I was pledged by Buster Platt on December 15, 1937, and all they sent to me is my traveling card.

As you know that I am up here to stay awhile, as I was elected as a delegate, and I have contacted the party here, so if it is possible, please have it sent to me as soon as possible. You know that I gave my right name, but up here it is Harold Sargeant, so have it made out to my new name.

From that are you able to tell whether he had reference to a membership card in the National Maritime Union or whether he was referring to the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. He most certainly could not have meant the National Maritime Union or any connection with the front organization except the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. The words "peoples book store" refer to a branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And the Communist Party issues traveling cards?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another letter I would like to have you identify. That seems to be a letter signed by Joseph Curran.

Mr. McCUISTION. That is his signature, and that is the official stationery. That is a photograph copy, not an original.

Mr. STARNES. I see. You can identify it?

Mr. McCUISTION. I can identify that; yes.

Mr. STARNES. You know Joseph Curran's signature?

Mr. McCUISTION. I know the style of letter he writes, and I know his signature.

Mr. STARNES. That is a letter written to Peter Innes on the official stationery of the Seamen's Defense Committee, New York, dated October 8, 1936.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Can you say whether Innes at that time was a member of the party?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; I don't think Innes was ever a member of the party, but Innes followed party lines, to an extent.

Mr. STARNES. I want to quote some excerpts from this letter. [Reading:]

I am going to see that you get a money sent to you if it is at all possible. Know what you are up against there on the coast, and the firemen here now with the exception of Jerry King are all pie cards.

Who is Jerry King?

Mr. McCuISTION. Jerry King was former national secretary of the National Maritime Union: he was purged a couple of months ago.

Mr. STARNES. Was he ever a member of the party, if you know?

Mr. McCuISTION. Jerry King, as I understand, opposed the party from the very beginning.

Mr. STARNES. You say he has been purged?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES (reading):

They have credentials from Hunter.

Who is Hunter?

Mr. McCuISTION. Ivan Hunter was the head of the International Seamen's Union.

Mr. STARNES (reading):

And they think they are big shots now the Communist Parties have about got control of the outfit with Tommy Ray director of operations here in New York.

Mr. McCuISTION. I have identified Tommy Ray before.

Mr. STARNES. In this letter Curran speaks of the Communists having gotten control. This is dated October 8, 1936.

In other words, the Communists had about gotten control of the situation in New York?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And is that the same Curran who testified here he did know a Communist when he saw him?

Mr. McCuISTION. That is the same Curran.

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11TH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Phone: Watkins 9-2675

JOSEPH CURRAN, Chairman

RALPH EMERSON, Secretary

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 8, 1936

PETER INNES,

W. C. Rep. Seamen's Defense Comm.

DEAR BROTHER: I am now in a position to tell you of the events that have transpired here for the last few days the M. F. O. W. is now pretty well straightened out all the progressive delegates have passes to board the ships and it looks like the foneys are on the way out they are now importing the gulf beef squad to take over New York but they have as much chance of getting anywhere here as a snow ball in hell.

The rank and file are so strong here now that we dont know how the fakers are able to convince the members that they amount to anything at all. At the sailors meeting the other night the sailors gave gus brown the worst night he has had in years so you see we are going places here now all you can hear around here is when is the west coast going out so that they can go out to there was a good demonstration of how we stand when the Manhattan sat down 100%.

How are the M. F. O. W. treating you out there on the coast I want to tell you how things are going here with us the defense committee is working hard but there is one thing that is hurting us is that the men on the ships are forgetting to put in any money and as a result we are in debt it looks as if they expect this committee to function without their help but as you know that is of course impossible so I do not know how things are going to turn out here the men that were expelled last spring are being reinstated one by one so far to day Fitzsimmons was reinstated and is on the Southern Cross. I am going down to the hall and see if they will not accept my dues and ask them why I was expelled and why the others are in and I am still out they are going to be glad to get us all in because if they dont they will not have many members

left, Gus Brown said that those that were expelled would never get back in while he owns the union.

I had to lay this letter over for two days so that we could go up into Marcantonios district and help him out the seamen responded pretty well and it looks like we might be able to get him back into Congress again. I just got your letter today in which you tell me about the situation out there I dont think there will be any arbitration we hope that the I. L. A. will stick with the rest but we know they will the I. L. A. here has not signed any agreements and they wont until the West coast I. L. A. gets theirs so on the whole I hope you will tell them not to compromise on anything as I am of the opinion that we are in a position for a showdown with the shipowners, it is a cinch with the UNITY we now have we will never have a better opportunity to humble the shipowners. In regards to the interview with the Maritime Commission they were evasive on most of the questions that we asked such as who is going to investigate the living conditions and etc. they are another piecard outfit set up to help the shipowner we asked them what they would do in the event the seamen refused to accept the fink book and were locked out as a result Wiley who looks like an old senile clam said that if we had any influence with the seamen we should go back and advise them not to strike against this book as it would protect the seamen from harm at the hands of the shipowners. some joke eh!.

We met Hunter as we went in to see them and it looked like he was there to set the stage for us and that reminds me Lundberg must have been in town at the same time that we appeared at the Commission and he never even told us he was coming to this coast well it goes along with the rest of his policy I guess.

Your note about the virginia was something that I never suspected I thought that ship was alright but I guess that we were mistaken and we will see that something is done about it when she gets here and I think with the forces that are here we will take care of it pretty well.

Now about the reasons that I am not at this time able to go to the coast the main reason of course is the lack of finance and the closeness of the fifteenth we had a man that was willing to finance me to a bus ride but that takes five days and five nights of continuous riding and the time element involved makes it impossible and the flying part of course is out because it costs to much 300 dollars round trip and we have no money anyway so it is out until the fifteenth anyway I am very much disappointed because I believe it would have been the best thing possible for all of us.

[Marginal note: Note carefully:]

I am going to see that you get a money sent to you if it is at all possible I know what you are up against there on the coast and the firemen here now with the exception of Jerry King are all piecards they have credentials from Hunter and they think they are big shots now the C. P's. have about got control of the outfit now with Tommy Ray director of operations here in New York but things are not bad on the whole

Let me know how the Copeland bill fight is going on there on the coast it is going great here we have about ten thousand pledges signed here and the bill is being well explained so it looks alright here but we dont hear anything about the fight on the coast dont allow it to be submerged in the other things as it is to important to us all.

Your Pilot was sent out right after it came off the press so you ought to get it soon Now Pete you are going to have two Calmar ships out there soon the Almar AND the Texmar they will consult with you as per the letter I sent to them they want to do something or other so you will take care of them as they are good boys I think now dont worry about the Virginia and try to rest a little as we cant afford to have you collapse on us. Until I hear from you.

Your best friend

Yours Fraternally

JOSEPH CURRAN.

"On to a National Maritime Federation" To this end we dedicate our work"

P. S. No seal. Written at home.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were interrupted a few minutes ago in your testimony. When did you return from Spain; what time did you arrive back in New York?

Mr. McCuiston. I arrived back—I cannot remember the exact date, but it can be found from the records of the Maritime Commission; I think it was in September.

Mr. WHITLEY. September of 1938?

Mr. McCuiston. Either the latter part of August or September.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at the time you arrived back here what was your attitude with reference to the Communists having control of or their activities in the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCuiston. I was entirely opposed to that and determined, just as I am doing and since that I have been building up as much evidence against them as I can; I have been working with the anti-Communist forces.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the time you arrived what port did you arrive at?

Mr. McCuiston. Norfolk, Va.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who did you meet in Norfolk, Va., Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. Bevo Miller, who I classed as a Communist, because he worked with the Communists and among the Americans who went to Spain; Blackie Albert, who was connected with the National Marine Workers and a member of the Communist Party. They met me, and some others whose names I don't recall.

Mr. WHITLEY. They met you in Norfolk, Va.?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was the reception which was given to you at that time, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. They told me that they were willing to forgive my desertion from Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. By that, they were speaking of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; they took me up; took me out—I cannot recall her name; it was the first and last time I have ever met her; she was the wife of a Communist Party organizer in Norfolk, Va., and I walked out of the meeting. They told me that they were willing to forget what had happened if I would line up with them, and if I would not I had better get off the water front or I would become a floater; I would become a floater, a term used around harbors and police stations.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they told you——

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to have you develop the phase of the civil liberty question.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not have very much time left.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the two individuals who were known to you as Communists and who represented the Communist Party came to you upon your arrival in Norfolk, after you had returned from Spain, and told you that they were willing to take you back in the party and if you did not come back and go down the line you would become a floater. What did they mean by that?

Mr. McCuiston. They meant that by becoming a floater, that is a common term referring to a dead body, by seamen and also the police, of a body found floating around the wharves, and at various places.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if you did not get on the party policy——

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Instead of being on the water front you would become a floater?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Provided you did not become a member?

Mr. McCUISTION. Provided—they did not ask me to become a member: they just wanted me not to oppose the party. They said, "You can stay here if you will keep quiet, but we are not going to stand for your coming in here as an independent, or anybody else, as a 'red' baiter."

Mr. STARNES. In other words, they were going to "protect" your civil liberties?

Mr. CUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That was a method of protecting your civil liberties.

Mr. WHITLEY. They told you you would have to line up with them or leave the water front?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Or you would be "washed up"?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you do then?

Mr. McCUISTION. I remained in Norfolk and I decided to try it out, so the first meeting the union held I went to the meeting, and had been issued a membership book by Emerson, who was secretary at that time, or was the agent at that time, but he had not paid for my dues, so the minute I took the floor to make my statement the Communists jumped up in the hall and said that I wasn't a paid-up member and that I had no right to speak, although under the constitution I did have a right to speak even though I was not a paid-up member.

At the same time they kept muscleing me to keep me from speaking there.

Mr. STARNES. You do not mean that a Communist would deny you the right to speak in a meeting?

Mr. McCUISTION. I mean to say just that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go back to New York?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; Joe Curran came down and told me what was going on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately what was the time, if you recall?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was just about the time that Drummond got back.

Curran came down there and told me that it was a losing fight in New York but they were going to get rid of some of the element and that they were going to get in position to cover the water front. And he referred to this line and told me if I would line up that I could get any position on the water front that I wanted.

Mr. WHITLEY. By the line he had reference to the line of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Of the Communist Party; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was no question about what he had reference to?

Mr. McCuiston. There was no question whatsoever.

Mr. Voorhis. Who was it told you that?

Mr. McCuiston. Joseph Curran.

Mr. Whitley. And did he ever make any threats or suggestions as to what might happen if you did not agree?

Mr. McCuiston. Oh, yes; he was very suggestive as to what would happen, so much so that I suggested to Joe Curran that we have it out right there and see who was the best man and he said he didn't engage in roughhouse, or anything like that.

Mr. Starnes. He is a very gentle man?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. And what did you do; did you follow along that same line?

Mr. McCuiston. I visited my folks at that time who lived in Stouchsburg, Pa., and remained with them about a week and I compiled all of the things I could, as I did when I got out of Spain to do what I am doing here right now, to work actively in opposition to the Communist Party in the trade-union field.

Mr. Whitley. Did you have anything further at that time along the same line of suggestions as to what they would do?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; I came to New York in the month of September, with a very definite view on that—

Mr. Whitley (interposing). This was September of 1938?

Mr. McCuiston. September 1938, yes; and I was met at the water front. One of the first guys I met was a fellow named Kitson.

Mr. Whitley. Will you spell that for the record?

Mr. McCuiston. K-i-t-s-o-n, who is a more or less rank and file Communist and had been a personal friend of mine, in fact, a good personal friend.

And he told me, he said, "I have just come into some money, got hold of some money. Let us go out and have a little party." And I said, "Why not; I would like to have a little party."

Anyway, we went out and drank in a few places. And, he said that he had some good friends that he wanted me to see; go up to their house. So, we went up to their house and when we walked into the house we met Smith first, and Frederick Myers, chairman of the Atlantic district of the Communist—of the National Marine Union, and a Communist and also Al Lannon, and Roy Hudson, and one or two others.

When we walked in I saw that I was on the spot.

Mr. Whitley. And what transpired after you walked into that gathering?

Mr. McCuiston. Well, Kitson himself walked out and left me. I saw the embarrassing look he gave me when he walked out.

Mr. Whitley. And what happened at that meeting that you have referred to?

Mr. McCuiston. They gave me the same line; they gave me the same line that I had heard before and told me to keep quiet or else go down the line with their proposition, otherwise I would get it in the neck. They told me at that time that they were not asking me to join the Communist Party but that if I would go down on the water front and actively work I could write my own ticket, and that I could have any position that I wanted.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they referring to a position in the Communist Party or in the N. W. U.?

Mr. McCUSTION. At that time I never bothered about it——

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean what was the result of this offer?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well I wanted to walk out of the room whole, so I remarked that I thought they had a pretty good proposition and that I would like to think it over, give a little more consideration to the matter, and I could tell them better later on.

So, they thought that was all right and I went out and started the opposition, fighting the Communist in the way that I had just been talking about.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let me understand you. Do I understand that the Communist Party members were threatening you that if you did not follow the line, or was it Curran?

Mr. McCUSTION. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said Curran was there?

Mr. McCUSTION. No; this was at Norfolk, where he told me about the situation in New York.

Mr. VOORHIS. You saw him when you were in Norfolk and he took the opposite position to you?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; that is, we took opposite positions.

Mr. STARNES. What year was this, did you say?

Mr. McCUSTION. 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us hurry along. We have some more evidence before we recess.

Mr. WHITLEY. What happened at the time; did you start to fight them, oppose them openly at the water front in every way you could?

Mr. McCUSTION. In every way I could.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCUSTION. But I did not fight them physically, but in an official way.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean you tried to oppose their influence and activities in the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did you receive any further threats, directly or indirectly, because of the action you had taken?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well, I was beaten up pretty badly one night; and I was attacked another night. And a third time—and this is a matter of record with the New York police department, because I was standing in front of the O'Brien Bar when a man attacked me with a knife—he is now serving a sentence for assault. A friend of mine was standing there on crutches and I grabbed one of his crutches, and let him fall, and struck this man in defense of myself.

That is a matter of record. There were a number of assaults on me.

Mr. WHITLEY. A number of assaults and attempts on your life?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you continue to receive threats directly or indirectly?

Mr. McCUSTION. Directly every day; there was never a day that passed by that I did not get them.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they were for the purpose of getting you off the water front?

Mr. McCuiston. Because I opposed them, to get me off the water front.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, get down to the charge he made against them.

Mr. THOMAS. Before doing that may I ask this question: Also were there any threats made against any members of your family?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; they even, before I returned, why, Joe Curran himself had told my mother that I would have plenty of trouble when I came back.

The CHAIRMAN. There are other people who are coming here to testify to that fact?

Mr. WHITLEY. His mother is here now.

The CHAIRMAN. She is?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you get down to dealing with the charges at New Orleans and the circumstances referring to that in Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, in just what way did you continue to oppose or try to oppose their activities?

Mr. McCuiston. By attending as many meetings as I could; every meeting that I could attend, every meeting on the water front I would get up and tell them what I knew about their background, and what I knew about the leadership of the party, telling them the same as I have told you here. I did that a number of times.

And, I was successful in this in only one place and that was with the engineers division in the meeting in New York. The New York engineers was at that time, as a whole, anti-Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. McCuiston. They were anti-Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they ever threaten you along the line that charges would be brought against you, or that you might get into trouble of that type, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; they threatened me. They told me frankly that I would; they told me they had plenty of influence, and I am referring to Al Lannon, Frederick Myers, Tom Ray, and McKenzie and Ted Lewis, national organizer of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he a Communist?

Mr. McCuiston. All members of the Communist Party, and admitted members of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they told you they had plenty of influence and that something would happen to you, or if something happened to you they had enough influence to handle that?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you knew all of that when you came here publically yesterday to testify to your knowledge of these activities, did you not?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; I knew all of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I might say, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. McCuiston told me privately concerning his appearance that he did not know, that anything might happen if he did come.

The CHAIRMAN. Question him about the charge in New Orleans.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, as I understand Mr. McCuiston, you had no reason for knowing and you had no way of knowing that anybody wanted you for anything when you came here?

Mr. McCuiston. I made no attempt to conceal anything. I have, for the past 4 months and in the past few weeks gone to the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the F. B. I., and given them information about certain activities of the Communist Party and I have made no attempt to conceal myself from anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in the office of the F. B. I.?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; and corresponded with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Corresponded with them since this New Orleans incident?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And up to this time no attempt was made to apprehend you?

Mr. McCuiston. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you not also been in contact with the Naturalization Office, the Department of Labor since that time?

Mr. McCuiston. Since that time, no; except that I have notified them through my contacts with the F. B. I., that I had constantly kept the F. B. I. informed where I was living and if they needed me I would be available to them.

Mr. THOMAS. The Department of Labor knew all along where you might be found?

Mr. McCuiston. I suppose they did. I cannot say what they knew.

Mr. THOMAS. Through the F. B. I.?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; through the F. B. I.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you go to the F. B. I. here?

Mr. McCuiston. I went to the F. B. I. in New York.

Mr. THOMAS. Not in Washington?

Mr. McCuiston. No; I did not.

Mr. THOMAS. But in New York?

Mr. McCuiston. I told Mr. Whitley, when I first met him here, that I was perfectly willing to have him tell anybody where I was.

The CHAIRMAN. In this connection, the Chair wants to make the statement that last night the Chair examined Inspector Thompson of the local police, and a preliminary investigation shows that about 12:30 the Washington police received a long-distance call from Roland Perry, who identified himself as being connected with the Maritime Union in New York, who informed the Metropolitan Police that William C. McCuiston was wanted for murder in New Orleans in connection with the death of Philip Carey, September 17, 1939.

In that same conversation, Mr. Perry informed the police that Ray Torr, who is sitting here in the room, and who is also connected with the Maritime Union—that Ray Torr, who is located in Washington and is connected with the Washington office of the National Maritime Union, would give further information relative to McCuiston. The Washington police asked Mr. Perry if Torr could inform the police where McCuiston could be found and Perry said Torr could give this information and that he, Perry, understood that McCuiston was to testify before the Dies committee.

After this telephone conversation, a detective was sent to see Mr. Torr and about 30 minutes later Torr, accompanied by the detective, went to the police headquarters. After conferring with Torr, the Washington police informed him that they would not make an arrest until they had confirmation from the New Orleans police. Then the

Washington police wired New Orleans to find out if William C. McCuiston was wanted on a murder charge and asked for a description of him. About 4:20 the Washington police received a telegram informing them that McCuiston was wanted. Then two plain-clothes men went with Mr. Torr to the hearings for the purpose of identifying Mr. McCuiston, but with no purpose of making any arrest while McCuiston was under the jurisdiction of the committee.

Well, I may say that immediately after adjournment, yesterday, I am informed that two plain-clothes men came to the hearings here with Mr. Torr, and the committee had adjourned. The Washington police informed me this was not for the purpose of making or attempting to make an arrest here in the committee. However, two plain-clothes men did come here to the committee, according to our information, at about 3:30, or shortly after the time of adjournment.

As I say, about 4:20, the Washington police received a telegram informing them that McCuiston was wanted. Then two plain-clothes men with Mr. Torr to the hearings for the purpose of identifying McCuiston, but with no purpose of making any arrest while McCuiston was under the jurisdiction of the committee. Torr told the plain-clothes men that he had informed newspapermen, and that is how some of these newspapermen knew about it yesterday afternoon and the reason the photographers came here—Torr informed the plain-clothes men that he had informed newspapermen with reference to the fact that McCuiston was wanted for murder prior to advising the police authorities.

Sometime between 3 and 4 o'clock, Mr. Henry A. Swinehaut, Assistant to the Attorney General in charge of the Civil Liberties Division of the Department of Justice, called the Washington police to find out if the police had heard anything from the New Orleans police in connection with McCuiston. Now, this is the head of the Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice calling the police department to find out if they had heard anything from New Orleans with reference to this man's arrest—of course, the Chair believes, for the purpose of undertaking to arrest him here, or shortly after he left the committee room, to discredit his testimony, or in an attempt to discredit the evidence. We will get more of that.

The police informed Mr. Swinehaut that they had not heard from New Orleans. Later, after the police had heard from New Orleans, Mr. Swinehaut was notified that McCuiston was wanted for murder, and this evening—that was yesterday evening, or last night—we instructed our counsel to call Mr. Swinehaut and ascertain why Mr. Swinehaut was interesting himself in a local crime in the city of New Orleans; whether or not any civil liberties were involved; because the Chair was naturally curious to know if the Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice was going to undertake to defend this man, when here is evidence that civil liberties rights have been violated; that the man has been beaten, threatened, and that his fundamental rights have been put in jeopardy, and it was for that purpose that the counsel (Mr. Whitley) was instructed to call Mr. Swinehaut to find out if we are going to have fair, impartial, courageous protection of civil liberties.

Manifestly if the employers had called down here and asked for the arrest of the witness, or if the shipping interests had been as

active to bring about this man's apprehension, under those circumstances, there would not be any question but what there would be a hue and cry throughout the Nation, and this was so unfair and not right that, in order to determine how far it went, as I said, the counsel was instructed to call Mr. Swinehaut, and the council did call Mr. Swinehaut, and also called the police in New Orleans and ascertained from the police in New Orleans that the National Maritime Union was pressing for the indictment of this man. Is that correct; is that what the police of New Orleans informed you?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel also ascertained from Mr. Swinehaut, and his explanation for calling the police to find out about this murder, or alleged murder in New Orleans—what did he tell you? What did Mr. Swinehaut tell you?

Mr. WHITLEY. He told me that Mr. Forr, or Torr, whichever it is, of the National Maritime Union, and another official of the National Maritime Union, had been in touch with him over a considerable period of time with reference to an alleged violation of civil rights of the members of the National Maritime Union, and that he had never been able to determine there was any Federal jurisdiction involved at any time; that the last time they contacted him was about a month or 6 weeks ago, at which time they again complained that the civil rights of members of the National Maritime Union were being violated, and that again he could find no basis for Federal jurisdiction of any kind, and that yesterday Mr. Torr got in touch with him and informed him that Mr. McCuiston, the witness before this committee, was wanted in New Orleans for murder and that he then communicated with the police. I asked him if his communication to the police was personal, or official. He said there was still no basis for any Federal jurisdiction, and he stated it was the outgrowth of his official action.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the question is simply this: There is no disposition on the part of this man to hide from any officers. He has not hidden at any time, and while the warrant that was issued is issued for a man by the name of "M-c-Q-u-i-s-t-o-n" whereas his name is "M-c-C-u-i-s-t-i-o-n," this man is ready to face any charges against him. But the chair believes that while he is in the City of Washington, and while Lieutenant Lineberg is here, that this man ought to be taken to the Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice, with the recommendation of this committee that the statements he has made with reference to a violation of his civil rights be thoroughly investigated; that members of the National Maritime Union, who have obviously sought to persecute this man, according to his own testimony and corroborated by the facts that we have ascertained from independent sources, should be investigated, and, if this man's civil rights have been violated, suitable action ought to be taken by the Department of Justice.

Do you gentlemen have any statement to make?

Mr. STARNES. I have this to add, Mr. Chairman: It seems to me this is a patent effort on the part of some influences somewhere to discredit witnesses brought before this committee and to cast reflections upon the committee; that the details surrounding this matter are not only sordid, but they are contemptible and scurrulous, and I

think this committee should take further action to ascertain what groups in this country are attempting to discredit a duly accredited congressional committee that is seeking to bring to light un-American and subversive activities in this country, and whether or not they have any support in official quarters for such action.

Speaking of damnable procedures and reprehensible procedures, I think this passes the limits of the English language to express condemnation. It looks phony to me; it looks like a set-up somewhere and is so patently absurd on its face that words fail me to condemn such action on the part of any group in this country. People in this country whose rights are being violated have a right to come here and to testify, and it seems to me certain groups who have tried to paint themselves "hily white" have been involved in most reprehensible conduct, and I think this committee should take some sort of official action with reference to this whole procedure. It smells to the high heavens to me, and is not only sordid but it stinks.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, is your statement made in the way of a resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. My suggestion is that Lieutenant Lineberg be instructed by this committee when the meeting is closed to take this man forthwith to the Civil Liberties section of the Department of Justice and afford him an opportunity to present all these facts immediately and that the members of the Maritime Union who were involved in these various matters he referred to, in an attempt to intimidate this man, in an attempt to take away from him his fundamental rights, immediately be investigated.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I move the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. STARNES. I second the motion.

Mr. VOORHIS. Before you put the motion, I just want to understand that what the committee is advocating is a full investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of this whole proposition?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. The committee is not presuming to take and is not taking any position that it prejudices any of the facts in the matter, but they wish Mr. McCuistion to be given the opportunity by the Civil Liberties section to state his case and to present whatever evidence he may have and with the request that they go into the matter very thoroughly?

The CHAIRMAN. From the standpoint of protecting his rights and his civil liberties against the maritime union and the Communist Party, the same as would be done if it were an employer who was doing this.

Mr. CASEY. As I understand, what we are objecting to is the fact that this man is being apprehended while here as a witness?

Mr. STARNES. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all; that is not involved.

Mr. CASEY. What is our complaint? I do not get that specifically.

Mr. STARNES. This man's civil liberties are being violated, that his right of free speech is being violated, and he is being intimidated and threatened with the loss of his life for having spoken most freely.

The CHAIRMAN. And that from independent sources, as well as his own testimony, we have ascertained, and are prepared to put on the stand witnesses to substantiate it, that officials of the maritime union in New York, Washington, and New Orleans all converged for the purpose and used their influence for the purpose of having this man apprehended if possible yesterday, while he was here testifying to these facts, and yesterday an official of the Department of Justice, for some reason, had called the police department to find out with reference to the murder charge, a local murder charge in New Orleans, which was not under his jurisdiction, as he admitted.

Mr. CASEY. I have merely this to say, that whether or not we should indulge in condemnatory language about the proceedings leading up to his apprehension, would depend upon the outcome of his trial, and there is no intent to prejudge that. I assume the courts are still functioning down in New Orleans, and that he will get a fair trial.

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute; he is not even indicted; there has been no indictment.

Mr. CASEY. Well, the police want him, which is always the first step toward a trial.

The CHAIRMAN. Not necessarily so. That is an unfair statement. There is no assumption this man will be indicted at all. He is wanted down there, that is all, to question him with reference to an alleged murder.

Mr. CASEY. That is a perfectly orderly procedure.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What interests me is this: Why was not this man apprehended and some action taken before he came as a witness before this committee?

The CHAIRMAN. That is the real point.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I think that is an extremely important question.

The CHAIRMAN. We will develop that.

Mr. VOORHIS. But all I am wanting to understand is what the committee is asking for is a fair investigation of these things that have taken place. I do not think we need to go further than that.

Mr. STARNES. That is all right.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And we will take whatever action the results justify.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to when you inquired about it, did you undertake to find out whether or not there was any notice anywhere that this man was wanted?

Mr. WHITLEY. I did; and Inspector Thompson said the Washington police had no "wanted" notice, and he checked with the F. B. I. and they had no "wanted" notice; there was no notice that this man was wanted. That was Inspector Thompson's statement with reference to his action here.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any further discussion? If not, all in favor of the motion say "Aye."

Mr. STARNES. Suppose you state the motion again.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is that Lieutenant Lineberg be requested to accompany the witness, Mr. McCuiston, to the Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice, to afford Mr. McCuiston an opportunity to lay before the Civil Liberties Section all the facts

with reference to the various alleged attempts to intimidate him, to deprive him of his civil rights, by the National Maritime Union and by the Communists.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Or other sources.

The CHAIRMAN. Or other sources; and that Lieutenant Lineberg further be instructed to inform the Civil Liberties Section with reference to these other facts which were given to the chairman by Inspector Thompson.

Mr. CASEY. Of course, the resolution has no force or effect; it is simply an expression of opinion by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any suggestion?

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to make one suggestion, by way of amendment. I think someone suggested down at the other end of the table there, and I do not know whether the reporter got it or not, where you referred to intimidation by the Maritime Union and some other body. I would also include there "and/or by other persons."

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; "and/or by other persons." All right. All in favor say "Aye." [Cries of "Aye."] Opposed "No." There is no dissenting vote. Will you carry that out, Lieutenant Lineberg?

Lieutenant LINEBERG. I will take care of it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel advises me that this witness has not completed his testimony; that he has many more facts he wants to present to this committee. Is that right?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; I have a good many facts.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the committee with reference to receiving the additional facts that this witness has?

Mr. MASON. We want all the facts.

Mr. STARNES. I want all the facts.

Lieutenant LINEBERG. He will be here for several days; he will be here at least 2 days.

The CHAIRMAN. We will notify you when we want him.

Mr. CASEY. Let us hear him while he is here, in the next few days.

Lieutenant LINEBERG. He will be here for at least 2 more days.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is it the wish of the committee that we do not meet this afternoon?

(After informal discussion, the committee took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, November 1, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes, Voorhis, Dempsey, Mason.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. DOLLIE M. CRAWFORD, MOTHER OF WILLIAM C. McCUISTION

(The witness was duly sworn).

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Crawford, what is your address?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Frederick, Md.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you the mother of Mr. McCuistion?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I am. His father died in 1928, and I married Mr. Crawford in 1931.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Crawford, are you acquainted with Joseph Curran?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Yes. I submit these photographs of Mr. Curran and myself taken in front of his home in New York City, as evidence of that fact.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Crawford, when did you first meet Mr. Curran?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I think in the midsummer of 1936, shortly after the spring strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Shortly after the spring strike of 1936?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. The maritime strike; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that meeting with him?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. It was in my home. He came with my son and several other maritime workers. They stopped at my home on their way south for some maritime work.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the occasion of that first meeting, Mrs. Crawford, did you have any conversation with Mr. Curran?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Oh, yes. He was a guest in my home and I think at that time it was over a day and night, and the conversation then was very much along general lines and their activities in the strike, and such as that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he make any statements, Mrs. Crawford, with reference to Communist activities?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Not at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not at that time?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see him on subsequent occasions?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I saw him again the latter part of January or the early part of February 1937 following their winter strike that they had, and he was again a guest in my home, together with my son and another young man by the name of Joe Curran, who spells his name differently—C-u-r-r-e-n. He was of very small structure and they called him, "Jo-Jo," and Joe Curran at that time laughingly referred to him, numbers of times, as being his bodyguard. I do not know whether he was a bodyguard or whether he was just joking about it, but his name was Joe Curran also. Later he was supposed to have committed suicide by jumping from a ship in midocean.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the occasion of Mr. Curran's visit in your home, did he discuss communistic activity in any way, Mrs. Crawford?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Oh, yes; very much.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was the nature of his comments along that line?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Well, he gave me definitely to understand at that time that he had become a member of the Communist Party and he was very much enthused about the ideology of it and the assistance that the Communists had given to them during that strike. He was very much pleased about it, and proud of the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did he tell you directly that he was a member?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Oh, yes; you see he had no occasion to feel very shy of me because he knew I was the mother of McCuiston.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I mean is, he made that statement to you definitely?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Yes; he mentioned that and he told about the plans the Communists had; and I used to sort of jokingly talk to my son about it, asking him when the revolution was going to start, because that was very much of a theme with the Communists, when you were talking with them. So I asked Joe Curran when the revolution was going to start and he stated they were going to have a different sort of a revolution than the one that they had intended to have; that they were placing so many of the members of the Communist Party in strategic positions in Washington that they were hoping within a year or so to be able to take over the Government of the United States. I said, "I don't see how on earth you can do such a thing as that." And he said, "Why, we have these people in these positions in such a way that we could take this Government over before long. We could take the Government over overnight, and the people out in the hinterland would not know anything about it."

I said, "Do you think that they would stand for that when they did find out about it?" He said, "They would have to stand for it," because of the fact that they would be in control of the armed forces and the transportation system of the country. He said, "Why"—and he waved his arms, he said, "Already we are powerful enough

to stop every ship—any ship or every ship from sailing if we want to.”

And I said, “What about the railroads?” And he said, “We can stop them just right where they are, anywhere.”

I said, “I thought they were A. F. of L.” He said, “Yes; but we have bored into them a plenty, and we are sure of them also.”

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you not think that he was letting himself out a good deal when he made those claims?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. It was not for me to question it. Every Communist that I ever talked to talked along the same lines. They were very confident they could do those things.

Mr. STARNES. You expressed doubts at those conversations, did you not?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Yes; I expressed doubts for that matter, that the people would stand for a thing like that.

Mr. STARNES. Certainly.

Mr. THOMAS. Mrs. Crawford, I would like to ask you a question along that line. When was it that this man Curran made that statement to you?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. That was either the latter part of January or the very first part of February in 1937. The strike had just been completed.

Mr. THOMAS. When he made that particular statement about taking over the Government here—where was that statement made?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. It was in my home, in the dining room of my home.

Mr. THOMAS. Was there anyone else there?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Well, yes; my son was there, and this little Jo-Jo was there, and my husband was there. It was at breakfast. They had driven in at night, and the next morning, of course, we were having quite a confab at the table.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you again have occasion to contact Mr. Curran while your son was in Spain, or did you have any contacts with him between this one that you have just described and later contacts while your son was in Spain?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I had written to Joe Curran and had had some letters from him, maybe once or twice—I have one letter here now. But I never saw Joe Curran until—it was in August of 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. August 1938?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. August of 1938. I had in the meanwhile had a letter from my son written in Perpignan, France, in which he stated that he had deserted from the Loyalist Army and was there in the internment camp in France, and he was hoping to make arrangements in some way so that he could get home soon, and he indicated that he could possibly get home in 2 or 3 weeks. I have letters here to substantiate that.

Then I did not hear from him any more, and naturally I became very much alarmed. Again, in the letter that he had written me, he said that he was fed up very much on the Communist program and was definitely determined that he was going to do what he could to counteract their influence if he got back to this country. So I was fearful that, even though he was in France, he might not get back to

the United States safely, so I went to New York City to see if I could find out anything about him.

I went first to the office of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. I spoke to Mr. Bill Lawrence, who was the executive secretary, and former head of the I. L. D. in New York. I asked Mr. Lawrence—I thought I would use some of the Communist tactics and not lay my cards on the table, and let them know that my son was out of Spain. But I asked Mr. Lawrence if he could give me any information about my son. He was very courteous and businesslike and said that they had no late information about my son. He indicated it might be possible that he would be missing, because the tide was turning very strongly against the Loyalist forces at that time.

I could not get anywhere with him. I knew, of course, in view of the fact that I had my letter and he was safely in France—I knew Mr. Lawrence was lying to me in saying he had no information.

So I thought at that time it might be possible that Joe Curran would be friendly toward me, and I went down to Joe Curran's office then and I talked with Joe Curran. He told me that they did not know, that he had not had any information, anything of the kind. "But," he says, "you go back. It is possible Bill Lawrence does have some information about him and" he says, "I will telephone to him. You go back there and you get rather insistent with Bill Lawrence, and tell him that Joe Curran sent you up there, and I believe he will give you any information, if he has it."

So I went back to see Bill Lawrence, and I told him Joe Curran had sent me there. He said Joe Curran was not running his affairs, and so on, and he got rather snooty.

By that time I felt reasonably sure that Joe Curran and Bill Lawrence both knew all about it and where in collusion about it, and then I began to get more fearful that maybe something had happened to him in France. And by that time, of course, a mother's instinct and a mother's love was rather asserting itself pretty strongly, so I got rather militant with Mr. Lawrence, and I told Mr. Lawrence that I was going to stay there until I did get some information about my son.

That was just the day following the time that they had had some disturbance in New York, in Central Park, where a fellow had run amuck, and I said, "If I don't get some information here, what that fellow did in Central Park yesterday is going to be mighty little compared to what I am going to do in this office."

Then he says, "Well, Mrs. Crawford, I want to tell you, since you are so insistent, that your son is in France."

I said, "Why didn't you tell me that in the first place?"

He sort of shrugged his shoulders, he did not seem to mind why he had not told me that. So then I began to demand more information about it. I said, "If my son is in France, how long has he been there?" He mentioned that he had been there over a period of—I don't remember just how long. I said, "Well, you were very much interested in sending him over and I am going to demand that you bring him back." He said, "Mrs. Crawford, frankly, we have no use for your son, and if I can have anything to do with it he is not coming back."

And then I told him—and I think Mr. Dies will remember these as old Texas words—I said to Mr. Lawrence, "If he is in France and he does not come back, then I am going to hold you responsible for it and I am going to fill your body so full of holes it won't hold shucks."

The CHAIRMAN. I have heard that expression.

Mrs. CRAWFORD. So, I did not get very far with him then. Then I went back and I told Joe Curran what he had said, so Joe Curran says, "I have just heard that Mac is safe in France."

I said, "How did you hear that?" He said, "Why, there was a man came in my office and told me that he saw him in Le Havre."

So he spoke to someone in the office and told him to go over there and bring this fellow over, and then they went somewhere and brought a fellow in, who was this fellow Rothbart from the steamship—I do not know which ship it was now. But anyway—

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether that was the *Roosevelt* that he was on?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. It think it was the *Roosevelt*.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was this man Rothbart—R-o-t-h-b-a-r-t?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I would not be sure how to spell it. But I know the man when I see him, and I knew he was very much of a Communist, and one who would not stop at most anything, from what I had heard of the Communists' way of doing things for the Communist program. So he brought this Rothbart in and Mr. Rothbart stated that he had just arrived from France and had seen my son there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he say where in France that he had seen him?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Le Havre, France. He had seen him in Le Havre, and that he was well and fine, and that he wanted him to come back and that he just did not want to come back.

I said, "That seems strange to me, that he would not want to come back."

"Well, he wants to stay there for a while."

I said to Joe Curran then, "Well, Joe, why didn't you tell me that this fellow had seen Mac in France?" He said, "I did not know it until a few minutes ago." And he said, "He just got in."

When I got outside I verified that the ship had been in at that time a couple of days before. It stands to reason that it might have been that Joe Curran knew it when I was in the office and that was the reason he had sent me back to Bill Lawrence.

I said to Joe Curran, I told him what Bill Lawrence had said to me, and I said, "Now, then, he is a seaman and if the friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, as represented by Bill Lawrence, are not going to do anything about it, can't you arrange, since he is an old seaman, to get him back?"

"Oh, yes; I am going to arrange right away to get him back."

And he turned to this fellow, Rathbart, and he says to him, "You are going to go back very soon. I am going to commission you to see that you arrange to stow him away and bring him back."

I said to Mr. Rothbart, "Well, Mr. Rothbart, I don't believe that he would be fool enough to come with you. But if he does start with you, you be sure that you land him in this country or I am going to tell Joe Curran just exactly what I told Bill Lawrence. I

am holding Joe Curran responsible for it if anything happens to him."

And I called attention to the fact that I had heard that things did happen to fellows who were coming back when they did not want them here.

That was about all that I saw of Joe Curran at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. One interruption, Mrs. Crawford. When you were talking to Rothbart, did he tell you whether your son was trying to get a job on a boat and work his way back?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. No; he did not tell me at that time. He told me that he said he wanted to come back. He did not tell me he was trying to get a job on a boat, but I did later have a letter from the American consul in Paris who stated that my son was there and was making an effort to get a trip, to work his way back home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was this letter from the American consul, from Mr. Murphy?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Of course, at that time I was writing and trying to find out everything that I could. By the way, there are envelopes of returned letters showing definitely that he had deserted from the Loyalist army.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to call attention to the fact here, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. McCuiston yesterday testified with reference to his conversations with Rothbart in Le Havre at which time Rothbart tried to employ him, to work with him as a courier. I think you will remember that testimony.

Mrs. CRAWFORD. This is a letter on the official stationery of the Foreign Service of the United States of America:

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,
Paris, France, August 8, 1938.

Mrs. DOLLIE M. CRAWFORD.

Care of General Delivery, Stroudsburg, Pa.

MADAM: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of July 26, 1938, requesting information concerning your son, William C. McCuiston, who, you state, informed you that he was being detained by the police at Perpignan since which time you have heard nothing from him.

This office is pleased to inform you that your son is at the present time in Havre, and as he is without funds, is awaiting an opportunity to work his way back to the United States on an American boat. He is not detained by the American consul at Havre, but is free to leave for the United States at any time.

At the time of his recent visit to this consulate general, I had the pleasure of meeting your son, and I am glad to inform you that his general health and spirits were good.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT D. MURPHY,
American Consul.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Crawford, did you have any further contacts with Joseph Curran after the one you have just described?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Later on—I still did not hear from my son; he still did not come home, and I went again to New York to see if I could find out anything about him. And I went to see Joe Curran again, and Joe Curran told me that my son had returned to the United States and was at that time in Savannah, Ga. He gave me the address of some one in Savannah, Ga., who could contact him and in turn contact me with him.

I did not talk much with Joe Curran at that time, but I went to the telegraph office and sent a telegram to this man in Savannah, Ga.,

whose name I can't remember just now. I waited all day until about 6 in the afternoon for a reply and finally I got a reply from this man in Boston saying he knew nothing about the whereabouts of William C. McCuiston.

So I went back to Joe Curran's office. I went then to his residence. He did not see me. The lady who was there said he was not there. I went back to his office and insisted so long to see him that finally I did get to see him. He said, "Well, I can't understand that, because I had a communication from this man that he was in Savannah."

So then this Myers fellow, a fellow by the name of Myers who was in his office, and who is identified with the union said that he knew me, but that I did not place him. But he said, "Mrs. Crawford, I can tell you where your son is. He is not in Savannah, but he is in Norfolk. And I can tell you how to get in communication with him." And he gave me the name of the N. M. U. secretary. Those were the ones I was telegraphing to, you see. He gave me the name of the man in Norfolk that I could telegraph, and I went across and telegraphed to him and I had a telegram from my son in just a few minutes that he was in Norfolk and would see me soon.

I then went back again and had a talk with Joe Curran and I told Joe Curran he was finally in the United States, and I did not know at that time just how he got here or anything of the kind. But that I felt pleased that he was in the United States and safe again. So then Joe told me that he wanted to have a heart-to-heart talk with me. He said, "I knew that your son—I knew that Mac"—he referred to him as Mac—"I knew that Mac was back, but I wanted to have a chance to see Mac before you saw him, and I just thought that I would not tell you about it until I got to see him. I want to go down to see him in a day or so."

The CHAIRMAN. When was this second visit?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. That was along the very latter part of August.

The CHAIRMAN. August 1937?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. 1938. So then he went on to tell me that my son had come back, and, of course, he would be rather in a nervous condition and upset from his experiences of all these months in Spain, and such like as that, and that he would very likely sort of have it in for the party; blaming them with sending him over there or something of the kind, and he wanted to sort of enlist my aid in encouraging him to keep his mouth shut and so on, and so forth, until he got adjusted to conditions over here.

But I still had to listen to my son. He had never listened to me, but I knew full well from the last time I had seen him that he was going to come back from Spain very much against the Communist Party and its program, and all that.

But, I said to him: "Joe, he went into the Communist Party without my knowledge and consent; he went to Spain without my knowledge and consent, and I doubt whether he is going to send me any information or ask for my knowledge or consent for him to do anything or not to do anything and you know him well enough to know that if he makes up his mind to do a thing the devil can't stop him."

So then he said—I said, "Furthermore, I have talked to a good many of these fellows that have come back and they are pretty well disatisfied about it and they have told me about conditions over

there and things like that and I had rather come to the conclusion that I would like to help him on that."

And I cited those conditions to him and what these fellows had said in the first place and that a lot of those fellows were going to come back.

And, he said that a lot of them were worked up about it, that they were wrong about it, and all they needed was a leader to get it started, and to start a lot of trouble.

I said, "Maybe they do need a leader, and will find one in Cole—I called him Cole—and if they do I am going to help him start it."

And then he got rather militant and said:

"Mrs. Crawford, we have got more power, we have got more power and more influence than we had when he went over there and we have got more political power in Washington and he is going to be absolutely up against a brick wall if he starts anything like that."

And he said, "I know you had rather have him alive than have something happen to him, and if he comes back and starts something we are not going to stand for it. Get that."

And I told him, "I said, if you are going to fight there are some things that we are not going to stand for either."

And Joe Curran was with him in Norfolk and had kept that information from me; Joe was down in Norfolk and Cole was without funds, he had no funds and I telegraphed him and told him to come home when he did not have funds. And he did not get home as soon as I had expected him, and when he did get home he said that he had been delayed because Joe Curran had come down there and had kept him there talking to him.

Mr. THOMAS. When Curran referred to "we," who did he mean?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. The Communist Party. He did not dodge it when talking about the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did not attempt to conceal the fact, when talking to you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Never said that he wasn't. The first time that I ever met Joe I did not believe that he was a member of the Communist Party, and when he made reference to being a member of the Communist Party I have only to take his word for it, because he didn't mention it. I knew he was a militant labor-union man at that time, and I favored the labor-union movement myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in the early part of the summer of 1936?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. In the summer of 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. The first time you saw him was when?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. That was the first time that I saw him, in the spring strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. That would be in the spring of 1936?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. That would be 1936—

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). The summer of 1936?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Yes. When my son, Joe Curran, Philip McKenzie had previously gone to the Baltimore water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any further questions, Mr. Chairman?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I would like to say one further thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mrs. CRAWFORD. In bearing out that testimony, that I do have a letter here from Mr. Joe Curran showing the Communist set-up, the

Communist link in this Spanish situation. that at one time—this was in January, the 11th of January 1938, is the date of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the letter.

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I had written to Joe Curran at that time and had asked him if he had heard anything from my son, who was at that time in Spain, and he answered [reading]:

I have not heard from Coulter, but I called Tommy Ray and he said that Coulter is O. K. Being a man of few words, I am afraid that this will have to suffice, until I can see him and find out if he has any details as to his whereabouts, etc. Of course, I will not be able to see him before I leave, but whenever I do, I will send you whatever information I am able to obtain.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mrs. Crawford, when you wrote to Curran for information concerning your son who was in Spain with the Loyalist forces he got in touch with Tommy Ray?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. With Tommy Ray.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who has already been identified as an active Communist on the water front, and he got in touch with Tommy Ray to find out if there was any information available concerning your son?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. Joe Curran knew him—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Where is the card that Curran was shown with his signature on it but that he didn't identify it. Do you have that card?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; it is in the files.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be well to compare the signatures.

Mr. VOORHIS. He did not say it was his.

Mr. STARNES. He said it was his signature but he wouldn't say it was his writing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He said he would have to have a handwriting expert to identify his own signature.

I do not have the card here, Mr. Chairman. I will have to send for it.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we ought to have it available to compare the signature.

I think you might as well read this whole letter, Mrs. Crawford.

Mrs. CRAWFORD. In the letter I had stated to him, when I asked about my son, and told him that I had seen the release, I had told him I had seen the news release of his appearing before some committee here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not pertinent, is it?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. It is not pertinent, but it shows he was well acquainted with me, the way in which the letter was written.

I want also to bring to the attention of the committee at this time that it wasn't after my son came back to this country and possibly made his attacks in the few months that he decided that he was going to fight these people.

I have here a letter which was written June 18, 1938. I just want to read two excerpts from it. It was written to me from Pyrenees, France, and could be identified in that way from the postmark on it. In this letter he says:

DEAR MOTHER: I have written you a number of letters and have torn up all but the first which was penned rather hurriedly to let you know I was out of

Spain. I tore the letters up because they were more or less emotional outbursts rather than the real picture of things as they are and were.

All along it has been my intention to stick it out here in Spain, come heaven, hell, or high water, and although my resolution grew weak time after time, I stuck it out for fourteen months till in point of seniority I was one of the oldest surviving Americans in Spain.

Things have always been bad but in the beginning we had some "esprit de corps" to keep our morale up. However that vanished long ago along with democracy and "comradeship." God knows Hitler and Mussolini can be very little worse than the ruling clique of the Communist bureaucrats and political commissars of war.

Then he goes on to tell about how they were treated, how they escaped, and concluded by saying:

We will probably be sent from here to Paris, Paris to Havre, and Havre home. This ought to all be done so we will be on our way in two or three weeks. In the meantime it is pleasant to see a city with all lights burning at night; to hear sirens without ducking for a cellar; to see airplanes not dropping bombs or strafing. As for me I am through with wars from now on unless they come to me. I'm going to keep my nose out of other folks' business. I am more of an anti-Fascist than ever but I don't see much difference between them and the Communists. Me for democracy.

That shows that he had definitely made up his mind about it before he came back.

MR. WHITLEY. That he had made up his mind to fight the Communists.

MRS. CRAWFORD. Yes; and I have here a statement—of course, this is too long, and I just want to read a very small part of this. This is the story that he wrote at my home immediately after his return from Spain, and I just want to read just a little bit from that to show that before he ever went to New York his mind was made up. He said:

If in this story my partisanship is overly evident, I ask the reader to remember that it is not a bias against any ideal but rather a love for the living and dead, rank and file members of the International Brigade, who, regardless of the worthiness or value of their efforts, fought their futile battle well, despite the handicap of a stupid, vainglorious bureaucracy.

And then I would like, since I have read the beginning part of it, to read the closing, the epilogue. This is available if you would like to read in its entirety. He said:

My story is finished but the story of Spain is hardly started. A few members of the International Brigade have reached home and a few are still in Spain but these together total but a portion of the thousands who will never return—who lie buried in unmarked graves.

Did the International Brigade serve any purpose?

Will there ever be another International Brigade?

I find myself asking these questions over and over and I must answer "yes" to both questions.

In form there is little difference in dictatorship, as little difference as between the guillotine and the axe, the noose and the electric chair, the firing squad and the gas chamber. There is no humane form of slavery—there is no humane form of death.

Men have always fought for their principles, their beliefs, and their ideals, and men always will. The men of the International Brigade were not adventurers—rather they were the dupes of the insidious poison of the Communist International, disguised with the perfume of liberty. The international brigades have shown to the world that there are men of all nations who eagerly "gave their all" for what they believed to be right and as human intellect grows and men and women learn what really constitutes liberty and justice and freedom, the strongest chains will not be able to restrain them—they will be the inter-

national brigades of the future—the brigades that will spread the gospel of humanity and tolerance and thought.

What will happen to Spain?

Two great oil companies fought a three years' war using the men of two South American republics as their pawns.

Two dictatorships have been fighting for the control of Spain. And there the resemblance ends.

The Spanish people have already suffered more than any individual country in Europe suffered during the World War. The cities of Spain are destroyed. Out of a population of twenty million, a million and one-half have died. The Spanish people on both sides have been murdered and betrayed by their benefactors. They will not—cannot forget this.

MR. WHITLEY. That was written before he went to New York?

MRS. CRAWFORD. That was written after he had come home.

MR. WHITLEY. And before he went to New York?

MRS. CRAWFORD. Before he went to New York and to show that he had determined to fight, so far as the Communist organization was concerned.

I have here one more letter I want to read to show you that my son and I had entered into this decision to do what we could against the Communist Party; and I have here a letter from Mr. Martin Dies. You will remember that I communicated with your office last year, and I have a letter here from you dated December 8, 1938, which was not very long, a short time after my son had returned, in which Mr. Dies says:

MY DEAR MRS. CRAWFORD: I received your letter of December 5, and shall be glad to see you any morning after December 15.

Very sincerely yours,

MARTIN DIES.

That shows definitely that this has not been any recent decision which could have been taken by my son with reference to this labor disruption, and shows that his mind was definitely made up.

MR. STARNES. And that is conclusive proof of the attitude taken by your son, working in the labor movement, before this committee was even continued for its work this year and of his intention to fight against communism?

MRS. CRAWFORD. Yes.

MR. STARNES. That he had already made up his mind?

MRS. CRAWFORD. Yes. And his parents had always been against communism. My son had had the benefit of being well raised and well educated; he had nothing to be ashamed of.

MR. STARNES. And neither of his parents are Communists.

MRS. CRAWFORD. No. And, I just felt like they had taken hold of him, poisoned him, and had taken from him the best years of his life during which he could have been applying his intellect, years during which they had taken hold of him very much against his parents wishes, and I hated them for it. I do not mean I did not treat them nice, but I hated them for what they did.

I know that my son used to bring his friends to my home and I treated them nice and he knew they would have that kind of a reception but I was opposed to them from the very first.

I definitely believe that they sent him to Spain to get rid of him, believing that if he ever came back from Spain alive he would oppose them.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you feel about this charge brought against him in New Orleans?

Mrs. CRAWFORD. I think that is a frame-up. I haven't any reason to think a thing like that has happened. And I know it is possible for them to engage in such a frame-up, and am not surprised at it happening, and in fact I would not have been surprised, and at times felt like that he might become a "floater," that he might not come out alive. And when he made up his mind to present the evidence here I did not doubt that they would do it, because they knew that he had definitely made up his mind that he was going to fight, and I preferred that he would do what I considered right, to come here and tell this committee what the facts are, even though he is attacked.

But these people don't scare me. If he has got to fight a framed-up charge, even if he is going to be electrocuted on a framed-up charge, I had rather he would die fighting against the Communist Party than to die fighting for it. That is the way I feel about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mrs. Crawford. Let us hear further from Mr. McCuiston now.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM C. McCUISTION—Resumed

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, in order to clarify the record I want to ask you one or two questions with reference to your appearance here yesterday.

Had you been arrested or taken into custody in any manner when you walked into the hearing room yesterday morning?

Mr. McCUISTION. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you voluntarily walked into the hearing room yesterday morning to resume the stand as a witness had you seen in the paper that you were wanted on this alleged murder charge?

Mr. McCUISTION. I had seen it but I intended to come up here and complete the job I had started, to go on the stand and tell my story.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had seen that in the paper, and although you had not been taken into custody and could have fled, nevertheless you were back here yesterday morning at 10 o'clock to continue your testimony?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. I am a seaman and I could have been on my way out of the country before this time if I wanted to go.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, resuming your testimony where you left off yesterday, I believe you had just covered the fact that you were in New Orleans at the time the strike was called in the fall of 1936?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were elected strike chairman but were almost immediately thereafter recalled to New York?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And by whom were you recalled to New York?

Mr. McCUISTION. By Jack Lawrenson. Jack Lawrenson had telegraphed me saying that he was acting in behalf of the strike committee. Later I found out he was just acting on behalf of the Communist Party and the strike committee had not known about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, after you returned to New York were you given any special assignment by the strike committee or the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; I was given the assignment of being the trouble shooter which investigated the departments involved in the strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And what were your functions or duties as trouble shooter?

Mr. McCUISTION. To remove trouble from any point in the strike where it appeared; to remove chairmen of departments from official capacity and where they could not be persuaded to go down the line with the general policy.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. In other words, where there was anyone who would not follow the Communist line or policy the strike you were to get them out of any position where they might be able to interfere with Communist activities?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, while you were in the position as trouble shooter for the strike, during the strike, did you make frequent trips between Boston and New York?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; Boston was the place the Communist had the greatest trouble getting control, but they have had trouble ever since.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were having trouble getting control, through their strike activities in the Seamen's Union in Boston?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were sent there on several occasions during the strike activities?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; I was sent up there and prepared the removal of at least two chairmen of two strike committees, and three or four different strike committees were changed.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were sent there by the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. I was sent there by the strike committee, but the strike committee was conducted or controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you arrange for the removal of the troublesome members of the committee, the chairman of the committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. Well most of the arrangement would be done before I would get up there. The Communist Party would send in 40 or 50 men who would be there at the time I arrived, transfer them from the New York strike apparatus to the Boston strike apparatus; they would have a group of 5 or 6 who would just get on the inside, would say nothing openly, but they would circulate among all the strikers, under the strike regime, for instance, to find out what was going on. For instance, there was a fellow named Thomas who I had to remove simply because——

Mr. THOMAS. Can you give his first name?

Mr. McCUISTION. I cannot give his full name. I can't give his first name; I don't remember it. I don't want to give anything here except just what I can swear to, and I cannot give it.

Mr. THOMAS. It was not Parnell?

Mr. McCUISTION. I am sure it was not Parnell, or Dies.

But they would go in and start circulating rumors that Thomas—just to show you how the strike was handled—that Thomas had a room uptown; or another fellow would say that Thomas liked to have his drinks; or another fellow would say that Thomas had a few dollars and “let’s go out and have a party,” or that they went out and got drunk, that he stayed at a hotel and they sent up and got the register where someone had registered Thomas’ name.

In other words, immediately a Communist would go up to the hotel and get the register, show where Thomas was registered at this uptown hotel.

And when I came there, and I will say this, that I did not find out about all this until after the strike was over, but when I came there and they presented me all of this evidence that I was up there to investigate, that Thomas was out on sprees, it was my place while in Boston, and that is why I was there, to see that he was on the job, and they said he was out on these sprees when he was supposed to be on the job; that he was living in a big hotel when he was supposed to represent the strike committee. The strike committee, of the Central Committee, opposed him, but I had enough influence with the membership, that whereas they would not believe a non-Communist, they did believe me, and I was used as a tool to get rid of a non-Communist, and an anti-Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. McCUSTION. This shows the methods that they would use to get a member out.

Mr. WHITLEY. That showed how they eliminated all opposition?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. To their policy?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, at the beginning of the fall, 1936, strike, did the Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Watertenders Union recognize the strike?

Mr. McCUSTION. They did not recognize the strike officially. A good percentage of the membership were for the strike, but when the question was submitted to them as an issue, they did not recognize it.

Mr. WHITLEY. They did not recognize it? Why?

Mr. CUSTION. Because we were the only legal organization, the Marine Firemen’s Oilers’, and Watertenders’ were the only legal organization whose officers had been elected legally, and it was their intention to carry out the constitution of the organization; and at a meeting that was held—two or three meetings—the question was taken up of submitting the question of the strike to the entire membership for the membership to vote whether it wanted to recognize the strike and they voted the strike unanimously—very few dissenting.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did the marine firemen, oilers, and water tenders officially vote to go on strike?

Mr. McCUSTION. About November 30; I think it was November 30.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1936?

Mr. McCUSTION. 1936; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did they establish a separate strike committee?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were the members of that separate strike committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. The strike committee, as best I can remember, consisted of Keaner, Walter Keaner; McBride, myself, Lawrenson, and two or three others whose names I do not recall. You have the official list.

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not have it here with me.

Mr. McCUISTION. It is in the record, however.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; it is in the record. Then what authority did that committee have, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. So far as this committee was concerned it had authority over all the men in the engine department who were striking with the exception of those who were under the jurisdiction of the separate organization, the Marine Engineers Association.

Mr. WHITLEY. Out of the six or eight whose names you mentioned—

Mr. McCUISTION (interposing). Seven.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the seven members of that committee, that is of the marine firemen, on strike, how many of them were Communist?

Mr. McCUISTION. Only one was a Communist. Five were decidedly anti-Communist, and I was the only one of them that would even go to the extent of discussing things with the Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. McCUISTION. The others were anti-Communists—and they have all been purged, everyone except one; he is still in—and they are absolutely actively opposed to Communists and still oppose them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was this one Communist member of the firemen's committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. Jack Lawrenson.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did he approve a separate strike committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; he did not even meet with them very much. Although the strike committee always gave him the call for all of the meetings and even though he is a Communist and would come up there, when he did attend meetings, where everybody else spoke for 10 minutes, he would usually hold forth for 2 hours, telling us we were all wrong; but we let him have all the time he wanted.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the firemen have a separate fund for that strike?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did they have occasion at any time to borrow money for the strike?

Mr. McCUISTION. They had to borrow four or five hundred dollars at one time, I remember, to get out some leaflets and stuff that we did not want to tap the regular sources for, because we had it all on a budget; we were trying to run our end of the strike in a business manner so that we could account to the membership, and we had our funds budgeted the way we were going to spend them.

Mr. WHITLEY. And from whom was that amount borrowed, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. From the International Workers Order.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the conclusion of the strike, what became of the firemen's strike committee and the firemen's fund?

Mr. McCUISTION. The firemen's strike committee—of course, at the conclusion, the strike committee liquidated as a strike committee and

most of the members became officials of various sorts, by virtue of being elected in the Firemen's Union, so that the status of the funds began to increase, instead of going down. With the men going back to work, why, the funds were being built up quite a bit. But just about that time, the Firemen's Union, which was still in existence when I left for Spain, affiliated with the A. F. of L. I don't know, but I know the funds all disappeared and the policy disappeared and everything else disappeared, subsequently, but I was not there then.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was this fall strike of 1936 terminated, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. I cannot remember the exact date. There are exhibits there—

Mr. WHITLEY. It was the early part of 1937?

Mr. McCUISTION. The early part of the year; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And following the termination of this second strike, did Joseph Curran again make a tour of the Atlantic and Gulf ports?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you accompany him on this second tour?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who else went with you on this second tour?

Mr. McCUISTION. On this second tour, just the one guy went with us when we started—little Jo-Jo Curren.

Mr. WHITLEY. Jo-Jo Curren?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And his last name is spelled how?

Mr. McCUISTION. C-u-r-r-e-n.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was the purpose of this second tour which was made by Joe Curran, yourself, and this other party you mentioned?

Mr. McCUISTION. The purpose of the second tour was that Joe was making contacts he did not want anybody else to make. In fact, he was reluctant for me, even, to go along with him on the second tour. He even managed to have his bodyguard sent back and picked out another bodyguard on the second tour.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you previously testified, Mr. McCuiston, at the time you accompanied him on his tour, following the spring strike of 1936, he was not at that time a member of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. McCUISTION. I would not say he was a member of the Communist Party at that time; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about this second tour which you made with him in the early part of 1937?

Mr. McCUISTION. Joseph Curran admitted he was a member of the Communist Party. That was where the first difficulties came between him and his bodyguard, who was more or less a tough fellow—later on he committed suicide by jumping over from the *President Harding* at sea. Little Jo-Jo Curren was just a kid—just a kid that had been paroled from Sing Sing and idolized Joe Curran quite a bit, but he was very decidedly anti-Communist and Joe Curran was trying to win him over, and to win me over, both, on the whole trip. Well, as we say in seafaring parlance, the kid blew; he pulled his head in and “blew the ship” when we got down to

Jacksonville, and went back to New York, and would not ride any farther.

Mr. WHITLEY. On this second tour, did Joseph Curran meet with Communist Party members and officials at various ports along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts?

Mr. McCUISTION. Only one place I know specifically of, because this Communist Party official evidently had not been apprized that I was no longer in the good graces of the party; that is Jacksonville, where he met Jack Trainor, who is at the present time secretary of the Communist Party of Florida, and me and Trainor were having a lengthy conversation and I was leading Trainor out quite a bit, and Joe came along and said, "You had better break up this conversation" and he and Trainor went off. When Trainor came back, he was a little cold toward me and did not have much to say to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Curran had advised him you were not at that time a card-carrying member of the Communist Party, so he restrained his conversation with you?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; and I was more or less opposing them actively at that time.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you an organizer for the Gulf at this time?

Mr. McCUISTION. No. I had decided, irrespective of what took place, I was certain of the outcome of the strike. The party had taken control, and I had been one of the group advocating for a general referendum for officers, rather than just by resolutions, and so forth, in a packed meeting.

Mr. VOORHIS. You did not have any official job?

Mr. McCUISTION. I had no official job.

Mr. VOORHIS. How did Curran happen to take you with him?

Mr. McCUISTION. Because of the insistence of the membership. Mr. Curran was not being allowed to travel around the country alone, because the membership did not trust him, and have not any trust in him now.

Mr. VOORHIS. The membership in the Gulf?

Mr. McCUISTION. The membership nationally.

Mr. VOORHIS. I was just wondering what the reason was why he took you.

Mr. McCUISTION. Jerry King, for one, insisted absolutely he ought to take me, and Phillips was another one; both officials, and both insisted. I told them—I did not tell them I was just going to make part of the tour, but at that time I was determined myself I did not intend to go through with it. I had already made up my mind to go to Spain at that time and get an official view of communism. I wanted to see how it worked under military control.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you continue on and make the entire trip with Curran, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; I got off in Florida.

Mr. WHITLEY. You left there?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. I notice that counsel [Mr. Whitley] or someone asked as to a "card carrying Communist."

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Is that a well-known phrase, "card carrying Communist"?

Mr. McCuiston. That "card carrying Communist" is the type of Communist who comes out and admits to everybody he is a Communist.

Mr. CASEY. But it has no reference to his membership card at all?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. He flashes it to everybody, just like a reporter flashes his credentials at this thing here, if it was not known to the other reporters. He tells everybody.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever see Joe Curran's card?

Mr. McCuiston. No; I never saw Joe Curran's card. I know enough about Communist procedure, however, to know that Joe Curran would not be issued a card, anyhow, in the name of "Joe Curran."

Mr. CASEY. I mean if he was a "card carrying Communist" who flashes his card?

Mr. McCuiston. Oh, they would not make that type of man—they very seldom make that type of man an official.

Mr. CASEY. How would they issue a card to a Communist? It would have his name on it, would it not?

Mr. McCuiston. I know only two trade-union leaders, offhand, in the country that openly declare themselves to be Communists; that is Ben Gold, of the furriers, for one, and Sol Heissler, of the alteration plumbers. There are others in smaller unions that openly declare it, but it is not the policy of the Communist Party, unless the industry is predominantly Communist, to have a leader carry a card.

Mr. CASEY. Did you intend to create the impression—I thought your answer to the counsel's question intended to indicate that Curran was an unabashed and unashamed member of the Communist Party.

Mr. McCuiston. He was among his associates.

Mr. CASEY. What?

Mr. McCuiston. For instance, Curran would sit down with me and try to discuss with me and get me back in the line of the party and the same night Curran would go to the meeting and say, "I am a good Roman Catholic; I am not a Communist and never was a Communist," but would always qualify it by saying, "But I won't stand for 'red' baiting," and coming out like that at the end. He would qualify himself; because, after all, he had to stand in with the membership.

Mr. CASEY. In all of this free and easy conversation about communism between you and Curran, at the time you traveled as companions on this long trip and had been together so constantly, he never flashed a card of membership?

Mr. McCuiston. He told me he was a member. A Communist Party member does not carry his card from one place to another, anyway; a Communist Party member, when he leaves one district of the Communist Party, leaves his Communist Party records and card in the possession of the leadership of the Communist Party of that district and there is an official transfer made out and his card is sent ahead of him to another district, and he receives a card there. He is not allowed to carry his card with him from one section to another section.

Mr. CASEY. Did he tell you what section he was a member of?

Mr. McCuiston. The New York district was where he was a member of, because that was his home; that was the place where he maintained permanent residence and the only place he could be a permanent member.

Mr. CASEY. We are very much interested in finding out these things, and trying to find out, as definitely as we can. Was anybody else present when he told you he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUSTION. I have heard him tell half a dozen people at various times. They were all members of the Communist Party, or else were men who had been closely associated with him, even though they were anti-Communists. And there will probably be, and I understand from Mr. Whitley that he has a number of men that are going to testify the same as me, subsequently, on this.

Mr. CASEY. All right.

Mr. McCUSTION. For instance, he told my mother because she happened to be a close personal friend, so that he could not deny it. A man might not mind very much having people think he is a liar, but he does mind telling a lie when people know he is lying.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not true, Mr. McCustion, you found that Joe Curran always followed the Communist Party line?

Mr. McCUSTION. From the beginning of the 1936 and 1937 fall and winter strike on, he did; before that, he did not.

Mr. THOMAS. But after that time, he did?

Mr. McCUSTION. He always did.

Mr. THOMAS. So, regardless of whether he had a card or did not have a card with him, or some other place, he did follow the Communist Party line just the same?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. And any time he started to rebel, it was always noticeable he would make a sudden change in policy and come back to the line very suddenly.

Mr. CASEY. Of course, being a Communist is something in addition to following the line, because many times these men on strike utilize Communist aid to effect the purposes of the strike; is not that true?

Mr. McCUSTION. That is absolutely true.

Mr. CASEY. Sometimes when they have no grounds to gain for the Communists themselves?

Mr. McCUSTION. Well, there is no strike at the present time.

Mr. CASEY. And the receipt of Communist support by men who use the Communists—I don't think there is anything wrong in that.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean "by following the Communist line" something a little different from that; I mean when a man follows the principles and carries out the principles and follows the aims and carries out the aims of the Communist Party. That is what I mean by "following the Communist line."

Mr. McCUSTION. But there is no strike on at the present time, and the records of the unions—you can go and get the minutes of every speech he has made in the last year, and there is no strike on, and they will bear out this 100 percent.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCustion, why did you leave Curran on this second tour in Florida?

Mr. McCUSTION. Because I wanted to get a little rest, and my family were visiting in Florida at that time and I wanted to see them, and because I had decided at that time to go to Spain. Of course, I overestimated myself; I figured on making the trip over there in the period of enlistment, 6 months, and, if I lived, to come on back.

Mr. CASEY. How did you overestimate it?

Mr. McCuiston. Well, I thought I could go over there and I could rely on the Spanish Government to send me back at the end of the time; I thought I was going there to serve directly under the Spanish Government.

Mr. CASEY. You overestimated the Spanish Government?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes—I underestimated the Spanish Government.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. McCuiston, when you decided to go to Spain, how did you enlist? I mean where did you enlist, and with whom?

Mr. McCuiston. I went up to the section of the Communist Party at 230 Seventh Avenue.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was right after you made this tour with Curran, was it not?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And on that tour you testified, I believe, that Curran knew you were not following the line and were not sympathetic with the program, but he took you with him because he had to, because the membership insisted on it?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then, after that, you went to the Communist Party headquarters and enlisted to go to Spain and fight?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I would like to have you explain just a little bit why you did that.

Mr. McCuiston. I will. I wanted to go to Spain, as I say, to be sure, and it is no use to read a lot of general propaganda and theory of what the Communist Party is, as outlined in the written program. That is the ideology; it looks very nice to me even yet, and I think to a lot of other people, but I had decided that the American party did not represent any of the fine things they had been speaking about, and they were always talking of all of these things and they would even try to persuade me that all of these maneuvers had to come in the United States, even, by virtue of preparation for better things. Well, I could think of no way of hurrying up my education any better than going to Spain and seeing them in absolute control when a military situation existed, and actually I went to Spain as a matter of curiosity and I gambled my life on it; that was all.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did not they ask you any questions when you went to enlist?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were they not suspicious of you?

Mr. McCuiston. They took 3 or 4 weeks before they would finally agree to let me go. Finally they said "All right," and they told us at the very last "We want you to understand the Communist Party." The group I went with, incidentally, were largely non-Communists; in fact the Socialist Party had paid for the expenses of three of them. Two, I think, were members of the I. W. W., at least five of them were Canadians that were miners and who knew very little about communism or anything else connected with it. Two were of Polish extraction and German extraction, and were decidedly anti-Fascist. And the understanding was—we went through quite a bit of discussion—that we were going there strictly as anti-Fascist; that there would be no question raised as to whether we adopted communism, or not; we were going to fight to preserve the Spanish Government and to defeat fascism there, and, on the question of communism, that

the Spanish people themselves would settle that after the war was over.

Of course, I did not believe that entirely; there is no use to say I believed that entirely, but I was willing to take a chance, and I persuaded them I was going over there just as an anti-Fascist; I was not going to go there to carry on disruption, or anything. Roy Hudson made the statement to me then—he said, “Mac, if you come back, you will probably be a very good Communist when you come back.” And also, at that time, why, there were various other discussions came up, and I am convinced by the line of the discussion—I know they feared if I remained in America—at that time they had not managed to get full control nationally—I was liable to develop into a headache for them.

MR. VOORHIS. You mean to say they were glad to have you go to Spain?

MR. MCCUISTION. Yes; if I went to Spain they had a lot of walls handy that they used on Americans later on, and I happen to see in the audience here a young lady I know who was a nurse in Spain, whose husband was killed over there, and she knows about the executions, and so forth. They knew how they could handle them in Spain very well.

MR. WHITLEY. When did you sail for Spain, Mr. McCuiston?

MR. MCCUISTION. March 27, 1937, on the *Paris*.

MR. WHITLEY. How long did you remain in Spain?

MR. MCCUISTION. Between 14 and 15 months.

MR. CASEY. Now, Mr. McCuiston, as I understand it—I am trying to find out the reason which impelled you to go to Spain, and there is still a certain doubt and, in order to get it clear—as I understand it, for 4 weeks you persisted in trying to go to Spain?

MR. MCCUISTION. Yes—3 or 4 weeks.

MR. CASEY. Then you went to Spain?

MR. MCCUISTION. Yes.

MR. CASEY. And before you went to Spain, you had severed your connection with the Communist Party?

MR. MCCUISTION. Absolutely.

MR. CASEY. But you were still intrigued by some of their ideology?

MR. MCCUISTION. Yes.

MR. CASEY. And you wanted to find out how it worked in Spain?

MR. MCCUISTION. Yes.

MR. CASEY. That was the only reason for your going to Spain—to find out how it worked?

MR. MCCUISTION. In other words, if I could find out the Communist Party in America was an exception and the Communist Party over there was all I had hoped it could become, then instead of opposing Communism I would come back and be a member of the Communist Party and work to try to correct the leadership of the Communist Party, rather than to oppose the whole cause because of some bad steps in it.

MR. CASEY. Had not you completely—had not you made a definite decision that the Communist Party was something that was abhorrent to you, before you went to Spain?

MR. MCCUISTION. That the communists were abhorrent, and their methods, and the way they applied communism in America was abhorrent, yes; but still they always, and do yet, hold out the great

things they are going to do in the future as a thing that will be a panacea for all of the ills of the world.

Mr. STARNES. As I understand it, you disagreed at that time with some of the antics of the so-called party leaders in this country, but you were not thoroughly disillusioned as to the principles and ideology of communism?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; I was not.

Mr. STARNES. I thought you made that plain, and that is the way I understood you, but I wanted to see if I got it right.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. I was not disgusted with all of the principles and ideology at that time.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you said the ideology and certain portions were still very attractive to you?

Mr. McCUISTION. Certainly.

Mr. STARNES. But you wanted to go to Spain to see whether or not the fault in America was the fault with the leadership or the fault with communism basically; that is what you went there for?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was my sole object in going over there.

Mr. STARNES. Who paid your expenses to go over there?

Mr. McCUISTION. The Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Did you know that they were paying the expenses for other American citizens to go to Spain?

Mr. McCUISTION. I handled the money for the entire group, with the exception of three or four that the Socialist Party paid for, that went over with us.

Mr. STARNES. How many were with you?

Mr. McCUISTION. Twenty-five.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you leave from?

Mr. McCUISTION. New York.

Mr. STARNES. Who arranged the matter of passports for you?

Mr. McCUISTION. William Lawrence.

Mr. STARNES. He is a communist already identified by you?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who else?

Mr. McCUISTION. Bender.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a communist?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who else?

Mr. McCUISTION. A. W. Mills.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a Communist?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; he was still a member of the central organization department of the Communist Party, under Federal indictment now for passport fraud.

Mr. STARNES. When you left New York, where did you go?

Mr. McCUISTION. Le Havre, France.

Mr. STARNES. To whom did you report?

Mr. McCUISTION. In Le Havre, France, we were met there at the dock. Of course, we had boat tickets and I was given sealed instructions, and I obtained instructions in France; they gave me an address to report to. That was 8 Rue Mourin Moreau.

Mr. STARNES. Was that the company's headquarters?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was the left-wing trade union headquarters, and the headquarters for the Spanish Relief Commission, and all

that; but I was given separate orders. I was given a small square of silk, about an inch and a half square of silk. This was turned over to me by Wallach, who was the political leader of the group I was in. He fell on the ship; on the way over, in heavy weather, he fell and ruptured himself and naturally could not go through with the political work and he turned over a fountain pen which had a small square of silk with the seal of the Communist Party on it, and all, and his name written on the back, and he, in turn, wrote my name on it and I was instructed to deliver this to the office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Paris, France, and also to deliver to them a package that I had, that he did not know anything about. I had that instruction before, to deliver this package. I also had a square of this silk that had been given to me. In other words, he and I were working at cross purposes, and just by accident he was hurt and I discovered he had practically the same instructions. I delivered a package containing 3,000 \$1 bills—3,000 \$1 American bills.

Mr. WHITLEY. To the Communist Party headquarters in Paris?

Mr. McCUSTION. To the Communist Party headquarters in Paris.

Mr. STARNES. Who gave you that money?

Mr. McCUSTION. A. W. Mills.

Mr. STARNES. Now, you mentioned two Lawrensons?

Mr. McCUSTION. No; one is "Lawrenson" and one is "Lawrence." The one in connection with the Spanish episode is Bill Lawrence, or William Lawrence.

Mr. STARNES. He arranged the passports for you?

Mr. McCUSTION. He arranged the passports for me.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not those passports were genuine and were issued in your real name or not?

Mr. McCUSTION. Mine was issued in my real name, although he tried to get me to go down and get another one later on, but I refused to do that. I stated there was no trouble in my getting a passport, and I did not want to fix myself up so that I could not get back at any time I wanted to.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know if any of the passports were fraudulent and not genuine?

Mr. McCUSTION. I do not know that any of them were fraudulent. I know when we got to Spain——

Mr. STARNES. What went with them?

Mr. McCUSTION. When we got to Spain these passports were delivered to the political minister, to the military base at Figueras, Catalonia.

Mr. STARNES. That was in Spain?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who took those from you?

Mr. McCUSTION. I collected them and delivered them myself.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever see those passports again?

Mr. McCUSTION. I never have yet.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, who did you report to in Spain?

Mr. McCUSTION. We came over the mountains—we were met by the military; we were led over the mountains by guides and met by the military high up in the mountains and were led down to a closed road where the trucks were waiting. The people of Catalonia were

antagonistic to the Communists, so the trucks all had covers drawn down over them and we were driven to the headquarters at Figueras.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did not any of the people protest about giving up their passports?

Mr. McCUISTION. Several of them protested. One member of the group, I know, claimed he lost his passport and he kept it on him, he hid it and kept it on him, and later on he served 30 days in jail—Albert Allacette.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have here the sailing list of the *S. S. Paris*, which shows the name of William McCuistion, showing that he traveled on that ship.

Mr. CASEY. Before you leave that phase of it——

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Counsel, do you have something further on this phase, which you intend to develop?

Mr. WHITLEY. I was very much interested in it; that is why I wanted to come back to it.

Mr. CASEY. Before coming back to that, I want to stay with this.

Mr. WHITLEY. I had not developed many of the details about the Spanish situation.

Mr. STARNES. How much democracy did you find in Spain; that is what I want to know.

Mr. McCUISTION. When I first went over there, there was a little democracy, but it vanished very quickly within a short space after I was over there. In other words, they put on a little show for the new Americans. But I have no kicks about Spain, because I went over there on my own; nobody made me go, and everything that happened to me in Spain was my own fault.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; I understand that, but the committee is interested in this proposition of the Communist Party in this country recruiting American citizens for foreign service and paying their expenses. On the one hand, they recruit people to fight and they preach lifting the embargo, and then they and their front organizations, on the other hand, say it is a vile and awful thing to try to get American boys to go under their own flag to fight anywhere, and also they want to put an embargo on other nations, and the committee is interested in trying to develop the whys and wherefores of such a situation.

I am assuming, of course, it is their policy to want the embargo lifted and want to recruit American people to fight in foreign lands, provided the Communists themselves are in control of that particular country. Is that true, or not?

Mr. McCUISTION. That is absolutely true.

Mr. STARNES. But they think it is an awful thing to permit Americans even to trade with other countries which are not friendly to the Communist cause?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, that is understood, too; that is why they want the marine in their control so much.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question there.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Casey had the witness.

Mr. CASEY. Right on that phase, as I understand it, in answer to Mr. Starnes' questions, you made clear the line of demarcation between the Communist Party in America and the ideology of the Communist Party; is that right?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes; I did at that time. That was my information, but I came to know later on that that demarcation was wrong.

Mr. CASEY. I am talking now of just before your trip to Spain, and what was abhorrent to you was the activities of the Communist Party in America?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. But the ideology still intrigued you?

Mr. McCuISTION. No; the ideology does not intrigue me any longer, because an ideology that can produce poison is a poisonous ideology.

Mr. CASEY. I am talking about the ideology before you went to Spain.

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes; the ideology, before I went to Spain, intrigued me very much.

Mr. CASEY. But the Communist Party in its activities in this country did not?

Mr. McCuISTION. No.

Mr. CASEY. But yet you accepted money from the Communist Party in order to go over and find out about the Communist ideology; is that right?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. You had no scruples about accepting Communist money?

Mr. McCuISTION. Absolutely not. I figured I was giving a lot more than money, and I might be killed, but I took the chance.

Mr. CASEY. You took the chance that you might be killed to find out about the ideology?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes; and also to fight fascism, which was my purpose then and still is.

Mr. CASEY. The Communist Party of America was the opposite of fascism?

Mr. McCuISTION. Then, but not any more.

Mr. CASEY. I am talking about at that time, when you left for France.

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. McCuISTION, how much did the Communist Party give you on leaving for Spain?

Mr. McCuISTION. Personal money, for myself?

Mr. THOMAS. For your personal money.

Mr. McCuISTION. Personal money for myself, they gave me a total of \$15 for myself and \$15 for each man. \$5 of that was to be given to him to spend on the ship; \$5 of that was to be given to him when we arrived in the French port, to take care of tips, and so forth, and so forth, and an extra \$5, with his other money, to spend—enough money so that if he was asked if he had money, he could flash money.

Mr. THOMAS. And if you did not spend all of that money, was any of it taken back from you?

Mr. McCuISTION. If we did not spend all that money, it was all supposed to be given back to the headquarters funds.

Mr. THOMAS. The Communist headquarters in Paris?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes. In addition to that, most of the group I was with had sums ranging from \$100, and one guy had \$500, and they turned all of it in.

Mr. THOMAS. When they gave you this package of \$3,000 at the Communist headquarters, did they tell you what was in the package and what it was for?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; they told me it was \$3,000 in 1-dollar bills, and I never opened the package except to pull a corner off to assure myself it was money. They did not take a receipt, or anything. But it was a small enough package that I believed there must have been some larger bills in there.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they tell you what it was for—what purpose it was for?

Mr. McCUISTION. They told me to deliver it to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they say why they wanted to send money to the Communist Party over there?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; they said because whenever a party must come back from Spain, and men traveling over there, they could easily identify themselves as Americans by having American money in their pocket. I questioned why it was necessary; why they could not get it from a French bank, and they said that banking transactions in foreign exchange could be traced pretty well in France. Mills told me that personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you leave Spain, Mr. McCuistion?

Mr. McCUISTION. In June 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how long did it take you to get out of the country?

Mr. McCUISTION. It took me 11 days to travel 35 kilometers, but I had to climb about 10,000 of it straight up and down to get there.

Mr. WHITLEY. After leaving Spain, what country did you go to?

Mr. McCUISTION. To France. I crossed the border about 5 kilometers from Lamanaires, France.

Mr. WHITLEY. Upon your arrival in France, did you communicate with the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. I was given by the police at Lamaineres, France, 72 hours. I was to go at 72 hours. I had some money in my pocket, but I did not want to show it to the French police, because it was illegal to bring money across the border. They gave me and the two men I was with 72 hours to walk the 72 kilometers. It was a lot of pleasure to walk, and we would not have taken a ride if we could have got it. We could walk along the highway, and the people all along were very sympathetic. They gave us food and wine. They gave us wine, and we were getting pretty tight.

Mr. CASEY. Did you stop at cottages while you were on this walk?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; the people in farmhouses would invite us in. They wanted to know about Spain and what was happening. I had a little knowledge of Spanish, a little knowledge of Catalan Spanish, and in the upper Pyrenees, in France, they understood a little Spanish. Then I found a few World War people up there who could speak a little English.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were most of the French people you met generally sympathetic to the Loyalist cause at that time?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. I met quite a number of French people who had been Communists, and who would point to the papers where they had been thrown away on going into France. They had

the Communist papers in corners, and not many of them read them, because they were sore at the Spanish side.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean there were a number of people who felt like that about the Communist Party, but, nevertheless, found it difficult to support the other side in Spain?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; they would not support the other side, but they expressed the opinion that the Communists were responsible for the coming defeat of the Spanish Loyalists.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first contact the Communist Party in France, after your return, and how did you secure funds?

Mr. McCUSTION. I had enough money for transportation. I went to the Communist headquarters at Perpignan, and there, of course, I gave them a song and dance. I wanted to use their aid to get into Paris. I gave them a song and dance. They told me they had a lot of money. As I was talking, they went into another room. There was a call for the police. There were four or five Communists there, and they thought they were coming after some of them. The four or five Communists went hastily out of the room before the police came in.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any communication with American Government officials in France?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; with the prefecture, in France, and with the consul. We were not under arrest by the prefecture, and they treated us nicely. The prefecture officer said he had orders that we could not communicate with anybody until the King and Queen of England made their visit to France and left. They were holding up all suspicious characters who were not French. He said it was nice here, and he let me keep my money in my pocket. I was not at all worried the whole time I was there. He gave me an hour each day outside of the walls so I could communicate with the American consul in Paris.

Mr. CASEY. Did you find that the Loyalist Party in Spain was controlled, dominated, or influenced by the Communists?

Mr. McCUSTION. No, sir; at no time was it completely dominated, but they were working in Spain in the same way that they work in strike situations in America. The Communists were active in all sections of Spain. They would start campaigns of slander against anybody in official position. They would start an assault on the premier or cabinet ministers anywhere. They controlled the relief through the International Red Aid, which is the I. L. D. over there. They would work through their organizations. They controlled organizations, and would have demonstrations. They would cause the removal of cabinet ministers. They would remove a cabinet minister, and give another one publicity. In a small town that I was in Tarazona, in the province of Cuenca, on the central front, they gave parades for 3 weeks, with several hundred Communist members and local organizers.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you say, from your experience there, that the Communist Party in Spain was willing to risk the success of the side they were on for the sake of being assured that they would dominate the situation?

Mr. McCUSTION. They would sacrifice the side they were on in order to dominate the situation. They sacrificed every possible chance

of military victory in order to get domination of the military forces. It was the same way with the domestic or economic side of the country. They sacrificed everything in order to gain control for the Communist Party. It was supposed that they were to have a united Loyal Spain, economically and every other way.

Mr. CASEY. They did collect money in this country for the Loyalist cause, and I want to know from you, if you can state, what happened to the money that was collected.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; they collected it. I will tell you, for example, they sent cigarettes over there in quantities, and while we would get a package of cigarettes once a week, the political commissars would have a lot of cartons of cigarettes and canned goods that they handed out as political favors. The political commissars had fancy uniforms for those they favored, and they always had their shoes shined. That is the way it went on down the line. You could go into the Communist headquarters, and the cigarettes and other things were for the good boys, but not the bad boys.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who were the good boys?

Mr. McCUISTION. The good boys were the ones who got the best of everything.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it went to their followers and sympathizers?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who paid your transportation to Paris?

Mr. McCUISTION. The French Government paid my transportation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who met you at the train when you arrived?

Mr. McCUISTION. David Leeds.

Mr. WHITLEY. The man you have previously identified as being the financial secretary of the Communist Party in New York?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; and the man who paid the expenses of the Madison Square Garden meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he paid Harry Bridges' expenses to come there and address the rally.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did Leeds say to you when he met you?

Mr. McCUISTION. I said, "Hello, Leeds," and he said, "Do not call me Leeds." That is the first thing he said.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did he want to be called?

Mr. McCUISTION. He said his name there was David Amarillo.

Mr. WHITLEY. He wanted you to call him David Amarillo, but he was the same person you knew as David Leeds?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; he was the same person.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you subsequently meet him at the American consulate?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. He wanted to have a private conversation with me there, but right off I said, "I do not feel that I want to discuss anything with you now in private."

Mr. WHITLEY. What was he doing over there?

Mr. McCUISTION. He was in charge of financing the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. WHITLEY. The money that was sent over there by the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was being handled by this former financial secretary of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of the meeting with him at the American consulate?

Mr. McCuISTION. I was traveling at that time in company with a Finnish-American who had also deserted from Spain. I do not recall his name now. This man was from the Minnesota area, and he could speak English very well. They had also refused to do anything for him. He had no money, and was not a seaman, and did not know how to get along. The man spoke English fairly well, and, besides, they were holding his passport. I said that I believed he could put enough pressure on Leeds to have him sent back first class. Leeds refused to do anything when he phoned him, and I said, "We will go to see the American consul this afternoon." I said to him, "I will be at the American consulate this afternoon with Mrs. Lindsay." She was a lady I had met and knew to be very liberal, but opposed to communism. I said to him, "I think it would be to your advantage to be there at the same time, because I am liable to forget that your name is David Amarillo." Sure enough, Leeds showed up at the consulate. When we got there, Leeds changed his mind, and offered to send me home. He offered to send everybody home except the Finn. He was sore at him because the Finn had taken a poke at him at some time. I said that I was not interested in his doing anything for me. I knew that he was putting on a show in front of Mr. Murphy, and I wanted him to take care of the Finn, and finally he agreed to take care of the Finn.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time, did you make it clear to Leeds that you were definitely through with the Communist Party and with communism, and that you were going to return to this country and fight it?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir; I made that clear. I made it clear what I would do if I returned to this country.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you would not accept any assistance from him in getting back?

Mr. McCuISTION. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Because, feeling as you did about communism, you did not want to take any help or assistance from him?

Mr. McCuISTION. No, sir; that is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you get back to the United States?

Mr. McCuISTION. I returned as a stowaway aboard the *Crown City*, an American motorship.

Mr. WHITLEY. While in France, did you contact the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers?

Mr. McCuISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of that contact?

Mr. McCuISTION. I figured that they probably would not know in the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers about my being back in France. I thought that if I applied through some American section, they probably would not know about it. I knew this man, Andres, and I decided to take a chance. I had received a letter while in Spain, with a copy of the Daily Worker with my picture in it, speaking at the Madison Square Garden meeting. I knew that the N. M. U. had been organized, so I went to the office with that information. He asked when I had left Spain, and I said

I had left with the last bunch. I made myself out quite a hero, and he took me to dinner to tell the whole story.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you left for Spain, the N. M. U. was formed?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You helped to work it up before you left, but it was not actually formed until after you left?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. Many of the men who came back from Spain were members of the N. M. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you threatened with violence and death in France?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. As I said, we went to dinner. I had read back files of the Pilot, and we discussed the formation of the N. M. U. We discussed Hudson and Ray, and there was some talk about where Mink was. We had quite an evening of it, and the expense was four or five hundred francs. It was a real party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he speak of the N. M. U. as being affiliated with the I. S. H.?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. I discussed with him the question of some people who had come in, and he said, "The *Manhattan* will come in tomorrow." He said, "I will get a lot of letters tomorrow on the *Manhattan*, and they will come here by boat train, and we can go over this situation." I made an appointment with him for the following day, but when I came the following day, he pointed his finger at me and called me a deserter, a traitor, a louse, and everything vile. He said I had best get out of France in a hurry.

Mr. WHITLEY. The International of Seamen and Harbor Workers was set up to handle Communist Party work among seamen, was it not?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. This man also had a picture of Joe Curran in front of him.

Mr. VOORHIS. As I understand it, he testified that the N. M. U. is not affiliated with the I. S. H.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. After the N. M. U. checked up and found that you were no longer a Communist, his whole attitude changed, and he told you to get out of France in a hurry?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you attacked in a violent way while you were over there?

Mr. McCUISTION. I had to change hotels twice. Leeds found out where I was living, and came to visit me. I saw him bringing two gorillas with him. He told me to go down to Le Havre, and get out of Paris. He said, "Get the true story, and do not depend on your own conclusions." I went down to Le Havre.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was any attack made on you in Le Havre?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. I had set down some notes, and I was foolish enough to let some people know I had those notes, and when I left my room, I found that the room had been ransacked. As I was going to the house, I saw two guys coming toward me. The houses at Le Havre are built like those in Baltimore and New Orleans, with long alleyways. You do not enter through a front door, but you come in through a back door or side door. Just as I started through the alleyway, these guys came back in the alleyway, and closed in behind me. I knew that I could not whip two of them,

so I threw myself flat on the ground and tried to tangle up their legs. We were making a lot of noise, and the people in the house came down to see what it was. Then I heard the pounding of police coming around. They pound like American police do. Then the whistles started to blowing, and those people left. I got out with some bruises, and one little knife cut across the throat.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you come in contact with American seamen at Le Havre?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; I came in contact with all types of seamen, both Communist and anti-Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you learn anything about Communist activities on the Le Havre water front?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. I learned how they carried on their activities there. The whole activities of the Communists on the water front at that time had been driven to an underground status. Although the party was not illegal in France, they had already illegalized the maritime section of it. That was because they said there was a lot of revolutionists mixed with them. There was a little group of them that managed to get in. They managed to get into a few groups. There were some English groups present from channel boats. Each time I was asked to leave.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the French Government had already outlawed the Communists on the water front?

Mr. McCUISTION. I do not know whether it was illegal, but the French police were becoming active in breaking up meetings on the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you return to the United States?

Mr. McCUISTION. I do not remember the exact date. It was either the latter part of August or early in September.

Mr. WHITLEY. In 1938?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you land upon your return?

Mr. McCUISTION. At Norfolk.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you testified yesterday about your meeting Communists upon your return to this country.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have anything to add to that?

Mr. McCUISTION. No, sir; except that the same occurrences that took place at Norfolk and New York were practically duplicated at Philadelphia. Wherever I went, the same thing happened.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it a point with the Communists to slander everybody who was not going down the line with them?

Mr. McCUISTION. Very definitely so. Everywhere I went, they would immediately say, "McCuiestion is coming in to disrupt things." I had not been in the country a week before they had written in the official publication that I was a disrupter coming in to destroy the union. The Daily Worker tried to expose me in that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you later on, after your return, ship out on a tanker?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; on the *Naco*, of the Pennsylvania Shipping Co.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you go on that trip?

Mr. McCUISTION. To the Gulf.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you in active seaman work down there?

Mr. McCUISTION. The district committee of the Gulf, of which 100 percent was anti-Communist, had full control of the Gulf, except three ports, Mobile, Corpus Christi, and Galveston, which were Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Port Arthur? What was the situation there?

Mr. McCUISTION. Chief of Police Baker knows how to handle that situation, but if they happen to employ additional forces there, Communists are assigned to the work in the Port Arthur area.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Homer Brooks?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. McCUISTION. Everybody knows that he is a Communist. He is active in the Communist Party on the Gulf, and in the State of Texas.

Mr. STARNES. It was brought out in the testimony that Homer Brooks took a part in handling recruits for Loyalist Spain, of which some were brought across the Mexican border. Joseph Curran testified that he did not know whether Brooks was a Communist or not. He could not say whether he knew much about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. On your trip to the Gulf, you were selected as a member of the Gulf district committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. They pulled me off the ship, and told me they were running a little Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet Joseph Curran at Corpus Christi?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately when was that?

Mr. McCUISTION. Approximately a week before Christmas.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have a quarrel with him?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. He came there and demanded that I turn my credentials over.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he make a threat against you?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; I took them as threats. I told him that we would have to take it out personally, that that was the only way that we could settle it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Joseph Curran was interested in this committee at that time, or in the Dies committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. Joseph Curran asked me if I was going before the Dies committee, and I said that I probably would. He said, "We will have Dies so thoroughly discredited in a few months that the people of Texas will ride him out of his home town on a rail." I got interested, and said, "How will you do that?" He said, "We will have Mr. Hamm, in Port Arthur, Tex., to do that." He said, "We will assign whatever force he needs to check up and go back over Dies' record from the time he was born." He said, "We will check up on Dies and expose him." He said he would furnish the money to Hamm for that purpose.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he say how much money he would furnish Hamm?

Mr. McCUISTION. No, sir. Subsequently, I found that there was some truth in the statement because of a letter on the stationery of the National Maritime Union at Port Arthur, requesting that they come forward with anything they have on Dies, and to find out anything in the world that they could use to injure him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you later elected by the Gulf district committee as the Gulf branch agent to be editor of the Gulf edition of the Pilot?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was your election by the Gulf committee down there recognized by Joseph Curran?

Mr. McCUISTION. No, sir; Curran said that Paxton should be editor of the Pilot, and said that they would not recognize that election. He said they would not recognize that action.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were duly elected by the rank and file?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Curran, and what he calls his democratic organization, in spite of the fact that you were duly elected, refused to recognize that election?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. What is the Pilot?

Mr. McCUISTION. It is the official organ of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. STARNES. That paper was identified Saturday as being the official organ of that organization.

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Incidentally, the editor of the Pilot on the Lakes has been identified as the man who wrote the book Seamen Under the Red Flag.

Mr. THOMAS. What is his name?

Mr. WHITLEY. Hays Jones.

Since ceasing your affiliation with the Communists, you have been constantly harassed?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Driving you from your profession as seaman, and from any activities on the water front?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. Everywhere I went, they were saying that they were giving me what I deserved, but that if I went back, it would be different.

Mr. CASEY. As I understand it, it was a question of not only following your activities as a seaman, but following activities as a Communist, and you were an active anti-Communist?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. I was serving on the Gulf committee, which decided that it would not tolerate any Communists in the union.

Mr. VOORHIS. You were elected in the union, or the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. When were you elected?

Mr. McCUISTION. I was elected according to the constitution. They called on all the agents of the Gulf district, and submitted it to a referendum of the Gulf members, and I was elected in March 1939.

Mr. VOORHIS. In March 1939, you were elected to the position of editor of the Gulf section of the Pilot?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is what you mean as an official position?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And that was referred to the whole membership of the Gulf, is that right?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And as you have already explained, the Gulf was actively anti-Communist—the Gulf membership of the union?

Mr. McCUSTION. The Gulf membership is still actively opposed to communism, but Curran has appointed replacements for the leadership. The leadership, while legally still in office by decision of the courts in New Orleans, are not able to hold office because Curran has made a deal and controls the shipping down there; sacrificing some conditions like, for instance, the Lyke Bros. taking three water tenders off of each ship, and some other things.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you subsequently expelled from the N. M. U. at the New Orleans convention?

Mr. McCUSTION. The only thing that I know about that is I read about it in the Pilot, that they expelled me by resolution. They entered a resolution in the last session of the convention, after I had walked out, and said that I could not participate in it; that they would not let it be run on a democratic basis, as the record shows, and after that they entered a resolution declaring myself and a half a dozen others automatically suspended for 14 years.

Mr. CASEY. Did they communicate that resolution to you?

Mr. McCUSTION. Never yet.

Mr. CASEY. You had to find out about it by reading the papers?

Mr. McCUSTION. I had to find out about it by reading the paper and by the fact that when I started to walk into a hall a guy shoved a gun in my belly and told me to get down the steps and get down in a hurry.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you subsequently told to get off the water front and stay off?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you wanted to live?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I was attacked several times. One time I was attacked and sent to the hospital in New Orleans, pretty seriously injured. But I stayed on the water front. I was on the water front last week, and have been there ever since.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did anyone in particular tell you that; that you had to get off the water front if you wanted to live?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I was told that by Joseph Curran and I was told that by this little half-pint stooge over here, this Paddy Whelan, known to be a half-wit and a Communist stooge, and by Corby Paxton, when he was down there. I was told it anytime I saw one of the officials. That was their statement.

Mr. STARNES. You do not mean to say that they would tell people that they have to get off the water front, do you?

Mr. McCUSTION. They instruct them, and furthermore, if the person has no following, or has no physical strength—in other words, a fellow that is liable not to be able to fight back at them, they will see that he gets off. They will drive him off.

Mr. STARNES. The witness, Mr. Curran, last Saturday, spoke in an injured tone about the use of baseball bats at some meeting in San Francisco, or somewhere. He led the committee to think that he was opposed—he and his organization—to any such tactics. I got the very definite impression that they were very gentle in their methods and were absolutely and unalterably opposed to any threats or forms of violence.

Mr. McCuiston. I think I can explain that. That is all in the files of the Pilot, and you people can probably get them without very much trouble. Just about a week before I got back to the United States, the rank and file in New York got disgusted with the fact that all of the employees, the paid employees, of the National Maritime Union, were known Communists; that they would leave the N. M. U. offices, go down two blocks, and get up on a soap-box and start making a speech. So they tried to get them out at meetings, and they could not do it. They went up to protest and they were thrown out of the offices, so then they got some baseball bats and they did put in a very forcible protest.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, have you been in the N. M. U. offices in New York City on occasions?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know something about the personnel in there? Do you know whether or not they have employed people who have been connected with the seamen in any way; that is, members of the family, and so forth? Or have they given the jobs to people on the outside?

Mr. McCuiston. They have given them not to their families; I would not say that—well, very few seamen have families large enough to have members of the family that need jobs. But the personnel of the office, yes, is entirely Communist. I would say roughly 90 percent, and that is giving them the benefit of the doubt. And it is a known fact that the Communist Party has information of what goes on behind the scenes in the N. M. U. before the membership has it. The membership don't like it, but they are not in a position where they can do anything about it. If they try to do anything about it physically—well, Curran on at least 10 occasions has had to call the police to protect him and his bureaucracy against the membership, and get the membership cracked over the head and so forth and so on.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are there any democratic elections held in the organization for officers?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. The Communists were voted out, and a minority of Communists were left in. But the Communists, having the top offices and control of the contracts, and so forth, were able to keep their jobs, shifting around. They have 400 Communists on the water front in New York that never trouble to go to sea. A lot of them will work in restaurants; some of them will even work as furriers and various other things. They always show up at the meetings to vote as the Communists say.

You have got a membership of 40,000, but at the meetings in New York you have a maximum of 2,000 votes, and the Communists have a solid block of four to five hundred always, and they can control the votes. And naturally, when an anti-Communist is elected, they immediately get him up on charges and they suspend him, and then it is 2 years until the next election, so Curran appoints somebody to take his place.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I am trying to get at is, when they elect a national officer, do they do it by referendum or at a meeting where the people are present?

Mr. McCuiston. They do it by referendum. But I will show you something about that. Frederick C. Phillips always has been an anti-Communist, was elected as a national officer on a national

referendum. He has been brought up on charges, and he has not been expelled, but he has been removed from office.

Jerry King was brought up on charges and expelled. He led the ticket with the highest number of votes.

Mr. STARNES. He is anti-Communistic?

Mr. McCUSTION. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that these men, after they were elected by the seamen in a referendum, charges would be preferred against them and they were removed from office?

Mr. McCUSTION. They were elected by 40,000 men and removed by a packed meeting of 1,500 men.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, I would like to read you what purports to be a list of the names and official positions of the officers of the N. M. U. and ask you if you can identify them as to their position and also as to their political affiliations.

Joseph E. Curran, president, National Maritime Union?

Mr. McCUSTION. I have identified him.

Mr. WHITLEY. George Hearn, national secretary-treasurer.

Mr. McCUSTION. George Hearn is an easy-going fellow. He is treasurer of the union. He is not a member of the Communist Party but takes no active part in the affairs of the union other than handling the money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Ferdinand C. Smith, vice president of the N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. He is a member of the Communist Party for at least 5 years. He was a strikebreaker, however, in the 1934 strike while he was a member of the Communist Party and was subsequently expelled from the union by the membership. But they held a packed meeting in New York and reinstated him.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they can use the packed meeting also for reinstating as well as removing.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Frederick N. Myers, chairman, Atlantic district committee, National Maritime Union.

Mr. McCUSTION. A Communist for at least 4 years and actively carries on the work of the Communist Party. He is a self-admitted Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Howard C. McKenzie, secretary-treasurer, Engine division, Atlantic district, N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. A member of the Communist Party for about 3 years and an active Communist, an admitted Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Septimus Rutherford, secretary-treasurer, Cooks and Stewards, Atlantic district?

Mr. McCUSTION. He was elected to office on the basis of being an anti-Communist, but when he saw the anti-Communists all getting out he made a turn-about-face and came out and supported the Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUSTION. I would not know whether he is a member or not. I know he openly supports them and that he is the head of the colored group in the union; him and Smith are the two colored members of the national apparatus.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know he is at least a fellow-traveler?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I know that. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Joseph Kane, secretary-treasurer, Deck division, Atlantic district, N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. He is a compromise that they have gotten in. Joseph Kane is not a Communist. Joe Kane, I do not believe, will ever join the Communist Party but he will not oppose anything. He is one of those sorts of guys that ride along with the wave. Whoever is in power, Joe Kane is with them. When the anti-Communists were in power he was a strong anti-Communist. When the Communists got in power he was a strong Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Ted Lewis, delegate and member of port committee which settles disputes.

Mr. McCUSTION. Ted Lewis was defeated in the elections. He is a Communist and has been a Communist for a long time, away back, I would say 10 or 15 years. He was defeated for office. He was defeated after he ran for office subsequently two or three times, and finally he had to get appointed by Curran to get in office.

Mr. WHITLEY. John Paone, member of the port committee, of the N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. He is not a Communist, but he is also one of what we call a pie-card. As long as his name is on the pay roll, he will agree to anything. He was that way in the A. F. of L. He has always been an official of some sort, and always agreed with whoever was paying him his money.

Mr. WHITLEY. James Purcell, member of the port committee.

Mr. McCUSTION. James Purcell is just a minor official; is not a Communist. James Purcell and Paone and Hearn are now being purged on charges brought just before this hearing started; they were subject to being purged, but now I understand they dropped the charges since this was started.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are the three you have so far named as not being members of the party.

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say they were being brought up on charges?

Mr. VOORHIS. Who were those?

Mr. WHITLEY. George Hearn, John Paone, and James Purcell.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said there were charges preferred against them but they have been dropped?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. I was just informed of that. I was informed of that only yesterday.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would that be such a matter that could be checked up, so that we could learn what is the fact?

Mr. McCUSTION. I suppose it could; I do not know. This is just hearsay.

Mr. STARNES. Let us not go into hearsay.

Mr. WHITLEY. Barney Lynch, member of the port committee, National Maritime Union.

Mr. McCUSTION. I do not even know him. He was elected on a local basis. I would not know him if I saw him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Neil Hanley, chairman, tankers reorganization committee.

Mr. McCUSTION. He was a former agent at Marcus Hook. He was appointed to his present job by Curran. He is a Communist, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CASEY. When you say those various men are Communists—

Mr. McCUSTION. They are to my knowledge Communists. I have been told they were Communists by members of the Communist Party, or they have told me they were Communists.

Mr. CASEY. Of course, one would be hearsay and the other would be direct knowledge. If you know that they are members—

Mr. McCUSTION. When I say they are members of the Communist Party it is direct knowledge; I have received direct information; I am not guessing at it.

Mr. WHITLEY. John Lawrenson, member, reorganization committee.

Mr. McCUSTION. He has been identified. He was defeated in an election and appointed by Curran after being defeated in the election.

Mr. STARNES. You identified him as a Communist?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. George Kuck, member, reorganization committee and national organizer, Port Arthur.

Mr. McCUSTION. He is a member of the Communist Party and was an organizer of this relief to Spain business, and all of that. He was also appointed by Curran.

Mr. WHITLEY. Frank Jones, national organizer and business agent, Miami, Fla.

Mr. McCUSTION. He could not qualify one time for the elections and he was subsequently appointed by Joseph Curran as a member of the Communist Party. I signed him up in the Communist Party myself, so I know.

Mr. WHITLEY. John Rogan, national organizer and business agent, of the N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. In Puerto Rico as a Communist, and appointed by Joseph Curran.

Mr. WHITLEY. McGowan, agent, Boston, Mass.

Mr. McCUSTION. A Communist for a long time.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Red" Hawks, delegate, Boston, Mass.

Mr. McCUSTION. The same as McGowan. He was also an organizer of the Spanish-American Club that the membership voted out of existence, but which has now gone into this Brotherhood of the Sea, which is a new front for the Spanish-American Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. D. L. Gavin, Boston, Mass.

Mr. McCUSTION. The same status as Hawks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what his official position is?

Mr. McCUSTION. He is a delegate; patrolman, they call him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Richard Durgin, agent, Providence, R. I.

Mr. McCUSTION. Decidedly anti-Communist. They only can stay in because whenever Joe Curran notifies them that they are removed in Providence and Fall River, they pay no attention to him and continue to function.

Mr. WHITLEY. John Murray, agent, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. McCUSTION. I don't know whether he is a member of the Communist Party. He was not last year, I know; but has always been a fellow traveler of theirs. He is of the type that will agree with anything.

Mr. WHITLEY. H. H. Bendle and J. Alberts, delegates, Norfolk, Va.

Mr. McCUSTION. Both members of the Communist Party for quite some time.

Mr. WHITLEY. James R. Walker, agent, Savannah, Ga.

Mr. McCUSTION. Anti-Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. E. Watson, agent, Tampa, Fla.

Mr. McCUSTION. A pie card. He would be a Communist if the Communists would keep him in office. I don't know whether he is or not. I am not personally acquainted with him, except just casually.

Mr. WHITLEY. James Edwards, agent, State of Florida, N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. He has been a member of the Communist Party in Scotland before he came to this country; an old-timer.

Mr. WHITLEY. James Drury, agent, Mobile, Ala.

Mr. McCUSTION. A Communist; has not been to sea in a long time. He has a police record in Mobile, and he is a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. K. K. Owen, agent, Galveston, Tex.

Mr. McCUSTION. He was sent into the marine industry as a spy by a lawyer and worked as a runner for Silas B. Axtell for a long time, an attorney. But when he got in, he decided he could make more money as an official. He is a member of the Communist Party and admits it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Fred Halestrap, Galveston, Tex.

Mr. McCUSTION. Also a Communist for a long time.

Mr. WHITLEY. John Moutal, former functionary, port of Boston, N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. He is at present an appointed delegate in Portland, Maine, and a member of the Communist Party. He is a citizen of Turkey.

Mr. WHITLEY. Ralph Rogers, former west-coast representative for the N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. He was formerly an official of the M. W. I. U. and is a self-admitted Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Bill Currott, agent, Corpus Christi, Tex.

Mr. McCUSTION. The same way.

Mr. WHITLEY. A party member?

Mr. McCUSTION. A party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he appointed?

Mr. McCUSTION. Currott was appointed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Sam Wilson, agent, Houston, Tex.

Mr. McCUSTION. Anti-Communist. He was just recently elected, when the membership insisted on electing their own agent down there. He ran in opposition to the Communists, and anybody that runs in opposition to the Communists in the Gulf is always elected.

Mr. WHITLEY. James "Blackie" Merrill, chairman, Gulf district committee, N. M. U.

Mr. McCUSTION. Elected by a vote of delegates at the convention and subsequently appointed by Curran; a Communist; always held appointed jobs in the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Adrian Duffy, secretary-treasurer, deck division, port of New Orleans.

Mr. McCUSTION. A Communist for a long time. I brought him into the Communist Party in 1932.

Mr. WHITLEY. Eddie Platt, secretary-treasurer, engine division, port of New Orleans.

Mr. McCUSTION. Communist; appointed by Curran.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mack Lee, secretary-treasurer, stewards division, port of New Orleans.

Mr. McCUISTION. He was elected. He is a colored fellow and was elected in the general elections. Later on he went back to sea and was appointed to his present position by Curran; a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Frank Stoudt, organizer, Panama.

Mr. McCUISTION. A fellow gave me some documents about him the other day that will show that he is a member of the Communist Party, hooked up direct with Mink in the other business. He gave a complete detailed report in this document that I am going to see gets to you, on the Communist Party. He is the delegate in the Canal Zone now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Hays Jones, Great Lakes correspondent for the Pilot.

Mr. McCUISTION. Communist for a long time. Before that a newspaper man for various left-wing newspapers; just goes to sea once in a while. Has not been to sea for 5 years.

Mr. VOORHIS. On that, I want to ask a question. Did you have that book that Mr. Hays had written? Was that presented in evidence?

Mr. WHITLEY. It has not been; no; I do not have a copy of it.

Mr. McCUISTION. You will get a copy of it, though.

Mr. VOORHIS. He said that he was the author of a book.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he the author of a book?

Mr. McCUISTION. He is the author of the book. Seamen Under the Red Flag. He spent some time in the Soviet Union. He was also editor of the Marine Workers Voice after Hudson and Sparks, an editor of the Doghouse News, and various other things in the M. W. I. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, out of 37 officials I have named, Mr. McCuiston has identified 9 who he states are either anti-Communists or he does not know that they are Communists.

Mr. CASEY. Thirty-seven is the complete list of the officials?

Mr. McCUISTION. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the most complete list I could get.

Mr. McCUISTION. A complete list of the officials of the union would run many more than that; three times that number, anyway.

Mr. CASEY. What proportion of them would be Communists?

Mr. McCUISTION. Eighty-five percent of the officials of the union are, at least. That is giving them the benefit of the doubt; they are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. And what percentage of the membership?

Mr. McCUISTION. Not over 7 percent of the membership.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask a couple of general questions. Mr. McCuiston, suppose there were no union organization on the water front or among seamen. What kind of conditions do you think would obtain. What kind of working conditions among the men would obtain?

Mr. McCUISTION. There would be no conditions. It would be as miserable as it was a few years ago. You have to have a union to have conditions, but this union right now has reached its peak of conditions and started to lose conditions.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, union organization in your opinion, and mine, too, is absolutely necessary to protect the conditions of those men?

Mr. MCCUITION. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you say also in times past when there was no union or none to speak of, conditions on the water front and on the ships were among the worst of any among the working people in America?

Mr. MCCUITION. They were; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then the next question is, Is it important that that union organization exist primarily for the sake of the conditions of the men and that it be not under the domination of any group whose interest is something other than that?

Mr. MCCUITION. A union cannot exist, if it exists under the domination of any group, whether they are individualists, just out to get power or make money out of it, or whether they are dominated by a political group of any sort. A union can only exist when it works in the interest of the members, with all other interests put aside. That was why our program now to build our union strength is such that officials of the union can only hold office for a limited amount of time and replacements have to come from the industry and not in the form of appointments. To be an official of the union you have to remain a worker industrially. That is our program that we are going forward on.

Mr. STARNES. And one of the reasons for your appearance before the committee is the hope that the testimony which you might give would remove political influence from the union so that they will be really representative of the workers and look after the workers' interests rather than become an adjunct of some political party; is that right?

Mr. MCCUITION. Yes. I want to see unions built up to a point where every working man and working woman in America is a member of a union, a responsible union, that holds a responsible place in the life and the affairs of the American people, and where it is not just used as a football to be kicked around for a particular group or sect, regardless whether they are Communists or whether they are people working just for the sake of their individual power; or whether they are just in it to be grafters, or what they are in it for. A union is really representative where politics is left out on the street, outside of the union hall.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Ray Torr?

Mr. MCCUITION. Not personally acquainted with him: no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what position he holds in the N. M. U.?

Mr. MCCUITION. I know that he holds a position of publicity director, but that he was appointed to the job after the membership, the weight of the membership, had forced his removal once before. The membership don't like him, don't want to have anything to do with him, and despite that the leadership brings him to the job. He must have something on Curran—or something.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. No, I do not know whether he is a member. I know he is purported to be a member. I am not personally acquainted with him.

Mr. Whitley. You do not know, though?

Mr. McCuiston. No.

Mr. Whitley. Let me ask you, from your experience as a seaman, can one man on a boat, especially if he is in the engine division, sabotage the activities or operations of that vessel?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; very easily. One man can even sink a ship if he wants to. A man can contaminate the water supply and make them put into port for a water supply. He can jam up the pumps so that they cannot clear out the bilges. He can swing a valve just the wrong way and pump the fuel over the side, and shorten the fuel supply.

The seamen have discussed that themselves a hundred times. On a Diesel ship, a man, by emptying a fire extinguisher into the fuel tank, can gum up every valve on a ship, where the ship would have to heave to and ride it out and wait for whatever might come along.

Mr. Thomas. I think that statement is very interesting in view of the statement that he made yesterday to the effect that the Communist Party had agents on every passenger ship owned by the United States companies.

Mr. Whitley. Also in view of the fact that there are 75,000 sailors under the domination of the N. M. U.

Mr. McCuiston. There are not. That is wrong. The N. M. U. dues-paying membership, including the inland boatmen and everything, will run to a maximum of forty to forty-five thousand. That 75,000 is just the publicity membership for the general public.

Mr. Voorhis. And you testified that of that membership not more than 7 percent, in your opinion, were Communists.

Mr. McCuiston. No; but those 7 percent are in control.

Mr. Thomas. I think the important thing is that the Communist Party has active party members on every one of our ships.

Mr. Whitley. Yes: do you know from your experience as a seaman whether the seamen landing in foreign ports are very carefully searched for documents; whether it would be very difficult or whether it is difficult for a seaman to smuggle in letters or communications or documents of any kind to another country or back into this country?

Mr. McCuiston. The only places where it would be difficult to any great degree would be in Germany or in Russia. It is fairly difficult in Italy and in Japan, but at that you could carry in letters—you could carry in a pouch of letters as big as this shorthand book, without any chance of detection.

Mr. Starnes. Mr. Chairman, I suggest the committee take a recess.

The Chairman. The committee will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, the committee recessed to meet on Thursday, November 2, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies (chairman), Dempsey, Mason, and Thomas.
Also present: Dr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee; Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Whitley, what is the prospect of serving a subpoena through the Department of Justice or aid of the Department of Justice on George Mink to be here forthwith? There is evidence before this committee showing that George Mink has been an agent of the Soviet Government to the United States, and I wonder if you could take that up today with some division of the Department of Justice, whom I am sure will be glad to cooperate with you to possibly having him to come before the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If you could get a subpoena requiring him to be here forthwith we would like to ask him some questions. Can you take that up immediately?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I will.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM C. McCUISTION—Resumed

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, are you acquainted with an attorney named Glickstein?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; I am acquainted with him through work on the water-front trade-union activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know him?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is one of the attorneys representing the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; he was a member of some kind of a factional disturbance in there and he was ordered by Tommy Ray and others to drop out, and he represents the transport workers' union, Mike Quill's union.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you have already stated you are acquainted with William L. Standard?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. The attorney for the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCuiston. Have for a long time.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with Frank Jones?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. You have previously identified him for the record?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; I have identified Frank Jones.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with Charles Ashley?

Mr. McCuiston. Charles Ashley I think is dead now; I don't know; I think he was killed in Spain; I am not sure.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with McCabe of Port Arthur?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. Will you identify him for the committee?

Mr. McCuiston. McCabe was a former organizer for the Communist Party at Port Arthur, Tex., and then later on he worked as an organizer for the cafeteria union and for some unions like that, and they discovered that he had a shortage in funds and was a little too personal with the membership, which was girls, and he was expelled from that job.

The next thing he showed up in seamen's work, as an ordinary seaman, for one trip, and a mess boy for one trip, and within the last 6 months he was appointed as agent at Port Arthur by Joe Curran.

This was a little too much for the membership and he was removed and he took his old job as representative of the Communist Party at Port Arthur.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if I may interrupt to ask a question or two.

Mr. Whitley. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were down at Port Arthur, were you not?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a fight down there, or some trouble down at Port Arthur?

Mr. McCuiston. I have had some little trouble but not to amount to anything. They tried to dump me and I came out just about as well as they did.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that the National Maritime Union has, from time to time, lodged complaints against you before the Civil Liberty Section of the Department of Justice on the grounds that you were depriving the N. M. U. of its civil rights. Could you explain to this committee how you could, as an individual, deprive 75,000 members of an organization of their civil liberty rights?

Mr. McCuiston. Well, if I was able to do that I would just about be a small army myself, I guess. I do not know how any man could do that.

The CHAIRMAN. In every port is it not a fact that the National Maritime Union has a number of members?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; the thing is, the way they bring about their complaints is that someone keeps the membership informed as to the Communist Party movements by talking against the leadership, against these men so the membership will vote against them and keep the Communist Party from getting control in those ports and they find them out like they did McCabe in Port Arthur.

And they then immediately raise the cry that because the membership is voting against the leadership they are deprived of their civil liberties; I think that is the basis of it.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just wondering, from the statement issued by the Department of Justice setting forth the fact that the Maritime Union had lodged a complaint that the union was deprived of its civil liberty, just how it could be possible for you as an individual to deprive a powerful organization like that of its civil liberties. I was just wondering what specific charge was lodged against you in connection with that matter. Do you know of any?

Mr. McCuiston. No; none that I know of. I do not know how I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember that in the fall of 1934 the Atlantic coast district unions of the International Seamen's Union succeeded in negotiating an agreement with the principal Atlantic ship operators to take effect January 1, 1935?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember that agreement?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember that the agreement provided for union recognition and preference in employment to members of the International Seamen's Union?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you remember that the union preference clause in this agreement virtually compelled those who had sailed for years as non-union men to apply for membership?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you remember that among those who were non-union men who had applied for membership was Joe Curran?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; he was always known as a non-union man.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that Curran dodged the union delegates or that he failed to pay his initiation fee until May 1935? Do you know anything about that?

Mr. McCuiston. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the records of the I. S. U. will show that?

Mr. McCuiston. They probably show that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, that Curran dodged the union delegates until May 1935 when he finally paid the \$5 initiation fee in New York?

Mr. McCuiston. I think so; they keep very good records.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether or not it is true that at that time Curran claimed seagoing experience of about 15 years, always as a non-union man?

Mr. McCuiston. I have heard him say that. I know he said that many times. I can only testify to what he said.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not at a hearing before the National Labor Relations Board, commencing on January 22, 1937, in Washington, D. C., that Curran admitted that he became a member of the I. S. U. only "when forced to do so."?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not before Curran's first year as a union member had ended he became the leader of the

unauthorized sit-down strike in Los Angeles Harbor; did you ever hear of that?

Mr. McCuiston. In California?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not on March 2, 1936, when the S. S. *California*, of the Panama-Pacific Line, was ready to sail from Los Angeles harbor for New York, the crew, signed on under the Atlantic agreement, staged a sit-down strike demanding Pacific-coast wages? Do you know anything about that?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. I was at sea at the time, but I recall the event. And I sat in subsequently on the trial committee which discussed it very thoroughly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall that the company made no concessions, and at the end of 3 days the entire crew agreed to sail the ship to New York?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; that is according to our records.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall that upon Curran's return to New York whether or not, through contact with the Red International and the radical wing of the French labor movement, they induced French dock workers to refuse service to the S. S. *Washington*, of the United States Line and to several other American ships in French ports?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; and we have introduced some evidence in the record here of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCuiston. That was done by cablegram first, though.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. You may proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. Whitley. Are you acquainted with a party named Frankenstein. I believe is the way it is spelled?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; I just know him by way—I have never had any personal discussions with him but I have had discussions about him a number of times at various places in the higher circles of the Communist Party and in the unions.

Mr. Whitley. Who is he, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. He is an official in the United Automobile Workers.

Mr. Whitley. I see. Is he an acquaintance of Joe Curran; do you know?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. I saw him and Joe Curran and Roy Hudson eating lunch together and discussing things, exchanging notes at Pittsburgh, during the C. I. O. convention.

Mr. Whitley. Is Frankenstein known in party circles as a Communist?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. He is. How about W. Reuther; do you know him?

Mr. McCuiston. The same way; yes.

Mr. Whitley. Where is he located?

Mr. McCuiston. Detroit; United Automobile Workers.

Mr. Whitley. Have you heard him discussed among party circles as a Communist?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. Al Lannon. You have previously identified him. Did you ever hear him make any statement with reference to the treatment he received in the Lenin school?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes. Al Lannon was very bitter about it at one time. Al Lannon was of the opinion, because he attended the Lenin school, and he was of the opinion that Mink should be severely disciplined for the mixup of affairs.

Al Lannon brought the affair to the school, before the school, and tried to get the school to take action against Mink, but the result was Al Lannon was disciplined.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. McCuiston. And he subsequently spent about 5 or 6 months in Europe as contact man, and following that tour he spent 6 months in the Red Army to discipline him before he was sent back.

Mr. WHITLEY. Clarence Applewhite; will you identify him for the committee. Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCuiston. Applewhite was secretary-treasurer of the Gulf division, or district, of the N. M. U., the engine division.

And he actively opposed the Communists; he ran for office as an anti-Communist, and he has always actively opposed them.

He was also purged by resolution at the last convention of the N. M. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. William Dickman: Will you identify him?

Mr. McCuiston. William Dickman is the national auditor of the National Maritime Union; he was appointed by Joe Curran. And William Dickman is discussed by leading Communists as formerly a member of the central audit committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was so identified by leading Communists in Communist circles?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a Communist who was formerly a member of the central audit committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is now auditor for the N. M. U.?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Dorothy Snyder?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify her for us?

Mr. McCuiston. Dorothy Snyder is secretary to Joe Curran. She had full authority to sign his name; I know that—at least, she does sign it because I know we received letters signed by him when he was in New Orleans at the time we received the letters.

And, she is a member of the Communist Party, a leader of the Communist fraction of the office workers and has formerly worked in the office of the central committee of the Communist Party.

And she has worked in various front-organization offices. She originally worked as stenographer for the rank and file, stenographer for the marine firemen and as a progressive leader all through. She even worked when there were no funds to pay her salary; she worked right on and managed to live just as good.

Mr. WHITLEY. And is she known among Communist circles and discussed as a Communist Party member?

Mr. McCuiston. She was up until a short time ago.

Now, because there has been so much heat on the union for keeping her in there working for Curran and the others they do not discuss her very much.

She attended meetings, and even spoke at various front organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Eddie Gordon; will you identify him for the committee?

Mr. McCUISTION. Eddie Gordon is the Pilot's representative in Habana, Cuba.

Eddie Gordon was unable to make surety bond as required for one handling money in the union, and therefore his credentials were withdrawn but, despite that fact, through Tommy Ray's and Joe Curran he was issued credentials in defiance of the union's constitution.

Eddie Gordon is a graduate of the national school of the party and a graduate of the pan-American school—the Latin-American school that gives special training among the Spanish-speaking republics.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the Latin-American school of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The National Training School of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCUISTION. He speaks several languages pretty well. He is at present secretary, financial secretary of the Brotherhood of the Sea, which is an organization which is known as a front organization for the party in Latin-America, and the same organization that Joe Curran is vice president—the honorary president of.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Do you know what the symbol or insignia of the Brotherhood of the Sea is, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. The Brotherhood of the Sea's insignia is a sailor with a machete and a hammer. The Latin-American Communist insignia, by clasping hands.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it is the same insignia as the Communists have for Latin-American countries?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the headquarters of the organization?

Mr. McCUISTION. Habana, Cuba.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has that organization been in existence, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUISTION. The organization is just recently, within the last month, held the official inauguration, but it was in the process of organization for about 6 months.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is it supposed to be, some type of a fraternal organization for seamen?

Mr. McCUISTION. It is supposed to unite all of the Latin-American countries on political questions and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. And is it understood among seamen that it is a Communist-dominated organization?

Mr. McCUISTION. Very definitely so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify Robert Meers for us?

Mr. McCUISTION. Robert Meers is at the present moment on some kind of business with the N. M. U. He was removed by the membership in New Orleans on a charge of inefficiency and on charges of juggling the funds and various other charges that were preferred against him. He was removed by vote of the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. McCuiston. But subsequent to that he has been put back on several temporary jobs by Curran. I don't know what job he is actually performing just now. He is a member of the Communist Party; he is a school graduate from the Communist School.

Mr. WHITLEY. Graduated from the Communist Party Training School?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; Communist Party Training School and the National School as well.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. McCuiston. And he is always active in Communist Party circles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify J. Flaherty?

Mr. McCuiston. He is an old timer in the Communist Party. His name was Lambert when he was with the Maritime Industrial Union. He has always been an officer of some party from time to time. After the formation of the National Maritime Union he was a delegate to the Firemen's Division but resigned the delegate's job in order to be organizer for the Communist Party, a job that he holds now to contact the men for the ships for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. M. Hedley Stone: Can you identify him for the committee?

Mr. McCuiston. He is head of a division of the N. M. U.; he is a prominent Communist. He holds his job by being appointed.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is also known as Stein?

Mr. McCuiston. That was the first name that I knew him under; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify Adrian Duffy?

Mr. McCuiston. Adrian Duffy was elected to the job of agent at Corpus Christi, on the Gulf, but has since been elevated by appointment to the job of secretary-treasurer of the deck division on the Gulf. There was another Duffy. William Duffy also. He was an anti-Communist and was purged at the convention.

Duffy is a known Communist: has always admitted it, and is now a member of the contact committee negotiating a new agreement with the shipowners.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, have you ever talked to Harry Bridges, had any conversation with him?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes; at various times since 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe some of those conversations and the meetings?

Mr. McCuiston. The first conversation that I ever had with Harry Bridges at any length of time was in 1935 at San Francisco. This was shortly before Bridges was taken to the hospital with a perforated ulcer. And Bridges and I met just before the meeting of the Maritime Federation on the Pacific, and at that time I was introduced to Bridges by Pyles of the Radio Telegraphists, and several others, and Bridges proceeded to ask me why I was there and what I was doing on the west coast.

This was shortly after I had been expelled from the Communist Party for technically refusing to an agreement to follow a line of the party.

I told him I had been put out and I was going to go on a long trip to the Orient and think it over.

He said, "That won't ever do; you will have to go to work here; you will have to continue your work and activities here."

I said, "What do you mean by work and activities?"

He said, "We have discussed this and think the only way you can really contribute to the work here is to begin to work."

And I said, "no"; I was intent on going.

Then, he said: "If you do we will see that you never get in the party again."

I told him that I did not want to get into the party.

He said, "You don't now, but you will want to come back in."

Mr. THOMAS. At that time, Mr. McCuiston, do you know whether Bridges was referring to the union work or work of the Communist Party?

Mr. MCCUISTON. My work as a Communist on the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he told you that if you did, as you had planned, and did not stay there and continue your work on the water front you would never get back in the party?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the Communist Party?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. He was referring to the Communist Party; you are sure of that?

Mr. MCCUISTON. Very definitely; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any subsequent conversation with him, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. MCCUISTON. The next conversation I had with Harry Bridges was the one I related, at Madison Square Garden, the time of the Madison Square Garden meeting when we discussed the Communists generally, and also the question came up in the course of that time, that while I was pretty well straightened out why I did not come back in the party.

I said, "No; I was satisfied out of the party," that if the party put out a program that I thought was all right I would support it but I would not join anything; that I would never join it again.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you stated at that time that although you were not an actual member of the party you were going along, at least with the party's program, that is, were not opposing them?

Mr. MCCUISTON. I was not openly opposing them in any way.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Can you identify John Williamson for the committee?

Mr. MCCUISTON. John Williamson was the district organizer of a district of the Communist Party at the time I knew him.

The first discussion I had with John Williamson I remember was relative to Joe Zack, at a meeting which was held by the national committee and I automatically sat in on that meeting.

And I commented on the fact that Joe Zack was absent from the meeting and John Williamson said that was because we were going to discuss Joe Zack at this meeting of the district board.

And at that time we discussed him and unfortunately for myself I found myself agreeing with certain of Zack's positions and they asked me out of the district meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that during the time when there was some disagreement between Zack and the party?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; that was just before Zack was removed. Zack was at that time stationed at Cleveland, as the T. U. U. L. organizer in the Ohio district.

He was subsequently removed and replaced by John Schmeis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether John Williamson is known to Joseph Curran, Mr. McCustion?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I know because Joe Curran has talked to me about John Williamson when we met on the first trip at the lakes. And we have discussed Joe Williamson several times on, and Curran referred to him as a man who really knew his trade unionism.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have already identified the Reuther brothers for us?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; I identified them just a few minutes ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. McCustion, there has been considerable discussion about who was and who are not Communists in the N. M. U., and the Communist Party tactics, and so forth. Are you acquainted with John Meldon?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify him for us?

Mr. McCUSTION. John Meldon is at present on the staff of the Daily Worker. He conducts the maritime column once a week in the Daily Worker, and covers all maritime news.

He has formerly been connected with several unions of the T. U. U. L.; he was connected with the United Metal Workers; he also worked as an organizer in the Mine Workers. He has been an active Communist for a long time. He has had full privilege in the N. M. U.; he can go in when he pleases to any office and carry on conversations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Edwin Bruen?

Mr. McCUSTION. I know Edwin Bruen as a prominent member of the union, a prominent member of the Communist Party. Personally I do not know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. But he is known in party circles?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to show you an article in the Daily Workers and have you identify this article.

Mr. Meldon is writing about party activities in the marine unions—maritime activities. He says:

Let's take a few typical examples of the new members of the Unit 1-S.

That is a Communist Party unit?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; they had about three or four hundred members in it.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a Communist Party unit of the water-front section?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

* * * There's a Negro comrade whom, unfortunately, we cannot name just now, who has accomplished the following Bolshevik activities since he joined the party.

First: He personally recruited twenty Negro seamen into the party, and these twenty in turn have brought in thirty more Negro members.

The same article goes on to identify Al Lannon, who has been referred to quite often in these proceedings, and he states as follows:

While we are on the subject of ace recruiters in this unit, one cannot overlook Al Lannon. We are free to use Al's name because he is known far and wide along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts as one of the party leaders in the maritime unions.

Now, there is an identification of Al Lannon in the Communist Party's official publication.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date of that?

Mr. WHITLEY. September 9, 1937. In other words, in this article certain Communists he says he cannot identify, but there are others who are publicly known and he will mention them by name. The article continues:

To be sure, there are shortcomings, even in a unit such as this one. The other night the writer attended a meeting and heard Edwin Bruen, the unit organizer, render a sharp tongue lashing to some of the most active members for lagging behind in raising funds for the new term of the Marine Training School.

So there is Mr. Edwin Bruen identified, in the official publication of the Communist Party, as a communist.

(The photostat above referred to was marked "McCuiston No. A, November 2, 1939.")

I now refer to the minutes of the Second National Convention of the N. M. U. of America, held in New Orleans, La., and ask you if you will identify that as the official minutes of the convention?

Mr. McCUISTON (after examining). Yes, sir; they are the official minutes, which were printed every day.

Mr. WHITLEY. And on page 19 of these minutes we have the following statement, Mr. Bruen speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. Bruen?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir: Edwin Bruen.

The CHAIRMAN. The same Edwin Bruen?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right, who has just been identified in the Daily Worker as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. McCUISTON. As an organizer.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is now speaking before the convention in New Orleans. He says:

I'm not a commie, I never was and I'm contrary to anything like that, and if I think they're wrong I'll vote for it. But stick to the point and get it over with. [Applause.]

There is Mr. Bruen before the convention publicly and positively denying he is a member of the Communist Party, although he is so identified in the Communist Party publication. I merely read this to show the manner in which they conceal and deny their membership whenever it is to their advantage to do so.

(The document above referred to was marked "McCuiston No. B, November 2, 1939.")

Mr. THOMAS. Don't you find, Mr. Attorney, that is almost unanimous with communists?

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask Mr. McCuiston that question.

Mr. McCUISTON. It is. I mentioned that in the testimony before, when I was being questioned by Mr. Casey, that a Communist, unless he is generally known as a Communist on the water front and has to

carry on direct party activity, why, it is the program and the policy to deny this. And there is an old saying that the Communist Party has a regulation that when someone asks a Communist in a trade-union if he is a Communist, that he stands automatically expelled immediately and he answers "No"; and that when he answers "No," that automatically reinstates him, so that they have gained their ends. I don't know whether that is true. They told that about the Ku Klux Klan and everything else. But they never admit it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston, within the last 3 weeks have you been threatened, or has anyone told you if you showed up on the New York water front they were going to get you?

Mr. MCCUISTION. I was in New York here a few weeks ago and I was met on the street by several friends of mine, different friends of mine, who told me the Communists had word I was in town and the Communists said "If I showed up on the water front they were going to get me." So I did not like the idea of being kept away from anywhere, so I immediately went to the water front. While I was on the water front a squad was hastily organized under the leadership of Isador Gold and Tony Lucio, and they came down the street announcing to all and sundry they were going down to get McCuiston right now, and Lucio even went to the extent of saying this material that I had—that will come out, I think, and I don't want to reveal the name, because somebody is going to testify to that later on here, and does not want his name known; but those two men came down the street and only due to the fact they had a little "chicken" in them, I guess, kept them from getting that. They walked up and down the street and I naturally did not go off of main Twenty-third Street. They stuck close behind me until some of my friends hollered and told them, if they were going to start anything, they had better start it or quit bragging about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. How recently was that?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Oh, that was 2 days before I came to this hearing.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that is within the last 2 weeks?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Yes; that is within the last 2 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are Gold and Lucio members of the N. M. U.?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Yes; they are both members, and Gold is an ex-official and Lucio is a dispatcher and an official right now.

Mr. THOMAS. Did those men know you were going to come before this committee at that time?

Mr. MCCUISTION. No; they did not know I was going to come before this committee, but they knew I was in New York, as everybody else did. They knew I was in New York and was walking openly around the water front.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they at that time, as members of the N. M. U., make any report to the police of New York that you were wanted on a charge in New Orleans, that you know of, at least?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Evidently they did not, because I talked to the police in New York, police that know me by name and know me well.

Mr. WHITLEY. They did not notify anyone, as far as you know, any officials, you were there and that you were wanted on this charge?

Mr. MCCUISTION. I know they did not, because I was in touch with the F. B. I. several times there and the police department several times there.

Mr. WHITLEY. They made no official complaint, but they were personally going to dispose of you or get rid of you, and get you off of the water front?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. The main thing was they were trying to scare me off of the water front; that was the whole thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they did not start to notify the officials you were wanted on a charge in New Orleans until you appeared here on the witness stand, as far as you know?

Mr. McCUSTION. As far as I know; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Counsel, has any effort been made to check with the F. B. I. and find out about this business? I mean that ought to be something we can determine definitely.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have not. I will do that. I have seen letters which he has written to them.

Now, in spite of these threats, Mr. McCuiston, and this attempted intimidation to keep you off the water front, did you continue in your activities and your efforts to expose the Communist Party influence on the water front and in the unions?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And as a part of that program of exposing that influence and those activities, you voluntarily appeared here as a witness?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you any knowledge of certain criminal activities which you have reported to the authorities since you returned from Spain, Mr. McCuiston?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you think the Communist Party is aware of the fact you have made such reports?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; I am pretty sure they are aware of the fact, because I was threatened by Jarvis and Russell, who are two of the known gunmen of the party, that if I did not stay out of the F. B. I. office they were personally going to take care of me. They told me that one morning in New Orleans. I cannot remember the exact date, but it is a matter of record there. That evening, why, they walked down to a place where I usually hang out in the evening in New Orleans, on Conti Street, and they were stopped—they walked into several barrooms, saying they were looking for me, and walked in with drawn guns, and naturally, not finding me, went on out, and they were stopped by several seamen who told them they had better put up those guns, or they would get in trouble. So one of them swung with his gun and hit the seaman with his gun, and the seaman grappled with him, and Russell started firing wildly and hit a woman tourist down there—this is a matter of record and can be verified—he shot one of the women through the back and shot a man through the leg, and they got him.

Mr. VOORHIS. What were these fellows' names?

Mr. McCUSTION. Russell, Jarvis, and Drake.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know their first names?

Mr. McCUSTION. Joe Russell; I don't know Jarvis' first name, but they call him "Sweet Pea" Jarvis; and Clyde Drake. All three are known as marijuana addicts.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say this affair is a matter of public record in New Orleans?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. And this affair occurred while they were, by their own declarations, looking for you?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes.

Mr. Whitley. Mr. McCuiston, despite the threats that have been made against you, do you intend to continue to work against the Communists and their influence on the water front?

Mr. McCuiston. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is getting late, and do you think we had better hear this other witness now?

Mr. Mason. Well, I have one question I want to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean to bring him back.

Mr. Mason. I would like to ask: Mr. McCuiston, do I understand you were employed by the F. B. I.?

Mr. McCuiston. No; I was not employed by them; no, sir; it was voluntary information that I gave them.

Mr. Mason. Mr. McCuiston, I want to ask a question about the name of the National Maritime Union and how it started. Do you know, as a result of Joe Curran's activities in outlaw strikes, in calling outlaw strikes, that the Federal Trade Commission issued an order prohibiting the managers of the outlaw strikes and Joe Curran from using the initials I. S. U. or International Seamen's Union, and, as a result of that order of the Federal Trade Commission, in order to get around that order, they adopted the new name "National Maritime Union"?

Mr. McCuiston. No, sir.

Mr. Mason. Is that the origin of the name "National Maritime Union"?

Mr. McCuiston. That is what I understand, but I was out of the country at that time; so I could not answer from my own knowledge as to that, because I did not participate in the actual organization of the N. M. U.

Mr. Mason. I see.

Mr. McCuiston. That came after March 1937.

Mr. Mason. But you do not know, from your own knowledge, that is the origin of the National Maritime Union's name?

Mr. McCuiston. No, sir; I do not. I know this much: There were several of us that opposed the formation of a new and independent union and we successfully carried this fight through to oppose it and insisted on maintaining the old structure, even if we had to give in on certain points and let certain of the old fellows that had been ousted come back, and declare a new election, and we won our point. We opposed organizing an independent union, but shortly after I left it was organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCuiston, I hand you a photograph of a parade, a May Day parade in New York City, May 1, 1938: Will you please advise me if Mr. Curran is in that group and if there is anyone else you recognize there?

Mr. McCuiston (after examining). Yes, sir. I recognize several. This is Charlie Degrasse, who was a member of the Communist Party at that time—the one on the extreme left—and is now an anti-Communist and has been purged since.

This is Moe Byrne [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Which one; No. 3?

Mr. McCuistion. No. 3. No. 4 is Ferdinand Smith. I think No. 5 is Lyons; I am not sure. No. 6 is Joe Curran, and he is talking to No. 7—Kitson, I think, is his name—who at that time was Curran's bodyguard.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see that photograph before I handed it to you?

Mr. McCuistion. Never in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. On the back of the photograph, which was sent to the committee, are the names. No. 2 is Dave Ramos; No. 3 is Moe Byne; No. 4 is Ferdinand Smith; No. 5 is Lyons; No. 6 is Curran; and No. 7 is Ted Lewis.

Mr. McCuistion. Let me look at that photograph again. I know Ted Lewis very well. I think that is the wrong identification. (After examining.) No; No. 7 is not Ted Lewis, because Ted Lewis is practically as tall as Curran. Ted Lewis is back of No. 7; this is Ted Lewis right back here [indicating].

(The photograph above identified by Mr. McCuistion was marked "McCuistion No. C, November 2, 1939.")

The CHAIRMAN. I now hand you a photostatic copy of what purports to be a receipt to Joe Curran from Red Fighting Fund, New York Communist Party, in the amount of \$1. The receipt is No. 52171-B. The total receipt shows \$14.20. The date of the receipt is November 14, 1936. I ask you if that is the usual form upon which receipts are issued by the Communist Party?

Mr. McCuistion (after examining). No; that is a receipt for special work. They put them in book form and whenever the book is turned in, the last receipt is given, with the total donations.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see this particular receipt before?

Mr. McCuistion. Never.

(The paper last above referred to was marked "McCuistion No. D, November 2, 1939.")

The CHAIRMAN. I show you another photograph of the May Day Parade and ask you if Mr. Curran is in that photograph?

Mr. McCuistion (after examining). Yes, sir; Mr. Curran is No. 6, Lyons is No. 5, and Kitson is No. 7. Ted Lewis is not numbered; he is back here [indicating]. It looks like he has a patch over his eye.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see that photograph before?

Mr. McCuistion. I never saw that photograph before.

The CHAIRMAN. On the back of the photograph the name of No. 5 is Gethyon Lyons, Joe Curran is No. 6, and No. 7 is Ted Lewis. I can say you never saw these before, because the chairman got these.

(The photograph above referred to was marked "McCuistion No. E, November 2, 1939.")

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). I show you a photograph of the May Day parade, 1935, and ask you if Mr. Curran is in that parade.

Mr. McCuistion (after examining). Yes, sir. Curran is the guy with the big band across his shoulders there, looking like an ambassador, or something.

(The photograph last above referred to was marked "McCuistion No. F, November 2, 1939.")



Photograph of May Day parade, May 1, 1938, reading from left to right: 1, Charlie Degrasse; 2, Dave Ramos; 3, Moe Byne; 4, Ferdinand Smith; 5, Gethyon Lyons; 6, Joe Curran; 7, Ted Lewis.

D

100

Red Fighting Fund
New York
Communist Party

Amount, \$ 1,00

Date 12/3/34

76.

1/10

No 52171 B

C. P. of U. S. A. RECEIPT

100

Item Joe CURRAN

Date 10/14/1936

DUES FOR 3 Mos No 14310240

WATER FRONT COUNCIL	7	20
W. M. D. FUND	2	00
A. F. FUND	3	00
	1	00
TOTAL	14	90

Secy A. H. H. for [Signature]

Receipt given Joe Curran by the Red Fighting Fund.



Photograph of Joe Curran participating in May Day parade, 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to ask you what would happen in case of a war between the United States and Soviet Russia with the seamen on ships in control of the Communists?

Mr. McCUISTION. There would be immediately a series of strike actions against the shipment of war materials to the Soviet Union. This has already happened in 1919.

Mr. DEMPSEY. To the Soviet Union?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. They would immediately start agitation for a strike on those ships. In my opinion the American seamen would oppose it and they would not be able successfully to carry out the strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Would start strike actions with reference to what—the shipment of goods where?

Mr. McCUISTION. To forces opposing the Soviet Union; to any place where troops happen to be concentrated.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that extend to the sabotage of the ships?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. For that reason, I say I believe the seamen would oppose it as a whole. I believe it would ultimately result in the seamen repudiating the Communist Party, as a whole; but the Communists on the ships, as I say, one man can sink a ship at the dock, or in midocean, and that has happened.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified before this committee that the National Maritime Union is under the control of Communist leaders?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified with reference to those leaders?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it fair to say that the deplorable conditions that existed amongst the seamen for a long time, and the fact they did not receive aid from other sources as they should have received it, largely contributed to this situation?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And is it further fair to say that the great majority of those seamen are not Communists, and are loyal, patriotic American citizens?

Mr. McCUISTION. The majority are; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it also fair to assume that this union will purge itself of these Communist leaders; is it probable that that will occur?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir; it is very probable; if the men who really want to do something in the union can really get the proper support and the proper opportunities, they will do it. There has never been a time in the history of the union when there has not been an effort on the part of the minority, who did not have the equipment, a larger minority than exists today, who did not have the equipment the Communists had, to keep the Communists out.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the ability of the Communists to penetrate the union and seize strategic control of it is no different from a group of insiders in a corporation controlling its management?

Mr. McCUISTION. It is about the same way.

The CHAIRMAN. In many instances, it is shown that people who own less than 10 percent of the stock control some big corporations; so it really illustrates the fact that any organized group that is

active can take advantage of a disorganized group majority; is not that a fact?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. There is one other thing I would like to mention—

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask one other question: Since you have appeared before this committee, have you been threatened by anyone—since your appearance the first time?

Mr. McCUISTION. Since my appearance the first time I have not received direct threats, but—

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone visit the police precinct yesterday to convey threats to you?

Mr. McCUISTION. A seaman visited me and said, "Well, they are openly saying they will get you for this now, over in Baltimore." I did not want to talk with him in the police station, and I advised him to go to the committee. I said I would rather he would not talk to me about it, and I advised him to go to the committee and talk to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the seaman who talked to you about this—was he positive they were going to get you?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. I gave him the address of Mr. Whitley and advised him to contact him. I told him I thought it would be better.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. McCuiston, is it fair to assume that right now the Communists who are working and operating in the Seamen's Union are known to the most of the members of the union?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; it is not.

Mr. CASEY. They are not known?

Mr. McCUISTION. No; because, as I say, since the formation of the National Maritime Union, they have carried on a program of replacing the old and well-known Communists with newer, trained Communists who are not openly identified as Communists to a majority of the membership.

Mr. CASEY. Well, do not they operate rather openly at meetings of the union?

Mr. McCUISTION. They operate, but the officials are not the ones that make the real Communist speeches and carry on the real Communist activities, as a rule; those are from the floor.

Mr. CASEY. Would you say, until the disclosures before this committee, that the great majority of seamen in the union did not know of any extensive communistic activities within the union?

Mr. McCUISTION. Oh, no; they knew of those activities, but they don't know yet how to stop them. They know of those activities, but they don't know the direct names of them except through rumor and hearsay; they do not have any evidence to show those men are Communists.

Mr. CASEY. You would think if they knew who were Communists and could put their finger on them, they could purge the Communists from their own union?

Mr. McCUISTION. Not right now: the Communist Party has the control right now. It would take many years right now, by constitutional means, within the union; possibly it would take a year to 18 months to purge them, because the Communists have the money, they control the records, they control the shipping, and everything else.

Mr. CASEY. Your elections might be one way of doing it, might they not?

Mr. McCUSTION. They did call elections once before, and the Communists were purged during the elections.

Mr. CASEY. You have this defect: After you have duly elected representatives, according to your testimony, they can be ousted at a packed meeting where the Communists prevail?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes. There is a reason for that, Mr. Casey—

Mr. CASEY. In the light of what has been testified before this committee, a great majority of the members of the union could change that law and prevent such appointments between elections?

Mr. McCUSTION. They could, if they could stay ashore; if they could figure a way to stay ashore. But the seamen, like any other worker, has to depend for his living upon being able to work more or less constantly at his trade, while the Communists who are going to control the meeting stay ashore and do a minimum of work upon the ship. The average seaman going to sea has to make his living, and he is at sea making a living to pay his debts, while the controlling Communists are ashore attending the meetings.

Mr. CASEY. Would not a way to correct that be to prevent men who do not do regular seamen's work, who stay ashore and work in restaurants, as you told about, becoming members of the union?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes; there have been rules put forward for a vote, but they are constantly voted down in these packed meetings. I myself submitted resolutions calling for a limit on the term of office, that men who served so long in office would have to return to the sea and work at their trade for a period of 3 years before they would be eligible to run again, and I was howled down, and they claimed I was a revolutionary, a Trotskyite, an agent of the ship-owners, and a little bit of everything else, a labor spy, and so forth, for suggesting that these people who are securely settled in their jobs would have to go back to work again.

Mr. CASEY. What I am interested in is whether or not you think the union can ever purge itself of its Communist members?

Mr. McCUSTION. Yes, sir; I believe the union can purge itself, and that is a program I am going to continue to work on and try to do it; that is the objective I have set out for myself in doing this work. I want to see the union survive; I want to see the union stronger.

I can also say, definitely, since the Communists have gained control of the union, they have sacrificed the condition of the seamen in order to maintain their control.

Mr. CASEY. Are you a member of the union now?

Mr. McCUSTION. I am not a member of the union according to them, but I am, according to myself.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. McCustion, would you say that the hard-boiled attitude on the part of the employers in the shipping industry was a help to the Communists in keeping in control?

Mr. McCUSTION. It was, in one way, and, in another way, it was not. When they took a real, hard-boiled attitude, the seamen themselves showed their resentment to the extent that they themselves went out and conducted a fight themselves without the Communists having much say-so. But the shipowners themselves have discovered they can treat and negotiate with the Communists, and what actually

happened—I want to give one example of that recently. Joe Curran and the others went to court to try to dispossess the Gulf officials who were duly elected. The decision of the court in New Orleans was that the old officials who were purged were still the legal officials of the union, and those old officials, for the past year, had been able to maintain conditions on ships in the Gulf, until Curran and Adrian Duffy went to the shipowners and told them—I will be specific and name one group, Lykes Bros.—“We will allow you to take three men off of each coastwise ship, and you can save a lot of money by taking off three water tenders, if you allow us to control shipping.”

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you know they did that, Mr. McCuiston? That is very important, it seems to me.

Mr. MCCUISTION. How do I know that?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. MCCUISTION. It is known because the Gulf officials of the union, some of whom will be before this committee when these hearings reconvene—I am sure that some of those Gulf officials will testify, because I took part in this.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean how do you know about this meeting between Curran and the shipowners?

Mr. MCCUISTION. I will tell you that, too. I know of this because I at that time was in close association with the Gulf district committee. I had participated in the negotiation that resulted in keeping the water tenders on the ships. We came out and said, “It is a question of adding to the unemployment in the industry, and, while we do not want to have any unwarranted strikes, or anything, we feel that to cut three men off of each ship’s crew will automatically result in so much more unemployment that we will have to take action.” The shipowners talked to us, and we had more or less real negotiations; nothing was done hastily; it was discussed over a period of 5 months and we kept the water tenders on. The courts awarded the old committee jurisdiction, and immediately, why, when we went up to get passes from Lykes Bros., they said, “We are sorry; we will have to call your passes back, even though you have been legally sponsored, because we have already made a settlement of the water-tender question with Curran and the new district committee down here, and we have not been able to settle this with you, whereas we settled with them in a few minutes; so we just cannot give you passes.”

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you suppose that company would confirm that?

Mr. MCCUISTION. I believe the company would confirm that; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the name of the company?

Mr. MCCUISTION. Lykes Bros. Steamship Co.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you spell it?

Mr. MCCUISTION. L-y-k-e-s.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But they did remove three men, did they?

Mr. MCCUISTION. They did remove three men. That is the whole thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have numerous exhibits here which I have not read into the record as we went along. I would like to have these marked as exhibits to the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right—in support of his testimony?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. He has identified all except the copies of the official publication.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, he does not need to identify them.

Mr. WHITLEY. No; they are identified on the masthead of the publication.

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK C. PHILLIPS, SEAMAN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Frederick C. Phillips.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your address?

Mr. PHILLIPS. 350 West Fifty-fifth Street, New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is 350 West Fifty-fifth Street, New York City?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Right.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your occupation or profession?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I am a seaman.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are a seaman?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you been a seaman?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Since 1923.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. PHILLIPS. At Dover, Del.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. PHILLIPS. July 22, 1900.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were born July 22, 1900?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member or official of the National Maritime Union?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; I was elected secretary of the Marine Firemen's Union for the Atlantic and Gulf. That was the Marine Firemen's, Oilers', and Watertenders' Union. I was elected in July 1936, and I continued to serve in that office until the M. F. O. W. became the engine division of the National Maritime Union, upon the formation of the National Maritime Union. I then continued as secretary of the engine division until the elections were held, when I was elected secretary of the Atlantic district of the union. I have since been suspended illegally by Curran and a group of Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were duly elected by a referendum vote?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; in both cases.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never been expelled by a vote of the membership?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir; I have never been during all the years.

Mr. VOORHIS. What office were you elected to?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Secretary of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders' Union, and subsequently secretary of the Atlantic district of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you at the present time an officer in the N. M. U.?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir; I am suspended at the present time.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You were suspended by whom?

Mr. PHILLIPS. By Curran and a group of Communists.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is that a legal suspension?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir; I am contesting the suspension in a court action.

Mr. WHITLEY. And a new man was practically appointed by Curran to take your place as secretary?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Whom did he appoint?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Joseph Kane, who was the secretary-treasurer of the Atlantic district in the deck division.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a Communist?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I do not think so.

Mr. WHITLEY. How is that name spelled?

Mr. PHILLIPS. K-a-n-e.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member of any other fraternal organization, or have you been at any time?

Mr. PHILLIPS. At the present time I do not belong to any other union.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think this is important: Mr. Phillips, you were elected by the vote of the membership as secretary of the Atlantic-coast division?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was it a referendum vote of all the members?

Mr. PHILLIPS. By a referendum vote of the members of the union.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you remember what the vote was, or how it stood?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir; but I won the election by over a thousand votes.

Mr. VOORHIS. When you were suspended, how did they work it, or what were the mechanics of it? Was it referred to the membership?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Curran made a speech at a membership meeting, reading the confession, or so-called confession, of an ex-convict and a former bodyguard, who had been acting as an official there in the union. I was prosecuting this man in court for a shortage of funds. Curran obtained a letter from this man charging myself and several other officials of the union with conspiring with various shipowners and accepting money to sabotage the union. No other evidence was offered. The membership meeting went into quite a hullabaloo, and voted to accept the letter in support of Curran's charges. Since that time no further action has been taken.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was that meeting held in New York?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was any referendum taken on that action?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you a member of any other union or fraternal organization?

Mr. PHILLIPS. At the present time I belong to no other labor union. I am a member of the American Legion, having volunteered for service overseas.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the air service?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. I have been a union man since 1927. I think that the only thing I can do to clear my name is by a court action, and return as a union man. I believe in labor unions, and I am anxious to continue my work for them.

Mr. THOMAS. By way of identification for the record, will you state what outfit you served with in the World War?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I served overseas with the One Hundred and Eighty-seventh Aero Squadron.

Mr. THOMAS. Also state what particular Legion post you belong to.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Walter L. Fox Post, No. 2, Dover, Del.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say you were removed from the office to which you were elected by the membership through the efforts of Mr. Curran and a group of Communists?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you please explain to the committee in detail how that was done, or did you cover that in your answer?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I have covered it partly. This suspension was illegal. I was suspended at a membership meeting, and a few days afterward an attempt was made to murder me. I was walking down Twenty-third Street on the way to the union hall, when three men came up in a car, moved to the curb, and attacked me with a lead pipe. The first blow was somewhat stunning. They got me against the wall, and hit me over the head a number of times. I believe if it had not been for the time and the fact that many people were passing, and the fact that a cop came up, I would have been killed. They never attempted to hit me anywhere except on the head. A policeman came along, and they ran, thereby saving my life. The policeman helped me to a drug store, and called an ambulance. I was taken to St. Vincent Hospital, and remained there for 2 days. The examination showed no fracture, but minor concussion. At the end of 2 days they let me go home. Several stitches were taken in my head. The police investigated the matter, and shortly afterward they discovered what they believed was this car abandoned. It was found to be a car that had been purchased by the union for use at the 26 South Street strike hall. At that time the National Maritime Union was engaged in a strike against several oil companies, and a hall had been established on South Street for that purpose. This car had been purchased by them a few days before and they assigned it for the use of the special duty squad at this hall.

Mr. VOORHIS. When did this take place?

Mr. PHILLIPS. About the middle of May of this year.

Mr. VOORHIS. The attack was made on Twenty-third Street, in New York?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; between Ninth and Tenth Avenues.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was how long after you had been suspended?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Less than a week.

Mr. WHITLEY. Had you received any prior threats, or had any other attacks been made on you?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; on one occasion a Communist by the name of Alexander Bly, who was an admitted Communist, came in my office and threatened to kill me because I let the Communist Party down, as he claimed.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the statement he made at the time he threatened to kill you?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. As he was drunk, I paid little attention to it, and made nothing more of it. Shortly before, a group of negroes, or a well-known negro Communist, attacked me in my office. I fought them and got away. I did not want to stir up trouble on the water front, and let the matter drop. On another occasion Jack Lawrenson, who is also a Communist, came storming

in and took a swing at me. I swung back at him, and fought him off. On other occasions, I have been threatened verbally, but nothing came of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any other indications or statements as to the reason for those attacks?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They were generally statements of Communists that if I did not lay off the Communist Party, I would have my head beat off.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you actively fought Communist influence in the N. M. U.?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; I have felt that they had no place in the labor movement. I have felt that way ever since I have had any experience with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you have never hesitated to make your opposition known?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated that you were attacked by a well-known negro Communist?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know his name?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Warner.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know who the men were that attacked you on the other occasion, when they came up in a car?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I do not know them. I am inclined to believe that they were a squad from downtown.

Mr. WHITLEY. Paid to assault you?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the New York police records show this car, or did they trace the automobile?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. The car is at present held by the New York police.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say that the car a few days previously had been purchased by the union for use in the strike?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, from your testimony, the Communist Party was actively against you even while you were an official of the union?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; and because I have continued my opposition to their policies and attempts to control the union. I have always believed that the Communist Party of Russia through the Communist Party in the United States desired to control the maritime unions, and by this be in control of the maritime interest, which is a vital and paralyzing industry, and through control by this group they could do a great deal of hurt to the United States Government, and, at the same time, perhaps give help to the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, in case of war with the Soviet Union on the other side, they would be in a position to do great damage to the United States, would they not?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; practically they could sabotage shipping to such an extent that the Navy would be paralyzed.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think would happen if the Russian shipping industry were under the control of people in America, or

if American organizations were trying to control shipping in Russia? You have to turn it around in order to see how inexcusable the situation is in the United States.

Mr. DEMPSEY. They would be floaters, would they not?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want you to make one thing clear: When you say that sabotage practically would be attempted by members of the Communist Party in case of war, what proportion of American seamen would be willing to stand for things like that, if they could help it?

Mr. PHILLIPS. A very small proportion. I do not believe that there would be 10 percent of the seamen that would do things like that, but it only requires one man.

Mr. VOORHIS. We do not want to get a false picture of the American seamen by that parallel.

Mr. PHILLIPS. The American seamen as a whole are greatly opposed to communism.

Mr. THOMAS. From former testimony, it would be only 7 percent, approximately.

Mr. PHILLIPS. They do not want the Communist Party in the labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Phillip Carey, alleged to have been killed in New Orleans?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I have always believed him to be a Communist, but I have never known the man to any great extent. I was associated with him in New Orleans just prior to my suspension, and I know he was very familiar with Curran and the Communist group that was endeavoring to gain control at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about his death at New Orleans?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I was informed of his death at New Orleans while I was on board ship, when I arrived at Corpus Christi, Tex. The union agent at the port came aboard and told me that Carey had been killed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you who killed Carey?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir; he said it was not known.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask you if you can identify this document?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; these are the official minutes of the first meeting of the water-front section of the Communist Party. This convention was held at New York just prior to the first Maritime Union convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to read an excerpt along this same line from a statement in these official minutes of the Communist Party convention of the water-front section. This is from the report of the section committee submitted by the section organizer, Ed Phillips. Are you acquainted with Phillips?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir; I do not know him. His right name was T-a-b-a-c-k-m-a-n.

Mr. WHITLEY. On page 11 of the report, Phillips states as follows:

The shipment of war supplies to the Fascists must be stopped, and the marine workers can and must do it.

Again, on page 12, Mr. Phillips, under the heading Build the Party and Daily Worker, states as follows:

Now, however, many of our comrades occupy leading positions in the seamen's union and are supported by the great majority of the workers even though they are known to be Communists, yet none of our comrades appear openly to the workers as a Communist.

That is in keeping with previous testimony concerning their efforts to conceal their actual affiliations. A few moments ago you mentioned the Communist Party activities in the maritime unions, and the efforts to gain control, and you mentioned the fact that it was a basic and paralyzing industry. What did you mean by that word "paralyzing"?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The sabotage of the American merchant marine would vitally affect the Navy. It would affect it as a naval auxiliary for supplies. It would affect the transportation of supplies and materials needed by the United States Government or the manufacturing industries of the United States at any time.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Communist Party regards it as necessary to have union officials who are either Communist Party members or sympathizers in control of the maritime-transportation industry; is that correct?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you realize that the Communist Party was attempting to seize control of the water front unions?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Almost immediately after my election as secretary of the M. F. O. W.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was before the organization of the N. M. U.?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That was prior to the organization of the N. M. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time the M. F. O. W. was affiliated with the I. S. U.?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; and the A. F. of L. At that time Tommy Ray was active on the water front for the Communist Party, and he was rather surprised at my election. The Communist Party had but a few candidates who were qualified to run for office in this election. The constitution of the M. F. O. W. at that time required that all candidates must have been 3 years in the union, and for a year in continuous good standing, and there was only one Communist who could meet this requirement. That was Moe Bynes. He ran for treasurer of the union, and was elected at the same time I was. Bynes always attempted to follow the party line. When Ray found out I was elected, he attempted to influence me at various times. I paid little attention to him, because I knew about the Communist Party, and did not care to take his orders.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you mean by "influencing" that he tried to get you to go along and follow the party line?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He was continually attempting to give me orders, which I mostly refused to carry out. He then sent a man by the name of Haskell down to work as a clerk in my office. I soon found out that I had a Communist for a secretary. The secretary's name was Dorothy Schneider, and through Bynes, Haskell, and this secretary, Communist Party policies were carried out without my knowledge or consent.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is this Dorothy Schneider the same Dorothy Schneider who is secretary to Mr. Joseph Curran?

Mr. PHILLIPS. She is now Curran's secretary.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you know she is a Communist?

Mr. PHILLIPS. From various causes and affiliations. I have personally seen her at blow-outs and dances and things sponsored by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was any actual effort made at the time of your election as secretary of the Marine Firemen's, Oilers', and Watertenders' Union to contest your election? Was any such attempt made at that time?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The election was contested by the International Seamen's Union and the candidate who had been defeated in the election. I was quite frequently in the office of Mr. Standard who was handling the legal angle of it at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that William L. Standard?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. This man, I believe, is a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. What makes you believe that?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Shortly after my election, Jerry King, who was one of the judges of the election, told me he had seen Roy Hudson, who was a known Communist water-front leader, in Mr. Standard's office, talking with Mr. Standard. Mr. Standard seemed to be worried about it, and asked him, Jerry, not to say anything. I had other evidence to make me believe this also.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he asked Mr. King not to say anything about Roy Hudson being in Standard's office?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you known Mr. King?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I worked with him continually for the last 3 years, and I knew him before that on the water front. I always found him trustworthy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Standard have any connection with the Communist Party marine training school?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; at one time I found that Mr. Standard had attended a banquet given in the American section of the Communist Party to the graduate members of the marine training school of the Communist Party. This was quite an affair, with speeches, presided over by Hudson, with Tom Ray, Ted Lewis, Rothbart, and several other well-known Communists present. Mr. Standard made a speech at this meeting. There was a set of books on Marxism and Leninism, and those books were presented to one graduate of the school, who, by the way, was Ed Broom, a water-front organizer of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Tom Ray hold any official position in the union?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the time you speak of, was he carrying out any job?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Not to my knowledge. He spent a great deal of time on the water front, going back and forth between the office of the M. F. O. W. on Tenth Avenue and the office of the Seamen's Defense on Eleventh Avenue. He always seemed to have plenty of

money, and the fact that he loaned money to others convinced me that he was a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever see Tom Ray in the office of William L. Standard?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; many times. At this time I was in Standard's office a great deal because of litigation instituted by old officials of the union, and I always noticed that Standard was reluctant to make decisions without the consent of Tom Ray. I have seen Ray stand across the table from Standard telling Standard what he was going to do, and Standard would then agree with him. He would give the same advice as outlined by Ray.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was at a time when Ray held no official position?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were the secretary?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; I was the secretary of the M. F. O. W.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are one or two other excerpts I want to read from the official minutes of the convention of the Communist Party water-front section of the New York port, held June 26-27, 1937. Reading further from the report of Ed Phillips, on page 14, he states as follows:

At this time the Y. C. L. branch on the water front, in applying the new constitution of the Y. C. L., must have as its main concentration work in the N. M. U. The election by the firemen of the N. M. U. of a delegate to the American Youth Congress is a very important step.

I will read another statement by Mr. Phillips, on page 16, as follows, under the caption of Organizational Problems:

A good example of a functioning unit is that of the comrades on the S. S. ———. These comrades, in holding an open unit meeting on board the ship, recruited three seamen a month ago and established the face of the party to the workers, and now we have word that the unit has grown to 15—three more today.

Further, Mr. Phillips says:

The unit bureau should meet before the unit meeting and organize the agenda in such a manner that all comrades can participate in the meeting and definite tasks and assignments are given.

That has to do with the manner of control of meetings, I presume, with the unit bureau meeting with the regular unit in meetings.

Mr. Phillips, did you ever see, or have you ever seen, Tom Ray around the union hall in New York?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; a great deal. Even earlier than the strike, he was there every day.

Mr. WHITLEY. What function was he performing, do you know?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He had no official position. He just seemed to come around and talk with the various officials. The Communist officials would quite frequently take action after they had had a talk with Ray.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Tommy Ray make any other attempts to gain a foothold in your union, Mr. Phillips?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He made a decided attempt to control the M. F. O. W. by illegally attempting to put Jack Lawrenson in as assistant secretary. The constitution of the M. F. O. W. required all officials be members of the union for the past 3 years and Lawrenson could

not qualify. I opposed this, and called a meeting of the executive board, at which we appointed Jerome King, who was chairman of the union at that time, assistant secretary. Ray was rather peeved about this but he did not show it openly. He then attempted to have Lawrenson appointed to the executive board of the M. F. O. W. This he eventually succeeded in doing, thereby giving Lawrenson an official position in the firemen's union.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who appointed him?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The executive board by a majority vote appointed him.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did they know what was happening when they did it?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I am fairly sure that few of them did.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say you are fairly sure they did?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That few of them did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the party at that time trying to build up Jack Lawrenson as an official?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. They were trying very hard to build Lawrenson up as an official. At this time the party was sore at Coffee Time Joe. They did not have much use for him and were trying to run him down. Their intention was to build up Lawrenson who was the best silver-tongued orator, to take the place of Curran as leader of the seamen. Lawrenson on various occasions, as well as other Communists, stated, "Let's quit stalling around and let us get rid of this big oaf. Why keep on pretending?"

Mr. VOORHIS. When was this, what year?

Mr. PHILLIPS. This occurred in the fall of 1936 and the early spring of 1937, during the latter part of the 1936-37 maritime strike.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent are the Communists in control of the National Maritime Union, in your opinion?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The percentage—

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the control through leadership.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Of the leadership, from 80 to 90 percent at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Eighty to ninety percent?

Mr. PHILLIPS. At the present time I would say that 80 percent of the officials are Communists and the other 20 percent are afraid to open their mouths.

The CHAIRMAN. And of the membership themselves, you say not over 10 percent are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I do not believe more than 10 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. But the control by the leadership puts the National Maritime Union under the control of the Communist Party.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. In case of a strike the members of the National Maritime Union are all good union men. When a strike is called on their ship they strike. If the officials call a strike the men strike because it is their duty as union men to obey their officials.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you might say that Russia has more control over the situation than the United States.

Mr. PHILLIPS. You might.

The CHAIRMAN. If 80 to 90 percent of the leadership of the union are Communists, this committee has found very definitely that Communists in the United States obey implicitly orders given from

Moscow; even the testimony of men like Browder and Foster shows that. So that virtually the Soviet Union is in control of the situation insofar as our ships are concerned.

Mr. PHILLIPS. At the present time I believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Phillips, you stated at the time you were referring to a few moments ago, which I believe was back in the early part of 1936—

Mr. PHILLIPS. 1936 and 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. The party was trying to build up Lawrenson and trying to build down Curran.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. Lawrenson was bickering with Curran at the time. They were having a great many squabbles. The party was trying to build up Lawrenson, but he was rather lazy and he hit the bottle a good bit. He was an inveterate liar. The membership caught him in a great many lies and did not have any use for him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the party institute a whispering campaign against Curran at the time?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. At that time they started a whispering campaign, stating that Curran was a scab in the 1934 west coast seamen's strike. Curran put himself to quite a bit of trouble to clear his record of this charge. By the time it was completely cleared Lawrenson had made such a fool of himself and had been proved such a liar that Lawrenson could not do very much.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there then an effort to build Curran up to a position of leadership?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. The party often sent Tommy Ray down to quiet things. I really believe Tommy Ray was responsible for stopping the fight between Curran and Lawrenson which had destroyed a bit of the harmony of the union. The membership was getting fed up with it. Joe Curran made his peace with the party in the spring of 1937 and from that time on carried the party line all the time. He has quite frequently followed it, most of the time; he has followed it when it was to the extreme disadvantage of the membership of the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Tommy Ray continue to be active in party counsels?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean in union counsels?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He had a great many of them during the period that Lawrenson and Curran were bickering. The squabbles that they used to have were sufficient to prevent much business being done unless Ray was there. Ray could always make Lawrenson shut up. The usual line-up in these arguments between Curran and Lawrenson would be—I am referring now to the district committee of the union which had been set up and was mostly Communist—Lawrenson would have behind him Moe Byne, Blackie Myers, Frank Jones, Ferdinand Smith, Gethan Lyons; they would invariably back Lawrenson in his arguments with Curran.

The CHAIRMAN. The names that you have just mentioned are of those who have identified here as being leaders on the front line of the May Day parade, is that right?

Mr. PHILLIPS. These men always attended May Day parades. They were all Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not make any effort to conceal it?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They never admitted it. They always attempted to conceal it, but their activities were such that it was common knowledge that they were.

Mr. WHITLEY. What part did Tommy Ray play in drawing up the constitution for the new union, the N. M. U., when it was being organized?

Mr. PHILLIPS. When the N. M. U. was formed, it was formed for several reasons. One of these was that the sailors' union which at this time was operating under the constitution of the Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Association of the International Seamen's Union, A. F. of L., and the Marine Cooks and Stewards of the Atlantic and Gulf, the same parentage, were attempting to call elections for new officers. The sailors decided to call an election and set up the election machinery, printed ballots, and voting went on for about 2 weeks. The stewards' union had a constitution that did not make any preparations or plans for elections at all. However, after the election in the sailors' union had gone on for approximately 2 weeks, the Communist Party stepped in and stopped it. Their reasons were rather obvious. The constitution of the sailors' union required, as did the constitution of the firemen's union, that all candidates for office should have been members of that union for 3 years. Very few of the Communist leadership of the union could qualify to run for office under this constitution. The Communists therefore packed the membership meeting and passed a resolution calling off the election.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the election in the old I. S. U.

Mr. PHILLIPS. The old sailors' union; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why was it that not many of the Communist leaders in that union could qualify under the clause that they had to be members 3 years to run for office?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Most of the candidates were former members or officials of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which had been disbanded shortly before?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Which had been disbanded before and its membership had been told to go into the A. F. of L.

Mr. WHITLEY. Having just disbanded their own union——

Mr. PHILLIPS. They had been disbanded in 1935 and the membership had gone into the A. F. of L. This election was held early in 1937. Few, if any, of the Communists could qualify to run for office.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it at that time that the I. S. U. was broken up?

Mr. PHILLIPS. This was the time, in the spring of 1937, when the I. S. U. was broken up.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the N. M. U. was formed?

Mr. PHILLIPS. And the N. M. U. was formed.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we will have to recess pretty soon. But there is one point I wanted to bring out before we do that. From the testimony you have given this committee, the National Maritime Union officials have undertaken to deprive you of your civil rights; is not that true?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a fact?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever made a complaint to the Department of Justice to that effect?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to suggest that he knows that the Department of Justice would be glad to receive this information, and that you go to the Civil Liberties Section this afternoon and present these facts to them in connection with the testimony of Mr. McCuiston, so that appropriate action can be taken against these people for undertaking to deprive you of your civil rights as an American citizen.

You have testified here that they beat you on different occasions; is that true?

Mr. PHILLIPS. True.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have tried to intimidate you and have tried to take your life on account of the fact that you were opposing Communist activities in the union; is that true?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. That being true, there is no question but what your rights as an American citizen have been violated, and it seems to the Chair that it is your duty to go to the Department of Justice and lay all these facts before the Civil Liberties Section for appropriate action.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Is not the prosecution still developing with regard to those assailants who attacked you?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. That is still under New York, is it?

Mr. PHILLIPS. In New York and in New Orleans. There is a reign of terror on the water front.

Mr. CASEY. I am referring to your case.

Mr. PHILLIPS. My case has never been tried.

Mr. CASEY. Is it under consideration with the district attorney as to when it is going to be tried?

Mr. PHILLIPS. My case would be first tried, should have been tried in the union within 2 weeks of the time I was suspended.

The CHAIRMAN. Yours is a civil action.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I have now a civil action instituted in New York which is on the calendar.

Mr. CASEY. Have the fellows who attacked you ever been apprehended?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No.

Mr. CASEY. Is there any department seeking them?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The New York Police Department is seeking them.

Mr. CASEY. And other than finding out who owned this car—

Mr. PHILLIPS. They have no clues whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. But independent of any criminal action, this involves it seems to me, a great deal more than a mere assault and beating. Here is a question of a conspiracy on the part of the National Maritime Union officials to destroy the civil rights of an individual. That is the question involved here, and is a question for the Department of Justice to consider in connection with Mr. McCuiston's case.

We will meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned to meet on Friday, November 3, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Dies (chairman), Casey, Starnes, Voorhis, Mason, and Thomas.

Present also: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Voorhis has a statement he wants to make.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I just thought it might be interesting. We have had some evidence before the committee here as to ways in which the Communists have taken a different attitude toward Mr. Hitler since the Soviet-Nazi pact was made, and here from the pro-Fascist side is one of the regular Industrial Control Reports of Mr. James True, in Washington, from which I would just like to read a short paragraph to show how people of his allegedly anti-Communist point of view feel about international matters. He says:

All American business interests should realize that when the mire of political intrigue and the fog of lying propaganda are penetrated by clear thinking, the World War issue is recognized as between the Christian totalitarian nations and the Jewish "democracies"; between nationalism and internationalism dominated by Jewry. If Russia has joined the totalitarian group, as it appears, and if peace is established, the development of that country should greatly increase our exports and offer opportunities to many thousands of our technicians.

Mr. MASON. Who is the author of that?

Mr. VOORHIS. This is from Mr. James True's Industrial Control Reports, which he sends out. You remember Mr. True's name has appeared in our hearings in connection with all of these different Fascist organizations and Mr. Allen testified concerning him at considerable length, and here is what Mr. True says—that this is an international struggle between what he strangely terms "Christian" totalitarian nations, on the one hand, and the other nations, on the other, and he says the development of Russia would be of great advantage to business—showing an entirely different attitude from that which he had been showing in this literature and other similar literature, for a very long time, in which the whole basis of their approach was an attack on so-called "Red Russia" and "Jewish Communists." Apparently the main idea is to attack democracy no matter with what kind of totalitarian regime.

I just wanted to make that point.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Phillips, come around.

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK C. PHILLIPS—Resumed

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Phillips, do you know and can you identify the handwriting of Mr. McGowan?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The agent in Boston?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a letter dated April 3, 1937, on the letterhead of the Marine Firemen's, Oilers', and Watertenders' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf, 132 Broad Street, Boston, Mass., and ask you if that is Mr. McGowan's handwriting.

Mr. PHILLIPS (after examining). This is Mr. McGowan's handwriting. At this time he was agent of the M. F. O. W. in the port of Boston.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this letter is signed "Thomas M."—is that?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thomas McGowan.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just "Thomas"?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Just "Thomas."

Mr. WHITLEY. And I show you a letter dated April 15, 1937, and ask you if that is Mr. McGowan's handwriting?

Mr. PHILLIPS (after examining). Yes; that is his handwriting and signature.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you another letter dated April 22, 1937, written in longhand, and signed "McGowan" and ask you if that is Mr. McGowan's handwriting?

Mr. PHILLIPS (after examining). That is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I notice in the New York Times of November 2 a statement made by Mr. McGowan. The date line is Boston, November 1. It reads:

Thomas McGowan, local agent for the National Maritime Union, declared tonight that the chairman of the Dies committee had "turned stooge for the ship-owners and is utilizing money of the American people for a campaign to smash their unions."

I would like to read a few excerpts from some of Mr. McGowan's correspondence to indicate the type of activities he has been engaged in. In addition to calling the committee "shipowners' stooges," in this letter dated April 3, 1937, a letter addressed "Dear Moe"—can you identify "Moe" for the committee, Mr. Phillips?

Mr. PHILLIPS. This is Moe Byne, chairman of the union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that "B-i-n-e?"

Mr. PHILLIPS. No; "B-y-n-e."

Mr. WHITLEY. And he was treasurer of the union?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Of the M. F. O. W. at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McGowan says:

I just returned from New Bedford where the Nantucket boats are on strike.

He goes on and discusses the strike.

Mr. CASEY. Is that last summer?

Mr. WHITLEY. Not last summer; April 3, 1937. He goes on discussing the strike and says:

* * * So Mills and myself went to work, carrying on a whispering campaign against Sawyer, and also battling him on the floor to discredit him and wreck his influence.

Mr. CASEY. Is that the Reverend Roland Sawyer, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and a very fine type of man, I think, too?

Mr. WHITLEY. He is an attorney who was expelled.

Mr. CASEY. That is another one, then?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McGowan goes on to say——

The CHAIRMAN. And that is Mr. McGowan's own letter?

Mr. WHITLEY. His own letter, in his own handwriting [reading]:

* * * When we get to New Medford, we, with the aid of our lawyer expect to do a neat job of discrediting on Brother Sawyer and his lawyer friend.

It shows that whispering campaigns and attempts to discredit people are not new to Mr. McGowan.

Mr. CASEY. He is an old hand at it?

Mr. WHITLEY. Apparently so, from this letter.

Another letter dated April 22, 1937, from Boston, Mass., addressed "Dear Moe" and signed "McGowan," reads as follows: When talking about a proposed meeting of the water front, he says:

* * * When Monday night came, nobody showed up so no meeting was held. Incidentally, we were disappointed as we were lined up with baseball bats, waiting for our friends to show up.

I believe Mr. Curran previous testified——

The CHAIRMAN. That letter ought also to be sent to the Department of Justice, in connection with the investigation of the violation of civil rights of these people.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe Mr. Curran gave some testimony about baseball bats when he was here last Saturday.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, certainly, that would be a violation of a civil right, if you were going to do something and somebody interfered with your doing it with a baseball bat. That would be a very effective violation.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in his concluding paragraph, he says: "Comradski Quinnski"—do you know who that is?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes: a member of the union that is sometimes known as "Shipwreck Quinn," who is a traveling agent for the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. This says: "Comradski Quinnski sends his regards to Mosher Mike."

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mosher Mike?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Do you know who Mosher Mike is?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I could not say at the present time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another letter, Mr. Chairman, dated April 15, 1937, addressed "Dear Moe" from McGowan. He has been talking about some union activities there and he says:

* * * He claims to be a personal friend of Trainor. We got him drunk the other night and got plenty of information from him.

Then, on page 2 he says:

Now for Stewart, the crew of the *Mundexer*——

Mr. PHILLIPS. *Mundexer*, I believe.

Mr. WHITLEY. It looks like "d-e-x-e-r" here.

Mr. PHILLIPS. There is a *Mundexer*, a collier.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

Now for Stewart, the crew of the *Mundexer* came here Monday night to prefer charges against him. Before the meeting started Stewart asked and put

a motion on the floor that he be tried by all the three crafts. You can read it all in the minutes. He was found guilty and suspended for 1 month. I wanted to expel him, but the suspension went over. Now, this Stewart is hollering unconstitutional, wants an M. F. O. W. trial, or else.

He goes on, and on the third page, he says:

* * * In the meantime, we shall see that Brother Stewart meets with an accident before then.

The CHAIRMAN. There is another letter that ought to go before the Department of Justice, because what is more conclusive evidence than that, a man's own handwriting, to show the methods they are employing.

Mr. STARNES. Who is this letter written by?

Mr. WHITLEY. A fellow by the name of McGowan, an agent in Boston.

Mr. PHILLIPS. do you know whether the N. M. U. has indicated considerable interest in perfecting or building up an organization in the Panama Canal Zone?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Several officials of the N. M. U. have indicated a good bit of interest in the Panama Canal Zone. At the present time, a member of the N. M. U., a Communist who was recently defeated for office as agent of the Port of Norfolk, is acting as organizer for the C. I. O. in Panama. This appointment was made, to the best of my belief, through the recommendation of Joseph Curran to John L. Lewis.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at the present time Stoudt—is that S-t-o-u-d-t?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I believe that is the spelling.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his first name?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I do not know his first name. I worked with him from time to time, but always used his last name.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at the present time he is active as an organizer for the union on the Panama Canal?

Mr. PHILLIPS. For both the union and the C. I. O.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he has previously been identified by a witness as a member of the Communist Party.

Getting back, Mr. Phillips, to the manner of the organization of the N. M. U., the actual organization: As I recall the previous testimony, the M. W. I. U.—Marine Workers Industrial Union—which was the old Trade Union Unity League organization, was disbanded in 1935?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It was.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the members of that organization, that union, were instructed to get into the A. F. of L. union, which was the International Seamen's Union——

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when it came time for elections in the I. S. U., in 1937, was it?

Mr. PHILLIPS. 1935 in the firemen, and 1937 in the sailors.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when the Communists found that their members in the A. F. of L. union had to have been members in good standing for 3 years to run for office in that union—is that correct?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. They called off the election and then pulled all of their members and forces out and set up the N. M. U.; is that correct?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the matter of the preparation of the constitution for the new N. M. U., I believe you indicated yesterday that Tommy Ray had something to do with that constitution?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Tommy Ray was assigned to draft this constitution, with the help of Mr. Standard, the lawyer.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the two of them prepared the constitution?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The two of them prepared a "honey," I must say, from the Commies' viewpoint.

Mr. WHITLEY. The constitution which was prepared by them, will you indicate some of the features of it that were perhaps unusual?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Well, I would not say they were "unusual." The main objection of myself and other non-Communist members was the executive board in the constitution as proposed, which had autocratic rights and which could be controlled and dominated by Communists. The Communists evidently intended that this board should be controlled by Communists, giving them absolutely dictatorial rights over the membership as a whole.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the constitution was so prepared at that time——

Mr. PHILLIPS. It was prepared in this way——

Mr. CASEY. Have you the constitution here, so that we can see it?

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not have it here, but we do have a copy upstairs in previous exhibits, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. It might be helpful, because he is interpreting it and the constitution might be the best evidence.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain in some detail how they, in capturing strategic positions, could exercise unusual control?

Mr. PHILLIPS. As I recall—I have not looked at a copy of the proposed constitution for some time—the executive board was composed of 12 men, or 9 men, and these men had a right of veto over any resolution passed by the membership, and did not have to have the consent of the membership in any decision that they might make. This was the main objectionable feature, because it gave a group, a small group of men, the right to veto any resolution passed by a majority of the membership, and it also gave them the right to take any action that they saw fit, without first referring it to the membership of the union for approval.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is this the constitution of the N. M. U.?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes; that was drawn up by Tommy Ray and William L. Standard.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now was that constitution subsequently adopted at the convention?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It was not. Through the opposition of the non-Communists, the Communists were prevented from railroading through this constitution. They were also prevented from electing a majority in the different committees.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was that convention held, Mr. Phillips?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It was in July of 1937, I believe from about the 10th to the 27th or 28th.

Mr. WHITLEY. During the convention, did Joseph Curran support or oppose the Communist Party on the convention floor?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Curran, on the convention floor, actively supported the Communist Party at all times.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Roy Hudson play any part in that convention?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He did. He was constantly sending messages to the different committees and he lunched nearly every day with some of the top committee leaders who were Communists, and with Tommy Ray who was chairman at the convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did he actually, openly officiate in any capacity at that convention?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He did not; he worked through stooges, altogether.

Mr. WHITLEY. He stayed in the background, in other words?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He did. He sat in the gallery and never appeared on the floor.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name some of the specific resolutions that were introduced and passed at that convention, Mr. Phillips?

Mr. PHILLIPS. One of them was a resolution on Spanish democracy. This resolution gave all members of the union who volunteered with the Spanish Loyalists absolution from dues during the period they were in Spain. In other words, when they returned they were reinstated to full membership in good standing without the payment of any dues for the time they were over there.

Another one would be a resolution that was introduced by Charles Keith, giving the Daily Worker a vote of thanks and confidence.

Mr. WHITLEY. By whom were those resolutions proposed and sponsored?

Mr. PHILLIPS. These resolutions were proposed and sponsored by various Communist delegates to the convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Charles Keith is a Communist?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He is, undoubtedly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Self-acclaimed?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He is an admitted Communist. He served in the Spanish Loyalist Army and was imprisoned for about 10 months by Franco. He has recently returned and is now acting as educational director and statistician for the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that position of educational director for the N. M. U. a strategic position, Mr. Phillips?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Decidedly so. The educational director is mainly responsible for seeing that books and pamphlets are available for purchase by the membership. He also, according to "Commie" rules, is the center for the unit educational directors from the ships to report to.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Phillips, you say that this Mr. Keith is an admitted member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. He would not deny it, you think?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I do not know. I believe he would deny it at the present time. Practically every Communist in the union will deny it at the present time he is a Communist; but he has admitted to me he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. He has told you that personally?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He has told me that personally.

Mr. CASEY. Why do you say he would not admit it now, but has admitted it in the past?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Because he is afraid it would discredit him.

Mr. CASEY. Why would it discredit him now any more than in the past?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It has always been a fact that Communist work on the water front has been carried on mainly by people who denied they were Communists. The American seamen do not like Communists; they do not believe in the Communist policy. However, they are an easy-going type of men and are easily confused or deceived. But when they find out that a man is a Communist, they are usually through with him.

Mr. CASEY. I thought you said he admitted it quite openly in the past?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He did in the past.

Mr. CASEY. What has brought about this change of sentiment among the seamen?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The activities of the various Communist officials who have been opposed as disrupters and inefficient after they had been given a big play.

Mr. CASEY. After they had been given what?

Mr. PHILLIPS. A big publicity by the party.

Mr. CASEY. You say there has been a reaction among the seamen in the union against the Communists?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Because they found out their activities were not for the best interests of the union men?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. However, at the present time this reaction is mostly concealed, because of the fear that they will lose their job, or be in some way injured if they openly oppose communistic activities in the union.

Mr. CASEY. You mean the seamen are afraid of losing their jobs if they come out against the Communists in the union?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. It is quite frequently the case that where a seaman aboard ship has opposed Communist activities on his ship, he is framed in some way. One of the most frequent ways is to send him ashore, be a good fellow with him, get him so drunk that he misses a few watches and gets fired.

Also there is "beef squad tactics"—taking a fellow ashore and having a squad waiting for him who beat him up, put him in a hospital, and he loses his job in this way.

One or two events of this nature aboard ship will prevent any open opposition to the "Commies" policy aboard ship, unless led by a rather strong leadership. A majority of the men are afraid of losing their jobs, so they merely keep their mouths shut and take no part in the activities at all. This has become so in the union halls, and a great many of the men who were actually opposed to communism and said so aboard ship and in the union hall, since the purge of last May have gradually left the water front and gone out on ships, leaving a small group ashore to do the fighting alone.

Mr. CASEY. What percentage of the unionists are Communists?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Approximately 10.

Mr. CASEY. Ten percent?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Seven to ten percent.

Mr. CASEY. Seven to ten percent are Communists?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Of the actual membership; yes.

Mr. CASEY. And you say that 7 percent run the other 93 and intimidate them so that they are afraid to cry out against the Communist minority.

Mr. PHILLIPS. It would seem to be impossible, but it is so. This 7 percent or 10 percent is well organized and has a large following of sympathizers for whom they buy drinks and do favors from time to time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the minority also have unlimited funds to carry on its activities, and resources?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They seem to have mostly a lot of money, enough so that they can buy drinks for people, and then ask the people—to say “That man is an enemy of mine; start something, beat him up.”

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, a few moments ago, Mr. Phillips, you said that Joseph Curran aided the Communist Party during the July 1936 convention?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. July 1937?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes; July of 1937; at the national convention you referred to?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. That was the convention where the constitution was adopted?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Where the constitution was adopted; yes. He openly condemned “red” baiting at all times, but stated that in his estimation the members of the union were doing their union duty by going to Spain to fight for the Loyalists.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he otherwise support the Communist Party program at that convention?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes; quite frequently.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were all of the delegates at that convention—

Mr. VOORHIS. Excuse me just a minute. What do you mean by “red” baiting”? I mean there are a lot of people against going against anybody, and I would like to have you explain a little bit what you mean by that.

Mr. PHILLIPS. “Red” baiting had always been belittled in the National Maritime Union as a shipowners’ policy. Any attempt to discredit a Communist official is known as “red” baiting. Even although the word “communism” is not even mentioned, some Communists will get up on the floor and say: “That man is “red” baiting; I demand that his remarks be stricken from the record.”

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, if anybody would advocate, you might say he was “red” baiting?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He was a “red” baiter and discredited.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Witness, do not you understand “red” baiting just a smearing term; that that is one way the Communists smear the opposition, by calling them “red” baiters?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is one way; yes. They evolved this term to smear the opposition to the Communist Party. On several occasions attempts have been made to make “red” baiting an expellable offense in the union.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you mean “red” baiting as defined in the way you did it?

Mr. PHILLIPS. As defined in the Communist Party, which really means, in the N. M. U., any attempt to discredit any Communist

in the outfit, regardless of what he has done. I am accused of "red" baiting at the present time.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are some of the other terms or designations used to discredit the opposition?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They were classified as "lazy"; as "shipowners' stooges"; "thief"; "labor spy," and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, were all of the delegates at the July 1937 convention aware of the efforts of the Communists to control that convention?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Nearly all of them at their arrival, and all of them before the convention was over, distinctly understood the set-up.

In fact, at one time, a man by the name of Mulderig, a former seaman, who had formerly been active in the rank-and-file movement on the east coast, was given the floor, and he condemned the most prominent Communists present, naming them by name. This man also condemned Curran. Curran attempted to take the heat off by clowning, but the man was able to tell Curran exactly what he thought of him. The remarks that he made are in the record of the First Constitutional Convention of the N. M. U.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you believe that the Communist Party has gained more control among seamen in the past few years, or less control?

Mr. PHILLIPS. A great deal more.

Mr. THOMAS. So it is more dangerous all the time?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It is becoming more dangerous all the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. At this convention you mentioned the fact that a delegate named Mulderig—

Mr. PHILLIPS (interposing). He was not a delegate, but his remarks are in the report, in which he named nearly every Communist present in the convention.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to read the names mentioned by Mr. Mulderig in his public statement at this convention. I am reading from page 343 of the Proceedings of the First Constitutional Convention of the National Maritime Union of America, held July 19 to July 30, inclusive, I read as follows, Mr. Mulderig speaking:

I can tell you a few of the party men here. There is Richard Graham, of Norfolk; Bobby Meers, of Orleans; Patrick Whalen, the would-be dictator of Baltimore. Then there's Palazzi, of Philadelphia.

Do you know his first name?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It is Paul.

Mr. WHITLEY. Paul Palazzi?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then, Mr. Mulderig continued:

And there's Blackie Myers, who is staring me in the face—a good member of the party. And there is Jack Lawrenson.

I believe we have had previous testimony to the effect that Jack Lawrenson has not been to sea.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Not in a number of years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Mulderig continued:

Somebody told me he was going to ship out, but he is still sitting here.

Reading further:

CHAIRMAN. You said you were going to answer questions. Don't leave yet. Why did you leave me out? I think I should get my share.

That was Curran?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further:

MULDERIG. I think that Joe Curran will stay here providing he gets the line right, a few pictures in the paper and coffee—and——

Mr. STARNES. Who is Mr. Mulderig?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He is at present president of the Sailors Union on the Pacific. He was formerly in the M. F. O. W. and was a man who took an active part in the spring strike of 1936. He was active in the rank-and-file movement in the greater part of 1936 and 1937, and finally eased out of the picture during the 1936 and 1937 strike on the east coast because of opposition to the Communist Party. He then went from the east coast to the west coast and joined the U. S. P.

Mr. CASEY. You were secretary of what organization?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Of the M. F. O. W., or the Marine Firemen's, Oilers' and Watertenders' Union. It was the firemen's unit of the International Seamen's Union.

Mr. CASEY. How many members were in that union?

Mr. PHILLIPS. At the time I took over I would say between seven and eight thousand members.

Mr. CASEY. Did they have a membership list?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; there was a membership list, but I do not know whether it is available any more.

Mr. CASEY. Was it available when you were secretary?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It should still be of record in the N. M. U. hall. When the N. M. U. was formed the M. F. O. W. became by resolution the engine division of the N. M. U., and the M. F. O. W. was thereby dissolved. However, in the same resolution it was ruled that the constitution of the M. F. O. W. should remain in effect until a new constitution was adopted and ratified by the membership of the N. M. U., and that the officers of the M. F. O. W. should remain the officials of the engine division of the N. M. U. until new officials were elected under the N. M. U. constitution. This is significant in one respect: The M. F. O. W. retained its constitution until the N. M. U. constitution went into effect. That was provided in the terms of the resolution. The Eastern Gulf Sailors Association, which broke up after the N. M. U. was formed, also had a constitution. The sailors who formed the deck division of the N. M. U. had no constitution whatsoever, and neither did the stewards in the N. M. U., and up until the time the N. M. U. constitution was adopted in 1937 they worked more or less by a rule of thumb.

Mr. CASEY. I want to find out if there was a membership list available when you were the secretary of that organization.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; I compiled a membership list during the strike, on which all members of the union were registered, and which totaled, roughly, between five and six thousand.

Mr. CASEY. Where was that membership list kept?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It was kept in my office during the strike. I had an office on Twenty-second Street.

Mr. CASEY. You had the list in your office?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. Later, it was taken to the N. M. U. office and should be somewhere in the files of the N. M. U. at 126 Eleventh Avenue, New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you present at this convention, or this 1937 convention?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I was a delegate.

Mr. WHITLEY. After Mulderig had publicly identified certain of those present as being Communists, did they deny their membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILLIPS. With the exception of Al Lannon, who took the floor and declared that he was a Communist, and had been for 6 years, and was proud of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. The rest of those men did not say anything?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They either said nothing, or denied that they were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. With reference to Lannon, I read from page 243 of the convention proceedings. Following Mulderig's identification of certain of them there as Communists, Lannon spoke up and said:

LANNON. I am a member of the Communist Party and proud of it. There is not a man here, including Mr. Mulderig, who can say, in spite of the fact that I'm a member of the party and have been for six years, that I have ever at any time done anything that was against the interests of the rank and file.

Mr. Phillips, did the convention of 1937 propose elections?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; elections were proposed, and shortly afterward, upon the adoption of the constitution, elections were carried out. The Communists nominated a complete slate of candidates. They adopted a policy, or nomination policy. We received a copy of the entire slate, and this slate was led by Curran. However, there was a sentiment against the Communists that was so great that only a few Communist Party members were elected, and if it had not been for Curran at this time, the Communists could have been driven out of the industry completely.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was this?

Mr. PHILLIPS. This was in the summer of 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why do you say that if it had not been for Curran, the Communist Party would have been driven out completely? How did he hold them together?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The Communist Party had given Curran a big build-up and had made a hero out of him. A majority of the membership did not believe that Curran was a Communist, but the Communists who were elected were vigorously advocated by Curran and praised by him. The membership section was handling everything, and at that time Curran told them that they had been wrong in classifying these people as Communists, and they allowed them to remain. That is why I say Curran was responsible for preventing any further attempt to rid the union of Communists at that time.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was that convention in 1938?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir. This was after the elections which terminated in August 1938. The results were announced on the 5th of August 1938.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were those elections predominantly against Communists?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I would not say "predominantly." They had a majority of the important officers.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were elected at that time?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I was elected at that time as secretary of the Atlantic district.

Mr. WHITLEY. By a referendum vote?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many of the officers who were elected at that time by a referendum vote are at the present time in office? Do you know approximately how many?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I would say approximately one half.

Mr. WHITLEY. What happened to the other half?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They have been eased out, booted out, or gotten out in one way or another, through slander campaigns, whispering campaigns, outright charges, intimidation, force, and fraudulent charges of being shipowners' stooges, and so forth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were the vacancies occasioned by their removal filled by appointments?

Mr. PHILLIPS. In nearly every instance they were.

Mr. CASEY. For what terms were they elected?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That would be since the election of 1938.

Mr. CASEY. Do they have an election each year?

Mr. PHILLIPS. They are supposed to hold an election every year under the constitution. At the convention this year, the constitution provided for a convention every 2 years, with an election every year of everyone except the three top officers, who were elected every 2 years. At the constitutional convention held at New Orleans this summer they postponed the period of election, which was supposed to begin in September of this year. They have been indefinitely postponed for one reason or another.

Mr. CASEY. The election of 1938 was held in what month?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The elections took place covering a period of approximately 4 months. The results were made known in August 1938?

Mr. CASEY. When was that done?

Mr. PHILLIPS. August 5, 1938.

Mr. CASEY. And since August 5, 1938, half of the elected officers are not in office?

Mr. PHILLIPS. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is approximately the proportion?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. And those places, or vacancies, have been filled by appointment?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir; by maneuvered elections. It was by maneuvered elections, or they were elected by membership meetings dominated by the Communists.

Mr. CASEY. Were those officers, in the first instance, elected with the right of the full membership to vote?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; in the first instance; but in the second instance, no.

Mr. CASEY. Did they vote by mail, or how did they vote, in the first instance?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The procedure in elections is that each ship is to be contacted and ballots taken aboard when the ship comes in. The men were allowed to mark their own ballots and seal them in envelopes. This was generally believed to be a moderately honest election, as carried out.

Mr. CASEY. That is how they were elected in the first instance?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Since then, what happened?

Mr. PHILLIPS. In one way or another, those men who were elected were booted out because of their opposition to the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there considerable fighting and trouble on the water front during that period?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. The opposition put up the background for a strike. They had moved in on a new angle, in connection with the office workers, in Local No. 16 of the B. S. and A. U.

Mr. THOMAS. How were they elected?

Mr. PHILLIPS. This was Local No. 16 of the B. S. and A. U. These were office workers, clerks, cashiers, and so forth. All of those office workers were Communists, and the membership was so wild about it that even Curran could not stop them. There was a meeting held, and the officials were instructed to discharge all of that office staff and replace them with nonparty members. Upon my induction into office, I endeavored to carry out the instructions of the membership, but was prevented from doing so completely by the opposition of Curran, Myers, and others within the union.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Whitley, does this witness have any information as to how many of those replaced officers who were duly elected by the rank and file were replaced by Communists and fellow travelers?

Mr. WHITLEY. I do not have that list with me.

Mr. STARNES. They have been identified on the list as being Communists or fellow travelers?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Does this witness also have knowledge as to whether or not they were Communists?

Mr. WHITLEY. His knowledge in many instances would be hearsay, because he has never been a member of the Communist Party. Mr. McCuiston had knowledge of it, because for several years he was a member of the Communist Party and was working with the Communist Party. It is only in instances where Mr. Phillips heard them identify themselves that he can positively state that they were Communists.

Mr. Phillips, reference has been made to the fact that the N. M. U. had been very active in organizing on the Panama Canal Zone, and that they had a full-time organizer down there at the present time.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Stoudt, who has previously been identified as a Communist, was down there, and I would like to read from the minutes of the C. I. O. maritime committee, of January 16, 1939, on page 43, as follows:

CURRAN. I have another mass of material which deals with the question of organization in the Panama Canal, part of which I read to you yesterday. At the present time there is a committee functioning in the Canal Zone which is checking up and making a survey of the situation and laying the basis among the "silver employees," those not under civil service and not imported from the U. S.

It goes on then for a number of pages, discussing plans for organizing in the Canal Zone.

Then there is a report by H. A. Stoudt on the need of organization among maritime workers in the Panama Canal Zone, from which I read as follows:

I find that there are approximately 16,000 unorganized workers in the Canal Zone who have no labor affiliation whatsoever, due to the fact the American Federation of Labor's Metal Trades Council, which has been established for many years in the Canal Zone, has refused to attempt to organize them on the grounds that they are colored or aliens, or both.

Mr. THOMAS. If Mr. Phillips has any information with reference to the Canal Zone, he should tell us everything he knows about it. That is a very important matter, and we should go into it in the greatest detail.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is important, and I understand that Mr. Phillips has information that they are very active in the effort to organize everybody that they are interested in organizing.

Mr. PHILLIPS. If I may state, the appointment of Stoudt took place after my suspension and barring from the water front, and I have been unable since the time I was suspended to secure much information of what the union was doing, because it became evident that anyone associating with me down on the water front was liable to stub his toe on a banana peel, or was likely to get into trouble in the near future for associating with me.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Stoudt?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; I knew him.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you know him personally?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. He has held very minor positions in the union. He never struck me as being of peculiar importance, but simply as another hanger-on.

Mr. THOMAS. He was sent to the Canal Zone at what time?

Mr. PHILLIPS. This year.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know where he came from?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have any material as to him, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McCuiston identified him definitely as a member of the Communist Party, and I think he gave some further identifying data about him. He gave a little résumé.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know the names of any other people who were sent down there?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I know that several times during my term in office, the proposition of the Panama Canal was brought up, but because of the fact that there was but a few seamen down there, it seemed to me that to place an off-shore union official down there to try to organize a few towboat men at the Panama Canal, would not be well, most of the men working on the zone being, also, civil-service employees.

Mr. THOMAS. Especially when there was so much inducement to organize the workers along the seaboard at home.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know anything about Stoudt's background?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No, sir.

Mr. MASON. I am interested in knowing why an offshore union should suddenly become interested in organizing workers on the Panama Canal Zone, who constitute an onshore group. Why should they be interested in having them organized at this particular time?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I know nothing of that.

Mr. MASON. According to that report, Mr. Curran himself was advocating it, and it seems peculiar to me that a seaman's union should become suddenly concerned about a group of workers at the Panama Canal at this particular stage when the world is in the situation it is in. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that has a peculiar significance.

Mr. STARNES. I agree that it is significant. It is also significant that another Communist has been identified as being very active in organizing work in Puerto Rico, which has now become a key Caribbean base; but, of course, if this witness has no particular knowledge of that subject, nothing will be gained by dwelling on it at this time.

Mr. THOMAS. I think there is something to be gained from it. Have you ever been down to the Panama Canal?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I have been through the Canal many times on ships.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you find that the common labor down there was generally foreign born?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; practically all the men who handle the lines aboard the ships are natives of some kind. They are not Americans.

Mr. THOMAS. So that Stoudt is practically organizing foreign labor?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What is his first name?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. H. A. are his initials.

Mr. PHILLIPS. A great many of the men are known by their last names only. I know that Stoudt never had any official business of importance with me. I simply called him Stoudt.

Mr. THOMAS. I think this is a very important matter, and I think we should look into it with the greatest care.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Phillips, do you know Hays Jones?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What position does he hold in the N. M. U.?

Mr. PHILLIPS. At the present time he is organizer on the Great Lakes, and he is the Great Lakes representative on the Pilot.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is a magazine?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; it is the official organ of the N. M. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is known to you as a Communist?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir; he is known to me as a Communist. I know that he visited Russia while he was acting editor of the Marine Workers Voice. The Marine Workers Voice was the official organ of the M. W. I. U.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he was appointed to his present position by Joseph Curran?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He was appointed by Joseph Curran. I believe his position is with the C. I. O. Maritime Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe Mr. Curran testified that he did not know him to be a Communist, and knew nothing about Hays Jones' activities on the publication. Do you know whether Hays Jones has written pamphlets or books?

Mr. PHILLIPS. He has written several pamphlets and books on communism, and during the time he was acting as editor of the Marine Workers Voice he made a trip to Russia. He wrote a series of articles at that time on "Russia the Beautiful." I think that was the title he used, or something of that nature.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a copy of a pamphlet entitled "In a Soviet America, Seamen and Longshoremen Under the Red Flag." The author is Hays Jones, and I would like to offer it as an exhibit.

IN A SOVIET AMERICA—SEAMEN AND LONGSHOREMEN UNDER THE RED FLAG

By Hays Jones

The seamen and longshoremen of capitalist America have reached the point where they have decided that the government, the shipowners and the reactionary labor leaders are not their salvation. The Seamen's Act has been torn to shreds by amendments and court decisions till the seamen are now reduced to serfdom. They live in miserable fo'c'sles, and work long hours of overtime without pay because "if you don't like it there's plenty on the beach that will." And the bread lines on the beach get longer week by week. The longshoremen, 85 percent unemployed, living on one or two days' work a month, or living on "home relief," are affected by the same "if you don't like it there's plenty that do" and endure the worst sort of speed-up.

The seamen and longshoremen are turning directly to struggle for the things they want. The West Coast strike gave them a first taste of the victory they have power to win. The "dirtiest strike you ever saw," as one International Seamen's Union official called it, the East Coast strike that the I. S. U. officials sold out, at least brought recognition of the I. S. U. and precipitated the drive for one union of all seamen. In spite of its reactionary officials the seamen are going to make that union a weapon to fight the shipowners.

But more and more longshoremen and seamen, and other workers suffering the same desperate conditions ashore, are wondering whether capitalism can ever give them decent houses to live in and enough food to eat—or even jobs to do again. Their eyes turn to the growing achievements of the Soviet Union and they wonder "What would Soviet America be like?"

We can look at what the Soviet workers and farmers have done to old Russia, the most backward of the great nations. We can estimate from this what a Soviet system in this country, starting from the high level of American capitalism, with its millions of skilled workers and technicians, its huge industrial plant and its tremendous natural resources, could achieve for the American workers in general, and for the marine workers in particular.

Not only that, but we had better take a good look and decide what we want, or our rulers will decide what they want and we will be looking at the Soviet Union through the prison bars of a fascist dictatorship. Scores of different fascist groups are now bidding for the favor of the ruling class and getting ready to drive us into that prison.

CAPITALIST AMERICA TODAY

Our present rulers, the capitalists of America, have made such a howling success of building this country (with our labor) that they now have to tear down what we have built for them. They have made such a "success" of production that the means of production lie rusting and rotting all around us—and we go hungry. They built so many ships in 1917-19 that hundreds of them never went to sea, and half of them are now tied up forever. The research laboratories, which were the "pride" of American capitalism, pant for funds to carry on their researches. The source of supplies is dried up. Capitalist America sees no sense in hunting new processes when it can't make profits on what it already knows.

They have built such a great corps of skilled workers that skilled workers by the million lose their skill in unemployment and misery, while the world goes hungry for the goods they should produce. Recently an American engineering society broadcast its alarm over the fact that the apprenticeship system had broken down, and that since 1929 practically no apprentices had been trained. Capitalism could not use them immediately and turned them loose to wander the road or live in city flophouses. Not only apprentices, but hundreds of thousands of young men and women from colleges and universities found their skill useless, thanks to the great "success" of capitalism.

Capitalism has had to quit training workers for the mechanical industries. This is not true in the merchant marine. The government and shipowners

together have taken advantage of unwanted youth ashore to "train" as many youngsters as possible for this war industry. But the training they receive is pitiful. They learn to steer, after a fashion, how to scrub decks or wash paint, and how to swing a paintbrush passably, but they do not learn the finer points of seamanship.

They learn enough to be profitably exploited, and that's as far as capitalism cares to teach them. Each capitalist depends on the others to train his workers for him. We will have a shortage of skilled labor in all trades when the workers get tired of starving among idle plants and plowed-under crops and decide to go to work building a classless America.

MARINE INDUSTRY

Restoring what capitalism has destroyed or allowed to fall into decay will be a big job in the marine industry. Piers, docks, ships and gear alike are slowly going to pot. The capitalist shipowners say they need 150,000 tons of new shipping yearly for replacement of the U. S. Merchant Marine. Yet for the last three years they have built hardly 15,000 tons a year—actually 10,000 tons in 1933; 24,000 in 1934. Other countries are doing little better.

A large part of America's tonnage is antiquated, jerrybuilt ships, slapped together in the last war; bad hull design, hasty workmanship, and low speeds that rule them out of present-day competition, even with the generous "subsidies" the government gives them for carrying a few copies of the *Saturday Evening Post* to outlying ports. They will lie rotting in a hundred harbors around our coasts until war puts a premium on anything that has half a chance of floating a cargo of death across the seas.

Almost no vessels have been built in the last 20 years without government loans, at ridiculously low interest rates (as low as 1 per cent), and even then private companies hesitate to build ships. Those that have been built are all "Naval Auxiliaries" and would not have been built if the government had not paid their owners to build and operate them, as a war measure. Today, the Navy Department is trying to get more ships—for private owners, but paid for with public money—to have more auxiliary ships for war "needs." Private initiative will never build the ships needed for peaceful transportation.

Soviet America would not allow its seamen to sail on the ships that private companies have built, without much remodeling. The "pride of the American Merchant Marine," the "luxury" ships *Manhattan* and *Washington*, are not fit for seamen to live and work on. The "luxury" is all on "A" and "B" decks. The seamen live down on "G" deck, with salt spray whipping past eternally sealed portholes, and wet socks and shirts emitting an aura of stale sweat and weariness that the artificial ventilating system never quite dispels. Soviet American seamen will move up several decks to light and air.

These things we know because the Soviet government bought many old ships from capitalist countries, to replace the ships destroyed and stolen by White Guards and foreign interventionists on their retreat before the Red Army and peasant partisans. The Soviet shipyards remodeled these ships as best they could. When possible, they put all quarters midships. When they couldn't, they cut big skylights in the poop deck, and enlarged crews' quarters at the expense of cargo space, till they could house the crew two in a room with decent mess rooms, wash rooms and club rooms for music, games and reading.

ABOARD A SOVIET AMERICAN SHIP

The new vessels built by the Soviet Union offer us a sample of what a workers' government would do to American ships, and any seaman who sees the Soviet ships which enter American ports knows the immeasurable superiority of conditions aboard Soviet ships.

The Soviet American seaman would go aboard his ship with a light suitcase, carrying his shoregoing gear—shirts, razor, toothbrush, and such like trifles, and maybe a book or two. He would find his working gear aboard the ship, furnished by the "company"—the workers' government administration of water transport. He would not have to worry about buying a new set of oilskins or seaboots, dungarees or a heavy coat to stand watch in. He would not have the experience, common to practically all seamen, of facing a new job after a long period of unemployment "schooner rigged"—with nothing but the shoes, shirt and dungaree pants he stood up in to get the job. The workers' government would supply—as the government of the Soviet Union does today—the work

clothing he needs for the voyage, whether to the Arctic or the tropics. And when he left the ship, he'd carry the same light suitcase ashore.

The Soviet American seaman would go down to his union—the industrial union of all water transport workers—where his name was registered for his turn at sea when he left his last ship, and when his name came up, he would get the job. If he didn't want that ship, he could turn it down, or the next one. The third he would have to take, or lose his place on the list. He would go aboard the ship, put his dress clothes in the locker in his room—not a fo'c'sle in the capitalist sense of the word—and make himself at home. Working clothes would be kept in lockers outside the seamen's rooms. Over his berth, not a two-decker bunk, he would have a reading lamp, so he could have light when his roommate wanted darkness. And in one corner of the room would be a writing desk.

Soviet ships have these conveniences today for every member of the crew. The relatively greater development of industry in America could give us even more, if transport and industry as a whole were run by the workers to serve the needs of the people, not by bosses for their private benefit.

The Soviet American seaman would not have a clothes line draped around his bunk, with socks, shirt, towel and dungarees drying on it in wet weather and spreading tuberculosis. Soviet ships today have bath, laundry and drying rooms, heated by steam from the boilers or from the motor exhaust.

The Soviet American seaman would find his mess room a large, well decorated room, with one corner divided off—a "Red Corner" for entertainment, study and recreational reading. A piano and other musical instruments would be part of the furnishings—furnished out of the cultural funds assessed by the government on the industry and administered by the union. A radio would allow him to tune in the latest stuff from ashore.

SOVIET CREW HAS VOICE IN MANAGEMENT OF SHIP

The seaman of Soviet America will have a voice in the running of the ship. As in the Soviet Union today, the ship will be part of the National Industrial Plan. But it will have its own work plan, too, a plan covering the year and the season; estimating the cargo-ton-miles it has to make, and the work the crew is to do. Fulfillment of that plan will be the crew's task or "norm" of production, and any production over that will be "overtime" and will draw extra wages at higher wage rates. Overtime work for "safety of the ship" will be paid for. Capitalist America's seamen donate such overtime "for safety of the ship" to the company, without pay, and the reactionary officials of the International Seamen's Union approve. Only those agents of the shipowners can understand why the seaman should risk his uninsurable (under capitalism) life, to save the shipowner's insured vessel and cargo, and not be paid for it.

But this plan is not simply handed down to the skipper and mate as "orders" to be whipped out of the crew by speed-up methods. The crew of a Soviet vessel is part owner of the vessel, and of everything else in the Soviet land. They have an "interest" in their vessel, and take part in laying the plans for its operation. If the crew thinks the plan gives them too much work to do, they say so, and propose changes. If they think they can do more, they propose a "counter-plan". The plans and any counter-plans made are discussed by the whole crew and decisions made. If the counter-plan goes through, and the crew does more work than the plan calls for, they get more wages from it.

The navigation of the vessel, and discipline on watch and in emergencies, are in the hands of the captain as executive officer of the vessel. The social discipline of the crew, discipline on the watch below, is the province of the crew itself. The Ship's Committee, elected by the crew, handles all such matters, subject to the will of the crew. Even the skipper is responsible to this committee of workers.

The Ship's Committee and the mate are responsible for the work being done. The Ship's Committee is responsible for the social life aboard the vessel. And that is an organized social life, not the chance association of a mixed group as on capitalist vessels.

Capitalist shipowners find it an advantage to have the crew fighting among themselves. It prevents organization and a struggle for better conditions. Since better conditions are the aim of Soviet society, organization and solidarity aboard ship are fostered, not blocked.

The Ship's Committee has many functions. It decides, for example, what the menus shall be. It purchases stores for the voyage, and makes purchases in

foreign ports. It has the general problems of discipline to settle, and it decides what members of the crew shall go ashore to study in the schools that the workers' government provides. Those who go to these schools continue to get the same monthly wages that they were earning while working on the ship. All these powers, of course, are subject to the final decision of the crew and the union. On Soviet ships it is impossible for the skipper or the mate to fire a seaman, without the consent of the crew. But the crew and the union can fire a captain, and have been known to do so.

NO UNEMPLOYMENT

The Soviet American seaman, as the workers in all industries of Soviet America, will have no fear of unemployment. To begin with, his wages would be guaranteed by the social insurance fund provided by industry and the government. But—as the experience of the Soviet Union has shown—once the working class got down to the task of running industry on a Socialist basis, while the working hours would be cut down, the industries would expand at a rate never known under capitalism, and unemployment would be completely eliminated. This will be true also of the shipping industry.

Soviet America would need more ships than capitalist America can use. Large sections of our present population cannot afford to eat even the lowly banana, which comes to this country by ship. Not many of us ride on rubber, another tropical product. A thousand other tropical and foreign foods and industrial products would increase the need for shipping, and the unparalleled richness of the American continent would bring those things into the diet and daily life of American's population, as soon as we scrapped the profit system, and set up a Soviet America. Workers would be spread over industry according to the need for them, on the basis of the national industrial plan, worked out by the National Planning Commission, to get the greatest benefit to all the population with the least effort. American shipyards would be busy for many years, building these ships and replacing old ones as they wore out.

Passenger traffic would increase too. A hundred thousand Americans can afford a vacation in Europe under capitalist conditions. Wealthy parasites ride "de luxe", sometimes taking a suite of three or four rooms for a man, his wife or lady friend, a maid and a dog. And sometimes the chauffeur goes along third class. Parsons, school-teachers and librarians, who get a vacation longer than most and a salary big enough to make the trip in "respectable" second class cabins, go to see museums, make a "tour" of the accepted wonders of the old world, and return to slave and save seven years for another "cultural" tour.

The European immigrant saves for years to be able to return for a few weeks to his native village on a "reduced rate excursion", to show his friends how well (or badly) he's done in America. And a horde of college students whose middle class parents can afford it, take a vacation in Europe.

The 59-cent dollar kicked a hole in this class of tourist trade, and in the other lower groups as well. Capitalism still has some body blows to deal these middle class groups and professionals who used to spend a vacation in Europe "cheaper than we could live in America". They will be living "cheaper" in America than they ever thought they could live anywhere—as Chicago's school teachers found when the city neglected to pay them for about 18 months.

Soviet America will make a great change in the "traveling public". "Shock Brigadiers"—workers who have done better than average work in building Socialist society—will get vacations and tours in other Soviet lands as rewards. Workers will be sent on delegations, as capitalist representatives travel today. Sick workers will be sent to special climates. Workers will go to school in other lands, as the sons of the rich do today.

Soviet America will require a larger passenger service than capitalist America does. But there will be no "class" distinctions. Speed, comfort, and reliability will be the tests of a ship—not the luxury of "de luxe" travel while the passengers in third class live worse than seamen on Soviet ships today, both in food and quarters. And a different atmosphere will exist on the ships. "Segregation" of the crew from passengers does not exist on Soviet ships. A cordial equality exists, and passengers and crew off watch help each other with entertainment and are social equals.

Soviet America will need more seamen and longshoremen. The greater bulk of cargo, and of ships, will make America's harbors look as they did at the only time capitalism ever found it "profitable" to apply its full productive

capacity—during the war that slaughtered 26,000,000 workers and maimed millions more for the glory of the profits.

Soviet ships will fulfill another slogan of the militant trade unionists and the Communist Party of today: "Full crews and full longshore gangs". The Soviet American seaman will stand watch on deck with at least two other seamen. Ships will not run without a lookout while the watch is changed, or while the wheel is being relieved—or while the man on lookout goes below for a cup of coffee.

"EVERY FACTORY A SCHOOL"—SOVIET SLOGAN

One of the first results of any social revolution is the release of a tremendous sense of power and capacity among the oppressed who destroy their oppressors' power. The capitalists experienced it in their revolutions in the 18th and 19th centuries, when they destroyed feudalism. The workers of the Soviet Union have experienced it since October, 1917. This sense of power raises the workers' desire for knowledge and study. The capacities of the workers have shown an amazing growth in the Soviet Union. Every factory, every collective or State farm, has become a school. And from these schools the workers and peasants rise to the technical schools, institutes and universities that have increased a hundredfold. 958,000 workers went to factory schools, and 797,000 went to technical schools in the Soviet Union in 1933. 469,000 attended universities and engineering schools. This, out of a population that was almost 90 per cent illiterate in 1917.

Every Soviet ship is a school. The seamen study seamanship and navigation. But their studies branch out into all spheres of learning. They study politics and economics, literature, the arts and sciences. And the crew itself decides which of its members shall go ashore to the institutions of higher learning.

The instructors in these shipboard schools are those who have already had training in the workers' schools ashore. The officers and engineers pass on their knowledge, and this is no danger to them as it is on capitalist American ships. The expanding system of Soviet industry can absorb a far higher grade of technical ability than capitalism has any use for. American officers, under capitalism, feel that if they train a man they are only training some one to jockey them out of their jobs. Soviet workers have no fear of losing their jobs. The working class in power, needs all the intelligence and knowledge its members can acquire.

The Soviet American seaman will not find an A.M.M.L.A. (American Merchant Marine Library Association) book box filled with slushy love stories, "mystery thrillers", religious tracts and lives of famous murderers who wore gold braid—the cast-off rubbish of "private" libraries ashore or books bought with an eye to the interests of the shipowners by a "Library Association" which is financed by the shipowners to keep the workers' minds "undefiled" with any thought of the class struggle. Technical books, science texts, literature, the latest fiction, and magazines would be in the ship's library, put there by the cultural department of the union, and paid for from the "social" funds required of every industry by the Soviet government.

SOVIET AMERICAN SEAMEN IN FOREIGN PORTS

The U.S. will not go Soviet alone. We do not expect it to be the *next*, nor yet the *last*, country to abandon the miseries of capitalism for the growth and security of Socialism and Communism. But when America's workers clear away the rubbish of capitalist barbarism, they will sweep a large part of the world into the path of revolution and carry it with them. Especially, the colonial and semi-colonial possessions of American capitalism in Central and South America will go along with the Giant of the North into Socialism and Communism, as the petty capitalism of those countries has followed the capitalist giant for generations.

Therefore, when the Soviet American seaman goes into Soviet Rosario for a cargo of flaxseed, or into Soviet Para for a consignment of rubber, he will find the International Seamen's Club there to entertain him, offer him the latest information about the workers' world and provide him food and drinks at prices not conditioned by "what you are drunk enough to pay" but actually by the cost of the goods consumed.

When he returns to his home port he will go ashore to his union hall and Marine Workers' Club, or to the International Seamen's Club, to find rest and

recreation, to renew old friendships, see the shows and read about the latest successes of Soviet America, or of the workers' achievements in other countries.

There will be no place in Soviet America for Madame Ropyaru's Ten-Cent Stews. At present practically every port has its "Holy Racket", a combination church, social club, hotel and restaurant business and spy agency for the ship-owners. These institutions masquerade under religious names (thus saving taxes) and do hold church services occasionally. But the reverend gentlemen who wax fat in their management do not depend on contributions from their "parishioners". Very few seamen ever go to church. And those who do do not contribute. These institutions live on charity—begged by the hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly, on the pretense that they provide religion, a "shore home for seamen" and "care for destitute seamen".

Most famous of these is the 13-story hotel and restaurant, pool room and saloon that calls itself the Seamen's Church Institute of New York. It was founded in 1844 as a "floating church"—a church on a raft. But today the only "floating" thing about it is the "mortgage" that floats unpaid in a treasury of \$1,135,000. Junius Spencer Morgan plays the stock market with this "treasury", while the "mortgage" is a swell talking point for huge contributions.

Shipowners are large contributors to these "religious" shore communities. The gentlemen who exploit the destitution of unemployed seamen know how to get in right with those who exploit seamen on the ships. They spy on the seamen, fight against union organization, and ship scabs when the shipowner needs them. They maintain a corps of "mission mice" who draw special favors from the "relief" (the government puts these persons in charge of seamen's relief, quite conscious of their graft and their connection with the shipowners) in the form of an extra ten-cent meal ticket, to stool on honest seamen. They also maintain a corps of "muscle men" to beat and browbeat seamen into accepting whatever treatment the Holy Racket chooses to give them. Of course, these places have "political drag". Police protection makes them the safest racket in the world.

The government and shipowners have made these places almost unavoidable to the seamen. The S.C.I. postoffice is the only place where a seaman can hope to get his mail. It holds mail for six months, while other postoffices return mail after a week or ten days. These Holy Rackets are the only large centers where seamen can gather on the beach, except union halls. And they are modern structures, with comfortable reading rooms, while seamen's union halls, in capitalist America, are generally old loft buildings, poorly lighted and heated—the best the working class can afford.

The worker's government in the Soviet Union took over princes' palaces to make clubs for its own and for foreign seamen. Soviet America would wipe out these Holy Rackets. If a seaman wanted to go to church, he could go to church. But the church would not be allowed to pose as a "club" and be a spying agency for capitalist enemies of the workers.

The club in the Soviet Union is the seamen's home ashore. Even for married men the club is the center round which the social life of the workers revolves. It is no Seamen's Church Institute. It is run by the seamen themselves, through their union, and its contents and development depend on the seamen themselves. Funds for it come from the government's social insurance funds levied against the enterprises.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

Our Soviet seaman will not have to worry about sickness. The workers' government in Soviet America, like the Soviet Union today, will guarantee the worker against sickness, death, injury and old age. The government requires every industry to turn over a definite percentage of its income to the social insurance funds, to care for the workers in mischance. The union administers these funds for its members.

No Shyster Si will hang over the Soviet American seaman's sickbed, seeking a retainer from a man struck down by sickness or accident at sea. Shysters can't get by in Soviet lands. The Soviet American seaman will stay on the payroll till well and able to work again. When he is sick, his union will send him to the hospital. When he needs rest or convalescent care, rest homes in the country or mountains will be his, maintained by the union out of the social insurance funds.

The Union Cooperative will be his "store" instead of "tailors" and "slop chests", and there he can buy the best of everything in the market and the

union will see that all his rights are observed. The union will draw its collective agreement yearly with the "management", which will not be a greedy capitalist profit-grubber, but the workers' administration in charge of water transport.

The Soviet American seaman will get a month's vacation every year, with pay, and, as the industrial power of the workers expands, he will find his vacation period getting longer, keeping pace with the growth of production.

Since the life of the seaman takes him out of social contacts his status will vary from that of shore workers. His day may remain eight hours long after other workers in Soviet America have been cut to four a day. But he will be repaid for this by a longer vacation to be spent ashore, and by an earlier retiring age, so that his term of service to the working class will equal that of workers ashore.

Seamen in capitalist America are, by the very nature of their calling, denied the "right" to vote. Few of them ever establish "residence" anywhere, and if they do, chances are against them being ashore to cast a vote on election day. But Soviet seamen have not only the right to vote, but special arrangements are made for them to vote, and to serve on the Soviets. Thus, for the first time, the seaman becomes a real citizen, in the workers' republic. The Soviet seaman's vote is cast right on the job, and if the job happens to be out at sea, he casts his vote, and it is recorded. If a seaman is elected to the Soviet (elections are by industry, not district) he attends the Soviet meetings. The seaman takes part in the government of the community, for the first time.

LONGSHOREMEN AND HARBOR WORKERS TODAY AND IN SOVIET AMERICA

Thus far we have said nothing about longshoremen and harbor workers. The reason is that they are, or can be considered, shore workers. Bargemen today lead desolate lives, even in the best barges. They are on call 24 hours a day, hardly daring to go ashore to buy groceries. For this, they draw (in New York) the amazing sum of \$60 a month—if their barges are loaded. "Light", the bargeman gets either nothing at all or a dollar a day. And he is expected to live on that and keep the barge in repair, and be on the job 24 hours a day.

Soviet America will put bargemen on shifts. There will not be hundreds of barges laid up, waiting for loads. The number of barges will be figured to meet the known needs, thanks to social planning. It will not depend on some capitalist's estimate that he too, can get profits out of hauling sand and gravel, coal, flour, or grain, in spite of a 200 per cent oversupply of barges in the harbor.

The towboat men will live ashore, too, and work in regular shifts. Longshoremen, of course, do not live on the water. They load and unload ships, taking goods from warehouse to ship's hold or from ship to warehouse. They live ashore, and their working conditions are shore conditions, with serious modifications.

There are about 250,000 longshoremen in the United States today, and 85 per cent of them are unemployed. The rest slave under conditions of intolerable speed-up and impossible hours of labor.

Under capitalism, the longshoreman is a "casual" laborer. He never knows when he is going to have a job. He rises early in the morning to make a seven o'clock "shape-up" on the street in front of a dock. Maybe he is picked to work. Maybe not. If not, he hangs around a pool room or lunch counter, waiting for the next ship to come in, for he may be "shaped-up" again at almost any hour of the day till late at night—and then perchance will be kept waiting, payless, for several hours before turning to.

When he thinks there is no more chance for work that day, he can go back to the pool room or back to his miserable dwelling in the slums. Longshore wages are "high"—95 cents an hour in New York, for a 44-hour week. On the West Coast, the 1934 strike won the six-hour day, 30-hour week. But they still have to fight to prevent the shipowners working all sorts of schemes to gyp them out of overtime pay, and destroy other working conditions.

The West Coast longshoremen have the Gang Steward system, which tries to control the size of drafts (amounts of cargo in one sling) and to prevent other forms of speed-up. But the government "arbitrator" has ruled that the longshoremen must do whatever the boss tells them to do—an effort to get eight hours' work out of them in six.

The longshoremen on the West Coast fought for a system of rotary hiring direct through their union halls, controlled by committees elected from their own ranks. Their own reactionary officials opposed this effort to give every

man an even break on the work. The shipowners, of course, opposed it bitterly, and the government supported them with tear gas, guns, and militia, and with the sell-out machinery of the "New Deal".

The shipowners wanted their "Star Gang" system, whereby some men worked 70 to 80 hours a week, and others got no work at all. These Star Gangs were made up of men who could stand a hard pace and keep it up. When one slowed down, out he went on the dump heap, and fresh blood came in. Any refusal to drive at top speed sent you back to the beach, jobless. The Star Gang system is a blacklist system. Yet the government wanted to put it in effect everywhere under a "decasualization" plan.

In spite of the "high" wages, the longshoreman makes little. On the West Coast the average was less than \$12 a week. In Eastern ports they average even less. And a vicious system of "kick-backs" has been developed by dock bosses and some union delegates. Those were the things the West Coast fought against.

Longshoremen labor under the most dangerous conditions. The "incidence of accidents" is higher among marine workers than in any other trade except structural iron working. The average longshoreman is married, and these desperate conditions bear with bitter force on his wife and children.

Soviet America would cut the longshoreman's day to six hours immediately, as hazardous work, and soon to four hours. We know from the Soviet Union that longshoremen can have good conditions.

They do not "shape-up" on Soviet docks. The longshoreman has a regular job, like any other worker. He comes to work on a shift, puts in his day's work and goes back to his wife and family.

Ships can't keep as close schedule as railroads, and even railroads are sometimes delayed by storm or unforeseen events. So the Soviet longshoreman has a warm waiting room to spend his time in when he has to wait. This is also a dressing room. The Soviet American longshoreman can have it even better, because the economic level of America will allow better conditions, immediately the profit grabbers have been removed and the workers' State takes possession.

The Soviet American longshoreman will keep his working clothes in locker rooms at the docks. And the "Company", the workers' government administration for water transport, will supply the working clothes. They will go to the port laundry regularly and be kept in condition by special workers. The longshoreman will not have to ride home damp with sweat from a day in the hold of a vessel, in Soviet New York subways. He will change clothes and take a shower in the port locker rooms, and put on dry, clean clothes.

MODERN MACHINERY FOR SOVIET LONGSHOREMEN

Today, few American docks are equipped with up-to-date shore machinery. Speed-up machines you will find on many docks—gas or electric jitneys that throw thousands of truckers out of work. But shore cranes, to handle cargo easily, are scarce. Europe goes in heavy for them. Small, crowded ports make them necessary. Here we depend on the ship's gear to discharge or load, except for a few floating cranes to handle extreme lifts.

Leningrad's lumber docks are the best mechanized docks in the world. But Leningrad's longshoremen benefit by those mechanical arms. They are extra arms for the workers, making work easier. Mechanical loaders have cut down labor till it is almost a simple matter of turning planks over. Heavy lifts do not exist, for men. Such mechanical assistants can be applied in all countries, but in capitalist America every improvement in machinery has meant fewer men and harder work on the job.

Soviet America would soon apply the many mechanical principles that are already known but not applied because they are "unprofitable". What cuts labor strain is profitable to the ruling working class. What gets more work out of the workers for less pay is "profitable" to the ruling capitalists. With present appliances, we could reduce working hours in American industry to four a day. Soviet America would do it, and make those four hours useful labor instead of slavery for starvation wages.

The Soviet American longshoreman would never fear unemployment. If there was no work for him his wages would go on, anyway. He would have a guaranteed yearly minimum wage. If for any reason, he could no longer do longshore work, but was capable of lighter tasks, he would be given proper training for another job, and—the job. Soviet America would guarantee every worker the right to work and to live. Work would be based on what the working class

needs, not on what it is profitable to our masters to have produced. *We would be our own masters in Soviet America.*

The longshoreman would eat his meals in the dock "factory kitchen" in the club, or other public restaurant. Or if he and his wife wanted to, they could cook and eat at home. But he would probably be as sensible as Soviet workers are today, and prefer his factory kitchen, for it would remove the mass of drudgery connected with "single family" cooking.

HEALTH PROTECTION

This restaurant on the docks would be run by his union—the same union to which seamen, barge men and towboat men belong. For industry is the basis of the union in Soviet America, not "craft". Soviet America will do away with unsafe conditions; but nothing can ever remove all risks from a job of moving heavy loads, especially through the air. There will, therefore, be First Aid Stations on the docks which will be run by the unions.

The First Aid Station on the docks will be connected with the network of hospitals, rest homes and vacation homes for marine workers, maintained by the union and the Soviet government. These will also be part of the whole system of rest and cure resorts of the Workers' Commissariat of Health and Recreation. Mountain, sea, and summer resorts will miss their old-time voluptuousness dependent on the whims and fancies of the overwealthy ruling class of capitalist America. These resorts will belong to the workers. Their health and sport facilities will be expanded a hundredfold to care for the greater demands of the workers.

The Soviet American longshoreman will not finish up his day's work ready to drop from exhaustion. He will be fresh for sport and leisure at the end of his shift on the docks or in the hold of a vessel. He will find, at his workers' club, all facilities for sport and leisure.

Game clubs, singing and dramatic groups would form in every club house; the working class develops great eagerness for self-expression when revolution rips the yoke of capitalist slavery from its neck. Billiards, pool, chess, checkers, gymnasium equipment, movies, and other sports will provide indoor recreation. Tennis courts, football, baseball, and other fields would belong to the workers. You would not have "public" tennis courts at \$1 an hour in Soviet America. All sports would be encouraged.

In capitalist America, few workers' children have a real chance to play. Especially city children, such as longshoremen's. Their playground is the city streets, and you can't play many games there. If they have a "club" it is a club with strings on it—tied to a political or religious kite.

In Soviet America, sports would swell to tremendous proportions. 150,000 marched in the Sports Parade in Moscow on International Youth Day, 1934. As many more marched in the Leningrad parade, and all over the Soviet Union sports parades showed the way workers have taken to their new found opportunities to have and enjoy healthful recreation.

Two and a half million "Ready for Labor and Defense." "Ready" means physically trained for the struggle for a Socialist society, in industry or on the field of battle if capitalism attacks the workers' land. To be "Ready for Labor and Defense" means you can run, swim, row, skate, jump, carry weights, shoot and throw a hand grenade, well. When the danger of an attack from hostile capitalism dies out, in a Soviet workers' world, the hand grenade will be replaced with a more peaceable object. Today, "read to defend" is just as important as "read to work." In looking at Soviet America with the help of these present Soviet institutions, we can see an army of young workers, men and women, strong, healthy, building a happy life in the sports fields, factories, and homes of Soviet America.

The Soviet longshoreman will not fear destitution caused by unemployment, sickness or injury. His children will be guarded against the loss of their father by the guarantee the Soviet government gives every child—schooling, nourishment, proper doctor's care, and training for life in a classless Socialist society.

EQUALITY FOR NEGRO WORKERS

Negroes and "colonials" (Filipinos and Spanish-Americans) have always been a considerable part of the American marine industry, but they have always suffered from discrimination. Oppressors have always resorted to the policy of bringing division into the ranks of the exploited—for the benefit of the exploit-

ers. Certain lines, running to the West Indies or the tropics, man their ships with Negro deck hands or Filipinos, but the quartermasters and officers are whites. Otherwise Negroes especially, and to some extent Filipinos and Spanish-Americans, are restricted to jobs in the Steward's department, or to the fire room. Spanish-Americans were numerous when ships burned coal, but they are becoming fewer as oil supplants coal.

Negroes and "colonials" are kept down with a purpose. When the Barber Line cut wages for firemen to \$37.50 a month, the Filipino seamen struck. The Barber Line announced that it was going to "give white men a chance." But as soon as the wage cut had been put across the white man's chance disappeared. The company went back to Filipinos "for efficiency in the tropics." The seamen understand that pretty well now, and opposition to all sorts of discrimination is growing. But the leaders of the International Seamen's Union of America still foster it. Andrew Furuseth, the 86-year old President of the I. S. U., was dragged to the platform at the A. F. of L. Convention in October, 1934, to defend the "principle" of discrimination. We quote from the official report of the convention:

"Delegate Furuseth: Speaking for the seamen, I want to tell you something on this question that has a very serious bearing on it. The International Seamen's Union of North America has never for one moment made any distinction but when we accept the colored man and put him on absolute equality with the white man as to wages and conditions we create thereby a situation whereby the employers accept the white man only. We could get no employment for our colored workers if we had to pay the same wages and give them the same conditions as the white workers. The result was that the colored men as a whole left our organization and accepted employment with less wages."

Therefore Furuseth was willing to accept less wages for them, so long as they paid their dues. Furuseth and his fellow officials agreed too thoroughly with the whole scheme of racial discrimination to put up a fight against it. This is in line with the policy of the reactionary leaders of the I. S. U. of collaborating with the shipowners, instead of the policy of class struggle in the interests of the workers. This is the reason why the I. S. U. under the old leadership has won so little for the seamen in the fifty years of its existence.

It will take a battling rank and file to unseat these relics of a lost century and make the I.S.U. a fighting organization of all the seamen. The I.S.U. formerly classed "Asiatics and scabs" together. But the rank and file have a clearer understanding of that problem now, and know that helping the shipowners to split the seamen into groups of foreign born, Negro, Filipino, Chinese, on different levels, only helps the shipowner keep wages down and conditions rotten. A short time ago, this prejudice extended even to South European seamen, and the I.S.U. officials tried and still try to arouse every kind of race and national prejudice.

"Formerly", said Ancient Andy Furuseth, "the American merchant marine was Christian and Nordic. Now we must make it Christian, Nordic, and American." But this old fossil can't perpetrate that. In spite of him and his co-officials, the I.S.U. is broadening its membership base, not narrowing it.

The Negro longshoreman always has the dirty end of the stick. In most East Coast ports there are both Negro and white longshoremen. Generally they are "jim-crowed" and curiously enough the part of the Coast where they are not "jim-crowed" is the coast of Texas. In Philadelphia the Negro longshoremen get such dusty work as discharging licorice root, fertilizer and other rotten jobs. But the companies also work a "checkerboard" system, dividing the ship between Negro and white gangs so they can use each to drive the other harder. The understanding of this is the beginning of working class wisdom.

As we said, Negro and white longshoremen are not divided in some Texas ports. There the position of "inferiority" is reserved for Mexicans, and the shipowners get the same slave driving results from dividing the workers.

Negro longshoremen were first imported to San Francisco to scab in the 1919 strike. The shipowners' efforts to use them in the 1934 strike were spiked by the decision—inspired by class conscious rank-and-file leaders—to admit Negroes on a basis of equality to the International Longshoremen's Association. There were no Negro scabs in the West Coast strike in 1934. As long as this policy is maintained, its benefits will be seen.

In the Soviet Union, of course, such divisions of race, color and nationality are unknown. There are 150 nationalities in the Soviet Union, and half a dozen races. Race prejudice does not divide these races, however. All workers are equal. In their own districts, each of these nationalities is the ruling power.

National cultures are encouraged. But they all work together without friction. Usbeks, Tartars, Great Russians, Mongols, and Ukrainians all work together in the same factory, on the same deck, harmoniously,—and Czarist Russia was known as the "prison house of nationalities".

When the economic rivalry between the national and racial groups disappears, "race prejudice" disappears with it. Prejudice is fostered and exaggerated by the capitalists to use one nationality against the other. It is done in every capitalist nation. But the Soviet Union has no need to keep wages down, therefore it has no need for these divisions. Unity to raise living standards is the desire there, and unity is raising living standards for all.

When America goes Soviet, the Negro workers will be freed of hampering oppression. They will be encouraged to develop their own culture. In the large section known as the "Black Belt", a Negro Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic would grow as the minority races of the Soviet Union now have their autonomous republics, and Negro national culture would develop and racial and national oppression be wiped out. They will be guaranteed a full right to any job on an equal basis with all other members of the workers' society. They will have full economic, political and social equality.

They will never attain full equality until the workers take control and ownership, because capitalism depends on divisions in the workers' ranks to keep itself in power.

CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT

The Marine Workers Industrial Union in Soviet America will have close connections with the government schools where the workers' children prepare themselves for life in the future society. The longshoreman would not, as today, be called in by a haughty principal because little Johnny had been a bad boy. The Pioneer organization little Johnny belonged to would take care of that, supervised by the teachers and the parents' committee. The longshoreman, through his union, would keep a sharp eye on what little Johnny and his boy and girl school fellows learned in school. The union would be "patron" of the schools, kindergartens and day nurseries where longshoremen's and seamen's children went to school. And as the child grew older, the workers in their trade unions would take an active part in his education—teaching practical courses.

The Soviet school is not a painful period in which the child is cooped up to learn how to read and write well enough to be a useful wage slave. It is not a place where he learns some very doubtful history and some very erroneous "civics". It is not a place where the child learns about "public utilities" out of books by authors bought and paid for by the barons of gas, electricity and traction.

The Soviet school is the road to life for the child of the worker. He learns the "Three R's" all right. But he learns (what is infinitely more important) how to be a citizen of the classless society. He learns a new social code.

Capitalist society teaches the child that those who do the least work deserve the greatest rewards. He learns it by hearing bankers and politicians, rich parasites, praised in the newspaper, books and schools. He learns it by seeing those who do the least—the "society" of capitalism and the degenerate "nobility" of feudalism—praised and given higher honor on all occasions.

Our Soviet American school child would go to a different kind of school. He would see scientists honored, and inventors who lightened the burdens of society, instead of seeing them robbed of their inventions to make a banker's fortune. He would see the head of his father's union honored at functions where his "shock brigadier" father or big brother or sister was also honored by a triumphant working class. He would learn that "he who does not work does not deserve to eat", that labor is the passport to all, not "birth" or riches.

And part of his training in school would be the use of tools—all tools. He would start using tools almost as soon as he started to talk. In Soviet kindergartens, children clip out airplanes, tractors, locomotives—not "fairies". A little later, the child begins to use the hammer, saw, screwdriver. Later he graduates to machine tools, and when he is through school he has mastered, not just a "trade", but the essential skill in handling tools that makes a master craftsman in all trades.

Thereafter he would enter industry on a part time basis. Half his day he would work in the factory, gaining practical knowledge. The other half he would apply to study of the "theory" in back of his work, till he became an expert. If he proved a good student and a good worker, he would be sent to the higher technical school and to the other institutions of learning. The

union in the factory would decide his worth as a member of society—and that would be a big factor in deciding whether he “graduated” or not.

The Soviet Union began with a shortage of almost everything. Czarist Russia was a land of paupers, except for the few who lorded over the laboring masses. A good part of the industry which had been developed was destroyed by the White-Guard and interventionist troops during the long years of the civil war when the dispossessed exploiters tried to wrest power from the triumphant workers’ revolution.

There was a terrific shortage of trained forces in every field of education. In spite of that, the workers of the Soviet Union have established and maintained a compulsory seven years’ schooling for every child. In many parts of the Soviet Union the compulsory period has been increased to ten years. It will increase again and again, as Socialist construction builds up the resources of the workers’ land.

Soviet America will start on a far higher economic level. Soviet America will have the trained workers, the factories, the mills and electric plants that the Soviet Union today is struggling to acquire. That is, we will, unless we allow capitalism deliberately to destroy, because it cannot profit from, the vast economic forces of America today. Capitalism is allowing billions of dollars’ worth of our past labor, in plant and structure and training, to go to waste today, because it cannot use it. Our Soviet American school children will have the privilege of going to school freely till they are full grown men, to get a completed knowledge that their working class fathers under capitalism are denied. And our longshoreman, bargeman, towboatman or seaman will have a family and a home, for the first time in history. It will not be a hovel, but well lighted, well heated, well ventilated quarters such as even the “rich” do not have today. The experiments in housing that capitalist America finds too “expensive”, the workers’ government of Soviet America can put in mass production simply because we will produce these quality goods for the mass of the working class, not individual “samples” for the few who now own and dominate the capitalist world.

The longshoreman’s wife will be a worker too, and so will the seaman’s. Woman will not be the slave of the stewpot and scrubbing board in Soviet America. Neither will she be the slave of her husband. No real freedom is possible under economic dependence. The Soviet American woman will be sure of her standing. Through her working life in Soviet America she can always have a job if she wants to and be able to care for herself, regardless of a husband. And when she is unable to work, because of sickness, child bearing, or old age, she has the guarantee of the government’s social insurance system to protect her from hunger, cold and uncertainty. She has the freedom of her own life to live, dependent on no man, an efficient and effective member of society.

WORKERS’ PART IN GOVERNMENT

The United States, we are told, is a “democracy”. The worker and the capitalist have “equal rights”. But what democracy and equality is there between J. P. Morgan and a seaman? Morgan, the multi-millionaire, and a few other big capitalists own and control the finances and the industrial system of the country. If they choose, they have the power and the legal right to shut down the industries and to sentence millions of workers to starvation. The workers, on the other hand, have no say at all in the running of the industries. A worker has not the slightest say even in the factory, mine or ship where he works—if he has a job.

If workers don’t like their wages, and exert their economic power in a strike—the law is against them. If the boss chooses to starve the workers because he cannot exploit them profitably—the law is with him, against the workers, and will massacre workers by the score before it will allow any “violation” of his property rights. The workers’ right to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” is a grim farce when men are denied the right to eat or produce food, clothing and shelter for themselves and their families.

In the Soviet Union, under the proletarian dictatorship, the dispossessed capitalist has no voice at all. The workers have all the say in the running of the industries. The law and the State power is with the workers, against their enemies. They deal none too gently with the enemies who attempt to sabotage the industries, which are operated solely with the view of serving the needs of the toiling people.

Under capitalist "democracy" the worker has the "right to vote"—but that right is denied to millions, and to increasing millions. His own political parties, working class parties with working class platforms, meet with every sort of trickery, repression and actual violence to keep them off the ballot. Where they make the ballot—a blank wall of silence in the capitalist press, when that press is not slandering and misrepresenting their position. The capitalist parties, on the other hand, or a party which pretends to speak for the workers but serves against the workers' interests, gets space freely and eagerly from the owners of the press—who are part of the capitalist class.

We workers lack the finances, the press, the radio, all the means of "making public opinion" against capitalist robbery. All these propaganda weapons are owned by the capitalist class and *used against the workers*. As, for instance, Mr. Hearst misquotes Lenin, and refuses to correct the misquotation. It is deliberate. Mr. Hearst lies about the Soviet Union and tells lies that even his own reporters prove are lies. But he tells them over and over again, with a perfect capitalist disregard for decency, honesty, truth. Against this we have the feeble pennies of the working class, and our small press, which we must strain every nerve to keep alive.

In the Soviet Union, the papers, movies, radio, meeting halls, and political control are in the workers' hands. The workers' opinions are important; they are printed in the papers. The remnants of capitalist groups (still capitalist in sympathy but no longer exploiters of labor) have nothing to say. They cannot vote, they cannot hold office, they cannot *own* anything. The Soviet workers nominate and elect their political representatives, right on the ship, the dock, or right in their factory. And it is *their* factory, because the *workers own it*.

The American seaman is a "ward" of the government. He has no vote, because he has no "established residence." His most familiar contacts with the "law" are the U. S. Shipping Commissioner, the Customs Collector, and the Bull on the Beat. And they are all his enemies.

The Shipping Commissioner is supposed to "enforce the law" but he always makes his first stop in the Skipper's cabin for a drink or a cigar, and things flow smoothly as he "logs" (fines) this man and that for minor infractions of the rules. But when a seaman wants to protest a violation he must take it to the U. S. Marshal and wait six or eight months for it to come to trial,—and finance the case.

The Customs Officer searches his bag to see if he has committed the heinous offense of bringing in a "contraband" bottle of spirits, or tried to eke out his miserable wages with a few trifles bought abroad.

The Bull on the Beat slugs him when he takes a drop too much, and protects the gang of pimps, prostitutes and sharks who try to rob the sailor ashore. Since the seaman doesn't drink regularly it doesn't take much to edge him, and a little slug of knockout drops always helps the shore enemy. The cop, of course, knows the gang on the beach and the chances are even they play together.

The seaman comes still closer to the real significance of government and politics in his struggle for better wages and working conditions. Then, the "law" is squarely lined up against him. You don't have to tell the seaman that the government is the executive committee of the capitalist class. He sees clearly that politics is a class struggle for power. Maybe that combination of circumstances explains why seamen have always been militants, and are always found in the vanguard of working class revolution.

Longshoremen, of course, face politics more familiarly. But politics dissolves itself into the class struggle for them too. The "political club" and the graft of municipal jobs and contracts, and federal "patronage" are just a way of paying the capitalists' henchmen for their job of baiting the masses and keeping the capitalists in power.

The reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor have an important part to play in capitalist politics. The "non-political" policy of the A. F. of L. has brought sweet plums to the officials of that organization. They have "rewarded friends and punished enemies" very effectively for themselves. Joseph P. Ryan of the I. L. A. plays in close with whatever administration is in power in New York. Nationally he is a "Democrat." Victor Olander of the I. S. U. plays Democratic politics very successfully in Illinois, and Paul Scharrenburg plays the "rock ribbed Republican" so successfully in California that he has held political office for twelve of the eighteen years that Tom Mooney has been in prison. They all have contributed mightily to keeping capitalism in the saddle. So have Billy Green, Ed. McGrady, and Matthew Woll.

Under capitalist "democracy" the worker is lied to, tricked and persuaded (and, if need be, intimidated) to vote for capitalist politicians, who make many promises and repudiate them all when they get elected to the seats of power and graft. Every capitalist politician does it. Compare Roosevelt's promises with Roosevelt's acts. He promised unemployment insurance—he gave us the Wagner-Lewis bill which leaves entirely out in the cold the 17 million now unemployed. He promised "sound money"; he gives us a 40 per cent wage cut by inflation. He promised to "drive the money changers out of the temple" and 46 more grabbers made million dollar incomes in the first year of the "New Deal." He promised us "greater purchasing power," and wages have gone down, prices up. He promised us the right to organize, and under "section 7A" 45 per cent of the industrial workers were forced into company unions.

Capitalist politics (regardless of capitalist party) is the technique of keeping the workers in subjection. While they can do it "peacefully" they keep up the mask of "democracy." When they can't put that across any longer—because they have to smash demonstrations for relief, and strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, because the workers can no longer be deluded, and begin to fight for power,—they drop the mask and show the real face—the open face of capitalist dictatorship.

Working class politics under capitalism, on the other hand, is the struggle to wrest power and ownership of the means of production from the capitalists, for the workers. Whether in "elections" or fighting "criminal syndicalism laws" and other antiworker laws in the courts, or in strikes for higher wages and better conditions, the worker finds the State power pitted against him. He is fighting a "political" battle. Every force of the law is against him. Sometimes it is an "N. R. A. Mediation Board." Sometimes an injunction court, sometimes the police or troops with tear gas, bayonets, bullets and even artillery. Sometimes it is the "illegal" vigilante mob, defending the "right" of the capitalist to exploit the workers. It may take some time but the capitalists will drive this lesson home in this every capitalist country.

In America we have a dictatorship of the plutocracy disguised as a "democracy". In the Soviet Union we have the dictatorship of the proletariat—a dictatorship for the exploiters, a democracy for the toiling masses.

Stalin writes, in his *Foundations of Leninism*:

"Democracy under the capitalist system is *capitalist* democracy, the democracy of the exploiting minority based upon the restriction of the right of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat is real 'freedom' for the exploited and real participation in the administration of the country by the proletarians and peasants possible. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is *proletarian* democracy—the democracy of the exploited majority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority."

State power in the hands of the working class is a necessary and mighty weapon in the struggle against class enemies, within and without the country, in the struggle for greater well-being of the toiling masses, to build industry and agriculture on a Socialist basis, and to wipe out classes entirely—to achieve the classless Socialist society.

It was not enough to overthrow the capitalist class. Even after that the capitalists would not give up. It was therefore necessary for the working class to establish its State power, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in order to suppress the resistance of the capitalists, to uproot the vestiges of capitalism and capitalist influence, and the influence of capitalist ideas, in order to build Socialism.

Lenin said that upon the overthrow of the capitalist class, "its resistance is increased tenfold", among other reasons, because of the strength of its international connections and the strength of international capital. This was proved correct by the experience of the Russian revolution.

The White Guard and interventionist troops tried to smash the workers' revolution, to restore the capitalist power. International capital tried to defeat the revolution by an economic blockade and boycott. Spies and saboteurs tried and still try to wreck the triumphant march of the workers and peasants to the classless society and production for use—the goal of the working class. In spite of these enemies, within and without, the toiling masses, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and led by the Communist Party, have marched steadfast toward the goal.

The collective-farm campaign, weaning the peasants from their little individually-tilled strips of land, to work cooperatively and with machinery on huge

areas of land, was the final crushing blow to capitalist tendencies in the Soviet Union. The great gain in production—more bushels of wheat per acre and per man—proved to the peasants that the Bolsheviks were right. The peasant is on the road to Socialism, to becoming a worker in an "agricultural factory", instead of a half-starved landowner. He has become a builder of Socialism, side by side with the worker in the industries.

This process has now gone so far that the recent Congress of Soviets the supreme governing body, admitted the peasants as full partners in the dictatorship of the proletariat—the workers' government. Thus, while capitalist democracy (the disguised rule of the capitalist class) is shrinking, the base of democracy in the Soviet Union—the democracy of the toiling masses—gets broader.

CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

This sounds good but you won't get it for nothing. The woes of the American worker today all come from one thing and one thing only. That is private ownership of the land and the means of production.

Land, mills, mines, factories, railroads and ships—everything in America has a private owner, although the owner is most often a corporation for anything larger than a three-acre farm.

The workers, on the other hand, own practically nothing, certainly not the tools of production. Their "tools" are the machines, factories, mines, railroads, ships. With these tools they produce all the good things of earth. Without these tools they are helpless. They have nothing but the bare force of their arms and brains. They "know how to do" things; but they have no power to do them until the owner of the means of production gives them a job.

The owner of these tools, the capitalist, refuses to hire the worker to produce goods unless the owner can sell the goods the worker makes, and get more money for them than it cost him to pay the worker his wages, pay for raw materials, and pay for the replacement of the tools and machines used in producing goods.

When the worker works, he makes for the owner many times over what he "earns" for himself in wages. This *surplus value* produced by the worker is split many ways. Part goes as *rent* to the landlord. Part goes as *interest* to the bondholder, part goes as profit to the shareholder, and part goes as *wages of management* to financial wizards who sit in offices and figure out how to cut wages.

The owner uses part of this surplus to enjoy life—to eat in swell cafes, live in swank apartment houses, with strings of servants, cars and yachts, to go to theatres, and take trips to Florida, or to Europe when America bores him. But he makes more than that. Part of what the worker makes for him he turns back into industry, as an *investment*. In other words, he buys more tools than other workers have made for other bosses. And then he makes surplus value on more workers operating those tools. He produces nothing himself; merely buys the workers' labor power and puts it to work on tools that are themselves the stored-up labor power of other workers.

The bosses keep piling up more and more, till they have such a surplus of goods that they can't sell any more—because all the workers can't buy back the total of what all workers produce. Goods begin to pile up in the warehouses. The bosses cut down production, lay off workers. We get unemployment, people of all classes begin to feel uncertain about their income and cut down on their expenditures, there is a further shrinking in the demand for goods. The bosses get panic stricken, lay off more workers, close down factories. An industrial crisis, or "depression" as the capitalist spokesmen prefer to call it, is on.

Capitalism has always periodically gone through such unavoidable crises. To the working class, they meant unemployment and starvation, and a breakdown of health and morale, for millions.

In former times, the capitalists managed to scramble out of the crises because capitalism was still on the up-grade, because it was operating in an expanding market. Capitalism still had the world to conquer. Capitalistic nations were grabbing colonies and establishing "spheres of influence" in backward, undeveloped countries, to exploit as markets and fields for investment. North America was still a land of "unlimited opportunity." It was being rapidly settled with immigrants from Europe. Its agricultural population was increasing. New industries were rising, old industries were expanding—offering a market for what is known as "capital goods."

By the beginning of this century, however, the world was pretty well divided up. Germany came late on the scene of industrial development but forged ahead rapidly. It could not find any free countries to conquer for her surplus goods. She started taking England's foreign markets away from her by selling goods cheaper. But she also wanted colonies and "spheres of influence" to secure sources of raw materials and a market for her industrial goods and for investments. So the Kaiser started talking about a "Place in the Sun." This struggle for markets brought on the World War.

Across the Atlantic, United States imperialism was also reaching out for markets. It had grabbed Cuba and the Philippines. It was pushing ahead in South America. It was fighting for the "open door" in China, that is, for an equal opportunity with the other imperialist powers to exploit the Chinese market.

The outbreak of the war in 1914 was its golden opportunity. It started taking over the foreign markets that Germany and England were too busy to think about. It had an unprecedented period of "prosperity" and expansion, supplying murder implements to the battling armies of the belligerents and selling manufactured goods on its own terms in other foreign countries. The United States became a first rate world power.

American imperialism finally entered actively into the war, to save Morgan's loans to the allies, to have a say and to protect its interests when the time came to "settle up" in the peace treaties.

The world war was a struggle for a re-division of the colonies and the world market. But it did not solve the difficulties of world capitalism. On the contrary, it upset the stability of the capitalist world, it brought a general crisis of the whole capitalist system. It brought the first wave of proletarian revolution, in Europe, and roused the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

When the first wave of proletarian revolution receded, in 1921-23, world capitalism got a breathing spell. But it did not regain its old strength and stability. It had lost one-sixth of the world to the proletarian revolution—the Soviet Union, whose very existence, and growing strength on the basis of Socialist construction, are a standing challenge to capitalism. It was unable to restore the pre-war standard of living to the toiling masses in Europe and the colonial world, and was forced to place a heavy taxation burden on them in the interests of the war loans bondholders. This sharpened class conflicts in the imperialist countries and intensified the struggles of the colonial peoples. Nor were the antagonisms between the imperialist powers solved. They had to make a truce, because they were not ready to fight the issues out. But actually the old antagonisms became sharper, and new antagonisms came to the fore. Thus, world capitalism regained stability only as compared with the immediate post-war period.

Capitalism proceeded to lick its wounds. The European capitalist countries, especially Germany, went ahead adapting and restoring industry to a peacetime basis, with new equipment and to a considerable extent with American credits. This temporary demand for industrial equipment, a by-product of the world war, helped to start the wheels going. American capitalism, after "deflating labor" and labor costs in 1920-21, began to take care of those needs of the home market that were neglected during the war. There was a boom in the construction and household goods industries. The home market was jerked up through installment-plan sales, by swallowing future earnings—to the benefit particularly of the automobile industry. And American capitalism was still the big figure in the world market.

As European capitalism was restoring its industries, and getting back into the world markets, the capitalists of Europe and America were taking steps to undersell each other by cutting the cost of production. They did this by installing more efficient, labor-saving machinery, and by the new American methods—the conveyor system, efficiency, speed-up, stretch-out. The bosses use a "nicer" name for this—rationalization.

It was all very beautiful (on the surface) and it went on for a few years. World capitalism developed its productive forces and productive capacity to a much higher level than ever before. American industry boomed, American capitalism seemed to be in full bloom. To be sure it had some suspicious spots—like the agricultural crisis, the "sick," "over-expanded" coal and textile industries, the "technological" unemployment—but the medicine men of American capitalism refused to look too closely at these spots.

Its spokesmen, and the reformist labor leaders, claimed that it had found the way to permanent prosperity, to a chicken in every pot. Socialist leaders in Europe helped to put over rationalization, and spoke of the "American methods," "Ford methods," as the way to raise the standard of living of the masses, the way to reform capitalism.

They forgot that capitalism did not solve its basic difficulty arising from the private ownership of the means of production, that the capitalists, by approaching the surplus value squeezed out of the workers, restrict the market. They forgot that world capitalism was expanding its productive capacity in the face of the shrinking post-war market. That the very means the capitalists used in the struggle for the shrunken world market made it shrink more, intensified the internal and international antagonisms.

It was a fool's paradise, and it could not last. The bottom blew out in 1929. The economic crisis that followed swept the capitalist world with unexampled ferocity, affecting every corner of world capitalism, the imperialist countries and colonial countries, industry and agriculture; upsetting the credit and finance structure; undermining the international connections of world capitalism; sharpening the class antagonisms within the imperialist countries, sharpening the international antagonisms.

Never had capitalism known such mass unemployment, such impoverishment of the toiling masses of city and country. The capitalists of all countries searched feverishly for new markets, and they further reduced the markets by cutting wages and raising the burden of taxes on the masses. They all agreed at international conferences that it was necessary to lift the tariff barriers, and kept on building tariff walls, higher and higher. Even England abandoned its traditional free trade policy. And while they were raising the tariff walls to protect their home markets, they fought for foreign markets and subsidized exports to the point of developing dumping into a general system.

They said it was necessary to reduce and to balance the governmental budgets, and the governmental deficits keep rising to new heights. They were anxious to eliminate all factors of uncertainty and instability—all uncertainty disturbs business—and they were forced to abandon the gold standard, to resort to inflation and devaluation. This had its silver lining—it served as a weapon both to lower the standard of living of the masses and in the struggle for foreign markets.

They wanted to allay discontent, they preached "class peace", and they did everything to intensify discontent and to sharpen the class struggle. Never—save during the period of the first wave of proletarian revolution—had capitalism faced such mass struggles. Bitterly fought strikes; determined mass struggles of the unemployed; mutinies in the British fleet, in the Dutch fleet, in the Chilean fleet; revolution in Spain, revolution in Cuba; the spread of Soviet rule in China. They were forced to discard the "safety valve" of illusion-producing "democracy", and to clamp down on the toiling masses the lid of open, terrorist dictatorship of financial capital—the Fascist regime—in Germany, Austria, etc. And in the other capitalist countries they are paving the way for fascism, resorting more and more to fascist measures and fostering fascist movements.

For many years they talked of disarmament and reduction of armaments. And we now have the greatest peace-time armies, the largest peace-time war appropriations, and the armaments race is more feverish than ever. Japan has upset the imperialist truce in the Far East, attacking China and seizing Manchuria—as a base for a future attack on the Soviet Union. In Europe, the mad dogs of German fascism are straining at the leash, anxious to loose a war on the Soviet Union, or a new world war.

American imperialism is rushing its war preparations. It is hurrying the building up of its navy. It is strengthening the army and the national guards. Behind a screen of "taking profits out of war" it is preparing the mobilization of industry for war purposes—and conscription of the workers at low wages. It has by far the largest peace-time war budget in history. On top of this, it is using a good part of the unemployment relief funds for war preparations, including training of the youth for future cannon fodder in the C. C. C. camps.

The stability of the capitalist world is a thing of the past. The crisis of the capitalist system is deeper than ever.

Every capitalist nation is in the same straits, and every capitalist nation tries to get out by the same method—breaking down the standards of living of the workers, and fighting for an advantage over the "enemy" in foreign trade. Eventually it all leads to another war—another "redistribution" of the world—

with millions killed, and another and deeper phase of the same crisis of capitalism at its end.

All our miseries result from the private ownership of the machines and the land.

That is why we are unemployed. That is why we always risk losing our jobs,—because we “have produced too much”. That is why the laboratories that find new processes and new products cannot continue to find new wonders for the human race. That is why machines cannot continue to turn out the goods we need to live. That is why meat and corn, cotton and cattle are destroyed while millions of workers starve. And that is why we face the danger of being sent off to some foreign land to attack “enemies” whose working class population are as innocent of any crime against us as we American workers are of any crime against them. It is because the capitalist class owns the tools of production and the land, and will not let us use them unless that use is “profitable” to them.

If you examine capitalist thought today (like Roosevelt's campaign promises and his “revolution”), you will see that the capitalists, as well as the workers, know their system is all wrong. But every step their governments take to “correct” it is a step to fasten their criminal system of exploitation faster to our necks; to guarantee their profits, no matter how bad they have to make the workers' lives.

This is what capitalist government is for—to guarantee to the owning class its possession of the means of production, to regulate somewhat the struggle of the ruling class among themselves over the division of the loot, and to crush the struggles of the exploited class against this ownership and exploitation by any means necessary.

MENACE OF FASCISM

American workers today are examining the conditions of social life—politics—in a critical way they never did before. There is a growing conviction that the workers cannot live under private ownership of the means of production, and *the workers are determined to live*. The capitalists know this. They know that the workers are rapidly coming to the conclusion that *capitalism is the enemy*. That conclusion is a threat to capitalism. And the capitalists are desperate in their efforts to head it off.

In Italy there was one fascist movement. In Germany there was one. In the United States there are a hundred different fascist movements, all trying to head off this anti-capitalist conviction in the workers' minds. There are “veterans' movements” by the score, “Social Justice” movements by the dozen, “religious” movements in squads, and just plain rackets done up in fancy shirts by the hundred. And there's the old Ku Klux Klan, hating Negroes, Jews, Catholics, workers, and ready to rip the sheets off the bed and ride again in defense of private property.

All these “shirt and social justice” movements are basically one effort to save capitalism. All of them pretend to “correct injustice” but all of them *stand ready to shed workers' blood for the “sacred rights” of private property*—to defend capitalist ownership against the workers' right to live, just as Hitler and Mussolini have done.

The capitalists have given these “anti-capitalist” movements a big hand. Many of them started their careers in Wall Street offices, like McGuire's efforts to get General Butler to lead half a million veterans to Washington to “support the President” by putting him out of office and putting “our man” in his place. That scheme was concocted by a Mr. Clark, heir to the Singer millions that lost one factory and five thousand wealth-producing slaves when the Russian workers kicked out capitalism. Mr. Clark said he was willing to spend half his \$30,000,000 to save the other half.

Father Cox, of the Catholic Church, also tried (like the Singer gang) to take over the Bonus Expeditionary Force. He put on a Blue Shirt and tried to organize gangs to disrupt workers' meetings in Pittsburgh, and tried to get the miners back to work for less than the County Relief gave them when unemployed.

“The Church will make up the difference” said the Fascist Father. That ended Father Cox as a “mass leader”. Holy Church had to look for some one else to “lead the masses to social justice” and to fascism. The Church supports Hitler, although it has minor differences with the Nazis; the Church supports Mussolini; the Church supports Schuschnigg in Austria, and supported Dollfuss—the murderer of a thousand workers—before him. The Church supports

Pilsudski in Poland. In fact, Fascism is the form of "government" the Church approves most. It can always play ball with a fascist.

The Church turned to the "Little Flower" whose scab church desecrates the suburbs of Detroit—Father Coughlin. This scabby "Little Flower" blares forth on a broadcast that costs \$30,000 a week for "Social Justice", including the right to exploit workers. He is supported by an inflationist clique that cleaned up (including a quarter million for the Little Flower) in Roosevelt's dollar devaluation and Silver Purchase Acts. One of his "Committee for the Nation" is Rumley, who went to jail as a German agent during the war. Rumley is still "agenting" for Hitler.

Another who wants to "save the nation" is that Great American and Sterling Patriot, Al Capone: "Bolshevism is knocking at our door," says Al. "We can't afford to let it in. We have got to organize ourselves against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy." Otherwise, Al Capone might have to go to work. A pleasant picture: Al Capone, shoulder to shoulder with the Singer millions, Holy Church, and a Three K nightgown, defending "America". Hearst somehow would fit better with Capone. Gen. Smedley D. Butler exposed a few of these shirt tail movements to save capitalism, and some "veteran" movements financed by Wall Street. Butler, apparently, didn't think they'd come across. Every one of these movements is "patriotic", bloodthirsty, capitalistic and a racket. But if one catches hold, it won't be a racket. The Big Boys will grab it and make it the *government of the United States*, as Fritz Thyssen made Hitler's racket the "Third Reich".

Still another "anti-capitalist" move to save capitalism is Huey Long's "Share the Wealth" plan which has gained much support from middle class groups in the South. Huey wants to limit exploitation to \$50,000,000 per exploiter. But he wants to guarantee the right to exploit with every piece of artillery in the State of Louisiana—and especially Huey's right to graft on every piece of business in the State. We know what becomes of these "limitations" on capitalism, when they have served the purpose of putting their inventor into power. They are ignored.

All fascist schemes are alike. They denounce the "abuses of capitalism" and attack some special phase of capitalism. Huey attacks "great wealth", Father Coughlin denounces "bankers' money", while Morgan, Vanderbilt and Rockefeller—all bankers—support him. *But they all defend private property in the means of production*; they all defend the right of ownership to rob the workers. And when they get power, they all use their gangsters, their police, their army, to keep the worker working for the private owner, and to drive wages lower.

Fascism attacks the "abuses of capitalism" with words, but it attacks the workers with knives, guns, and gas, like the "Christian Father" Coughlin, who wants to shoot Communists himself.

Fascism always has the police with it. Fascists kill workers, the police arrest other workers for the crime. Fascism never won power for itself. In Italy, Germany, Austria, the very State power that was supposed to be fighting fascism handed it power. Fascists talk of their "revolution", of their "March on Rome", or Berlin. Mussolini "marched" on Rome in a sleeping car, with a special police escort.

And every fascist movement that has "won" power has had the aid of "labor leaders" who cried to the workers: "Don't fight back", "be law-abiding", the "state will protect our rights", while fascist gangsters were shooting, knifing, breaking up workers' meetings. These "labor leaders", like the International Seamen's Union leaders in this country, talk about "working with the employer for mutual benefits". They always shout for "democracy" while they rule their unions with dictatorial power, and prevent any fight against the fascists. They teach the workers to retreat inch by inch, foot by foot, before aggression, because they want to be "law-abiding", "democratic", "peaceful", till the workers are in full flight before fascist assaults. Fascism never dares "seize" power till these "leaders" have paved the way by breaking the ranks of labor and spreading their poisonous doctrine that "the workers are too weak", "we can't win". And when fascism strikes its final blow, these "leaders" and their hapless followers are alike victims of fascist terror.

In Germany, Austria, and Italy, the "Social-Democratic leaders" (like our A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leaders) took this "peaceful road to socialism"

line, defending capitalism, even when they controlled the government. They delayed, excused, apologized for and supported capitalism until fascism had built up its army of thugs, and till the workers had become demoralized and unprepared to fight.

Austria's "labor leaders" did the same thing. And when the workers finally revolted at this hesitating "leadership" and took arms, their "Socialist" leaders had got them to retreat so far they couldn't fight a winning battle. The fight against fascism came two years too late in Austria, and the "Socialist" leaders made the workers delay. Now they use this defeat to claim that "the workers can't win"—typical cowardice.

In Germany, when the Communist Party and the "Red Opposition" in the trade unions were clamoring for all the workers to get together in a "united front" to fight Hitler's Nazis, the "Socialist leaders" refused. They said, "stick to constitutional methods" while every legal right of the workers was being destroyed, with the police watching and defending the fascist murderers.

Fascism came to Italy, Germany, Poland, Austria. It destroyed the labor unions, it made the factory owner the "leader" of his workers, and took away every right ever won by the workers. It cut wages, lengthened hours, and drove the unemployed, and especially the young men, into slave camps to work for nothing. Fascism murdered thousands of workers, and imprisoned hundreds of thousands. All the "Social Justice" and "Socialism", all the fascist promises to the workers, were forgotten. The poor dupes who insisted on "socializing the banks" were murdered. Fascism showed its true face—the last desperate effort of the capitalist owners of the means of production to enslave and drive down the workers.

The French workers, on the other hand, refused to listen to these "legalistic" leaders who urged them to yield, not to fight back. The workers formed a united front—got together regardless of their political opinions, and *fought back*. The fascist drive of February 6, 1934, was smashed on this rock of working class unity. The fascists are not completely crushed in France. They will try again, and as French finance capitalists get more desperate, fascism will get more support. But the united power of the French workers can, and will, smash every attempt, and go forward to Soviet France, instead of to Fascist France, if the workers keep their fighting united front.

Now, fascism is trying to get a grip on America's workers. The capitalist class in America is desperate, and getting more so. They see its great industrial structure—which we built for them—tottering, unable to support the workers, unable to produce profits for them. Their "solution" for this situation is more crushing burdens on the workers; through the trickery and maneuvering of N. R. A. "codes"* with their company union and anti-working class trends, and through open union smashing, and fascist domination of the workers by their employers.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT

The workers refuse to accept this enslavement. On every hand you see the workers fighting back—in spite of their "leaders", who smoke an opium "peace pipe" and accept defeat time after time without putting up a fight.

The workers have put up a fight, and will continue to put up a fight, in spite of their leaders' treacherous connivance with the employers and the Roosevelt government.

Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and the Textile Strike last year—all show the battling spirit of American labor. And it is fitting that in San Francisco the battle of the marine workers, against the enslaving code and enslaving agreement their self-styled "leaders" accepted, should have risen to the highest point in that year of struggle against the slavery of capitalism. In New York longshoremen and teamsters, connected with the marine industry, built on the West Coast gains and struck in 1935—a purely political strike—against an infamous injunction that tries to smash their unions and forbids them to organize.

It is fitting, because in all history the marine workers have been in the forefront of revolutionary struggle among the workers. The sailors of Cattaro, the sailors of Cuxhaven, the sailors of the "Aurora", and the sailors of the Black

* This pamphlet was written and ready to go to press before the Supreme Court decision on the N.R.A. The decision does not invalidate the characterization of the N.R.A. as an anti-working class measure. It only means that Wall Street is convinced that the N. R. A. had served its purpose, that the capitalists can now pass to a more open onslaught on the workers to be combined with a new kind of demagoguery.

Sea Fleet, all stand out as heroes of the working class battles against oppression, for political power. America's seamen and longshoremen will stand out in that battle too, in spite of every attempt of fascism to break their militant spirit.

The fundamental thing about fascism is that it *preserves capitalism*, the private ownership of the land and the means of production, the owner's right to profit on the labor of the workers. That means less to eat, less to wear, less of everything for the worker. Besides, any political rights the worker may have go.

Reformists say "fight fascism legally", and so pave the way to fascism. Fascism is the "illegal" attack of the owners, backed by their political State power, to crush the workers' resistance to slavery. Reformists talk about "a peaceful road to socialism" when every force of the capitalists is leveled at the worker's throat, to smash him down into the prison of fascism, the concentration camps and forced labor.

It would be very nice if the workers could get ownership of the means of production and a Soviet America without a struggle. It would be very nice if the capitalists would say: "Boys, we have tried to run this damned thing and we can't. You take it, and we will go to work tomorrow in a ditch, doing the only honest labor we are able to do." But they won't.

A dying class never dies peacefully. Today, the capitalist class is fighting a last ditch fight to stay alive and exploit the workers. The capitalist class sees machines rotting, sees workers losing their skill, sees workers dying of starvation. Does it give up? Does it modify its exploitation? Does it cut profits and raise wages, so the workers can buy back what they have produced, and so start industry working again? *It does not.*

It arms its fascist gangs. It crushes demonstrations with police clubs. It smashes strikes with gas and gun, club and bayonet. Fifty workers murdered on the picket line last year; concentration camps for strikers in Georgia; Bloody Thursday on Rincon Hill in San Francisco; the "Battle of Pier 41" in Seattle; and workers' halls smashed and looted by fascist mobs in every Coast city (while police protected the fascists); these are the owners' answer to our cry for the right to live.

Workers lost in wages, in buying power, in living conditions last year. But 46 new parasites made million-dollar incomes through concentration of ownership. Capitalism had a "year of recovery"—recovery of profits at the expense of the workers. The capitalist class is a dying class, but it does not die easily. *The workers will have to put it out of its misery, or it will make misery more acute with slavery, war and destruction of all life and civilization.*

That is what the Russian workers found out in 1917. They took the path of revolution and worker ownership of the means of production as the only escape. And eventually the American workers and farmers will take that road to worker ownership.

We will have a harder time than the Russian workers had, attaining power. Our capitalist class has had generations of experience in ruling by means of "democracy". It has well learned the art of using its economic power, its State power, all the means of deception, bribery, and coercion to fool and intimidate the workers and the toiling masses. It has in its service labor leaders skilled and experienced in misleading the workers, in dividing their ranks, in spreading illusions among them, in checking and obstructing their will to struggle against exploitation. It has built itself an army of gunmen who face the necessity of going to work if the workers abolish private property and exploitation. It has built itself an army of parasites and hangers-on to defend it. It will fight the workers to the last ditch.

But the American workers will not be fooled nor intimidated much longer. They are learning from their own bitter experience—and from the example and experience of the workers of the Soviet Union. It will take a dictatorship of the proletariat (the workers) in this country, as in the Soviet Union, to defend the workers' power, to suppress the resistance of the capitalists, to crush the sabotage and terror our "white guards" will carry on in secret.

But once capitalist rule is overthrown, once the working class and its allies have discarded the capitalist State power and have established a Soviet State, a Soviet America, it will have great advantages that the Soviet Union did not have. Soviet America's progress towards Socialism and Communism will be fast. Our workers are trained. Millions of them have the knowledge and skill that old Russia lacked. In Russia the working class was a minority of the population. In the U. S. the working class is a majority of the population.

The Soviet Union started out with undeveloped resources, with an economy predominantly agricultural, a population largely illiterate and predominantly peasant, with an extremely inadequate communications system, with a shortage of skilled workers and trained engineers and technicians. Soviet America will have at its very start developed resources, highly developed industry as well as agriculture, railroad systems which criss-cross the country. It will have a working class which constitutes a large majority of the 53,000,000 classed as "gainfully employed", and the workers, millions of them, skilled and trained in the handling of machinery. It will have a large number of trained and experienced engineers and technicians.

Our farm population, too, is not the peasantry of old Russia. Our farmers know what capitalism is. They know that capitalism offers no salvation to the farmer. Our American farmer knows that ownership of the land does not solve his problems. He still faces all the terrors of the mortgage, and loses his farm to the banker. He has learned that his interests clash with the interests of the big capitalist. The American farmer has also learned something of the value of cooperation and large scale production. We will not have so difficult a struggle against "kulakism" in this country as the workers had in the Soviet Union.

Our professionals, too, our engineers, technicians, architects, research and scientific workers—a large part of them—will be ready to line up with the working class and give loyal service in building Socialism. Scores of thousands of them are learning of their own experience what capitalism spells in insecurity, unemployment, misery, in waste and destruction of natural resources and of human life and labor. Many of them are already now giving support to the struggle against capitalism and capitalist rule. An increasing number of them will be ready, as time goes by, to join in the struggle for Socialism.

Only one organization has had a clear view of the developments of the world in recent years—the Communist Party. When Coolidge was President and everything was booming, the Communist Party warned the workers that capitalism, which had gotten temporarily on an even keel, was heading into heavier weather than ever, and was bound for the rocks.

In May, 1929, Stalin, addressing an American delegation, said:

"You all know very well the strength and power of American capitalism. Many now think that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. That, of course, is not true. The crisis of world capitalism is developing with increasing rapidity and cannot but affect American capitalism. The three million now unemployed in America are the first swallows indicating the ripening of the economic crisis in America. The sharpening antagonism between America and England, the struggle for markets and raw materials and, finally, the colossal growth of armaments—that is the second portent of the approaching crisis."

The crash came six months later.

When it came, the "reformists", the "labor leaders", the "Socialists" all agreed with Hoover and the capitalist economists that all the machine needed was a little fixing. The "labor leaders" of the A. F. of L. agreed with Hoover on a no-strike policy. And the capitalists started slashing wages. The Communist Party called on the workers to fight, to fight against wage cuts, to fight for shorter hours without loss of pay, to fight for unemployment relief and unemployment insurance.

While "labor leaders" and "Socialists" were talking class peace, the Communists mobilized the first mass protests against unemployment and starvation. On March 6, 1930, the Communist Party organized a demonstration of 100,000 in Union Square. Other demonstrations all over the country showed the workers' demand for unemployment relief. The Communist Party has never lost leadership of the fight for relief and for unemployment insurance. It was this struggle, led by the Communists, which forced the capitalist class—for the first time in the history of the country—to extend *public* relief, instead of private charity, to the unemployed. The Communists have forced the capitalist parties—all of them—to do lip service to the needs of the unemployed, and to introduce various measures to sidetrack the demand for unemployment and social insurance that grows more insistent daily.

On the waterfront, it was Communists who organized the Waterfront Unemployment Councils, and led the seamen's battle for relief from the intolerable graft and robbery practiced by the "Holy Rackets" in the name of relief to seamen.

It was Communists who defied William Green's acceptance of Hoover's "no strike" policy, and all the "truces" by which Roosevelt has tried to stop the workers' fight against wage cuts and starvation. The first strikes against Hoover's wage-smashing policies in 1931 and 1932 were led by Communists. Communists led the miners, the auto workers, the steel workers, the seamen, to organization and a struggle against the rotten conditions and wages in these basic industries.

The Communist Party was the only party that analyzed the New Deal and branded it from the very first for what it was and has proved itself to be—an effort to bring down wages to minimum standards, to lower the workers' living standards through inflation, and raise the profits of the exploiters; to prevent strikes through the Labor Boards, and to hinder the organization of the workers into genuine unions.

The "Red" unions of the T. U. U. L. led the first strikes against the New Deal. The "Red" members of the American Federation of Labor unions started the fire of revolt against New Deal slavery that spread till it involved millions of workers in the struggle against wage cuts and lower living standards.

The Communist Party has led the struggle against growing fascism and the growing war preparations in this country.

The Communist Party has consistently fought for the united front of all workers in their immediate struggles for better conditions, and against the menace of fascism and war. It is fighting for unity in the trade union movement, for democracy and rank and file leadership in the trade unions, for militant policies, for industrial unions. It is fighting for a united front of all workers who are ready to break away from the capitalist political parties—for the building of a mass Labor Party based on the trade unions and other working class organizations.

Many workers have been deluded by the capitalist press into holding false beliefs about the Communists. They have denounced the "Reds" and followed the "Red" program, because their class instincts told them that those tactics were right, and that their "conservative" leaders were playing into the hands of the enemy and helping to cut their wages when they cried out for "peace and cooperation" with the employer who was slaving and starving the workers.

By degrees those workers wake to the real meaning of the "Reds'" campaigns. They see that it is the "Reds" who fight hardest in every fight—that the Communists lead the struggle for every demand of the workers, because *the Communist Party is the party of the working class* and the Communist program is the program of better wages and working conditions for the working class and final freedom from exploitation for the workers.

The Communist Party leads the American workers today in spite of the mob hysteria and fascist violence stirred up against the Communists. The Communist Party will continue to lead the working class in action, more and more consciously, to unity of all workers, to better wages and working conditions, to unemployment and social insurance, to the fight against war and fascism, to a Soviet America.

Join the Communist Party!

Published by WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, P.O. Box 148, Sta. D, New York City, June, 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. This Great Lakes organizer, Hays Jones, is the official representative of that section on the official organ of the union?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir. He was the official editor of the Pilot for some time, being replaced by Chamberlain. He was replaced by a man named Chamberlain, who was another Communist, and upon the removal of Chamberlain, managed through efforts of himself and Jerry King, another sympathizer, Paxton was appointed. Paxton is the present editor, who either is a Communist at the present time or entirely dominated by them. He has allowed the official organ, the Pilot, to be known on the water front as a second hand Daily Worker, because quotations and pictures appear in the official Pilot and the Daily Worker simultaneously.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, the official minutes of the first convention of the water-front section, New York Port, June 26, 27, 1937, I have here. These minutes have been previously identified. Read-

ing from page 18, which is a report made by Ed Phillips to that convention, as follows:

With the excellent aid and guidance of the N. Y. State committee of our party, our section has made important gains on the water front. Under the Bolshevik leadership of Comrade Browder and the Central Committee, our section and the party as a whole is playing an important role in the mass movements of the workers which are being crystallized into the people's front against reaction; and is organizing and preparing the toiling masses for the road leading to the establishing of socialism here in America.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question right there? That was in 1937?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, Mr. Phillips, you said a while ago, I believe, that in your opinion the influence of the Communists in the union was at the present time increasing; is that right?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It is. At the present time the influence of the Communist Party is greater and their power greater than it was in 1937, 1938, or at any time prior to this.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why is that?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Because of the fact that all open opposition to the party line or the officers' rule had been eliminated by the union.

Mr. VOORHIS. By means of these purges?

Mr. PHILLIPS. By means of the purges and the whispering campaigns; the Communists' ability at slandering and destroying a man's character. The official Pilot was used to a great extent in printing letters in the voice of the membership, slandering various Communist-opposition officials.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think there is any more readiness to accept Communist leadership among the seamen than there was before?

Mr. PHILLIPS. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Not as much, perhaps.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Not so much. But there is a great fear of what will happen to you if you lead an open rebellion.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading a few more excerpts from these official minutes, Mr. Chairman, which I think are pertinent: On page 20, under the caption, "Seamen's Reports":

There are hundreds of comrades on ships and they are never contacted by the party in the ports that they come to. First of all because they haven't been functioning properly, and secondly, because we haven't the apparatus for contacting them. A couple of weeks ago the seamen's unit decided we should do something about this and get a full-time organizer whose job would be to go aboard the ships and contact the comrades wherever they might be. This would be a great feat for the seamen. We have now, I believe, about 200 comrades that we know where they are at and we are able to contact them whenever they come in. This will be a great task, to sell them literature and organize them aboard the ship. Another thing. We will have to work out some means of contacting them by mail and letting them know what is happening through the party channels and of keeping them informed of events from week to week and from day to day.

That shows the close contact that is maintained with the members aboard ship.

From page 21, under the caption, "Pre-Convention Outline on the S. S. —."

Under Point 3:

Plans for future work. Well, there are not many things to be planned. We have things running pretty good on the ship so far. We have about 15 party members now. We would have had more but some of them got off in both the deck and stewards' departments. Since we left New York this trip we joined up 16 new members and will be getting more.

That is a letter from some member of a ship's crew.

There are a number of other excerpts here that I will ask the reporter to incorporate in the record. I will not try to read them at this time.

Mr. STARNES. The pertinent excerpts referred to will be incorporated as part of the record.

(The excerpts referred to are as follows:)

(Page 11:) The shipment of war supplies to the fascists must be stopped. And the marine workers can and must do it.

(Page 12:) Now, however, many of our comrades occupy leading positions in the seamen's union and are supported by the great majority of the workers even though they are known to be Communists, yet none of our comrades appear openly to the workers as a Communist.

(Page 14:) At this time the Y. C. L. branch on the water front, in applying the new constitution of the Y. C. L. must have as its main concentration work in the N. M. U. The election by the firemen of the N. M. U. of a delegate to the American Youth Congress is a very important step in educating the mass of seamen in the problems of the young seamen and should be utilized to build the Y. C. L. in the union.

(Page 16:) A good example of a functioning unit is that of the comrades on the S. S. ————. These comrades in holding an open unit meeting on board the ship, recruited three seamen a month ago and established the face of the party to the workers, and now we have word that the unit has grown to 15—three more today.

The unit bureau should meet before the unit meeting and organize the agenda in such a manner that all comrades can participate in the meeting and definite tasks and assignments are given * * *.

(Page 17:) Developing cadres. It becomes necessary at all times in the growing mass movement of the workers that special attention be given in helping advance to leadership those comrades that show in their work the possibilities of leadership. The growing mass movement on the water front has brought forward many comrades who today play leading roles in giving guidance and leadership to the marine workers. In turn, the party schooling that these comrades received armed them with the powerful weapon of Marxism-Leninism in meeting and solving many of their problems in the struggle.

Because of the fact that many of our comrades are continuously on the move the problem of giving them a good party training and education is a difficult one. The experiences of the last full-time marine school supplied us with the answer to this and other educational problems. In the 3 weeks that the school lasted it was possible for approximately 25 comrades to receive this training. And this type of school has proven to be the most practical and efficient method of giving our comrades a good party training.

Our section is now planning another full-time marine school to be held in the early part of September. This school will act for 5 weeks and will be on a higher level than the previous one. The comrades that will attend will not only come from our section but also from other ports. The preparations for selecting students for the school should be made now. In selecting of students, care should be taken to recommend the best comrades available. Units should send in the names of comrades whom they recommend for the school to the section. Also comrades who are on ships should be prepared to stay ashore for the period of the school. Special efforts must be made to make it possible for our longshore, teamster, and Negro comrades to attend the school.

Our section can well be proud of the good results of the last marine-training school. Much work has yet to be done in the raising of finances and other details for our coming school. It will cost \$10 a week for every comrade attending the school. Many of the units will have to help raise funds for comrades from other units attending the school.

It is necessary that every comrade participate in building the marine training school and feel that the success of the school is his responsibility. We can all help in building the marine training school for the training of our leading comrades to master Bolshevism.

In conclusion, this convention has the task of working out policy for our section for the coming period. The successful carrying out of this policy on the water front will demand the full participation of every comrade. In this way we will have the best guarantee of building and strengthening our party, of

greatly increasing the circulation of the Daily Worker, of making our party an independent political force on the water front.

With the excellent aid and guidance of the N. Y. State committee of our party, our section has made important gains on the water front. Under the Bolshevik leadership of Comrade Browder and the central committee, our section and the party as a whole is playing an important role in the mass movements of the workers which are being crystalized into the people's front against reaction; and is organizing and preparing the toiling masses for the road leading to the establishing of socialism here in America.

(Page 22): After making that speech and a little more added on, we later collected \$60, and one of our comrades and a brother seaman from the ship brought it over to the North American Committee for Spanish Democracy.

The unit aboard the ship would like to suggest that the question of establishing the Daily Worker and party press is a good thing, but that the Daily Worker and party press—news or papers—should be brought aboard the ships in some way. We think that through a carrier coming aboard the ships, the papers would circulate more and keep the party members aboard ships better informed on everything going on in Spain, party and other things in general.

(Page 25): Radio operators' report. * * * After this committee was set up there were also motions passed to the effect that the Daily Worker could not be read in the union hall and also other reactionary motions were passed.

When the Committee on Spain was set up, the first 4 days it collected about \$15 in the A. R. T. A. for Spain.

I told you of the motion the phoneyes passed about the Daily Worker. Well it was only about 2 weeks ago that another motion was passed rescinding the original motion about the Daily Worker and now the Daily Worker is beginning to appear again in the A. R. T. A. hall. A motion was also passed to the effect that anybody who is caught "red" baiting could be brought up for expulsion.

(Page 30): In order to recruit longshoremen, we have to have personal concentrators. Must be able to stay around the bars and get acquainted on a personal basis—visit at homes. * * *

(Page 31): We have also been very active in helping to support the rank and file paper, the shape-up, which is well received by the men on our docks.

(Page 35): In closing we pledge that within the next month we will recruit two members of the Auxiliary into the party and work on more.

(Page 39): 1. By November 7 to double the membership of the unit.

2. To organize a minimum of 50 ship units by that time and to see to it that all comrades aboard ship have much closer cooperation from the Party ashore.

* * * * *

4. To send 15 of our best comrades to the full-time training school and to raise the necessary funds.

(Page 40): *Be it resolved:* That the delegates to this convention pledge themselves to do everything possible to fulfill our obligations to Spain and in particular to pledge to:

(1) Involve every organization in which we work in sending resolutions to the Government demanding that the embargo on the Spanish Government be lifted and that an embargo be placed upon Italy, Germany, and Portugal.

(2) Raise more and more money for Spain.

(3) Issue more leaflets and more pamphlets and stop ships carrying arms to the fascists.

Resolution carried.

(Page 42): We know that every step taken by the maritime industry is according to a policy worked out by the Communists.

So this policy we work out here will not only be the Communists' policy but the policy of the maritime workers.

(Page 43): Comrades, for today we can report one case where the Communists aboard a ship, on the shipowners' property, can call a meeting of the Communist Party. Instead of having to meet in some secret place, they can come into the fore-castle, call a meeting and invite the crew to attend. And the crew does attend and at that first meeting three of them joined the party and during the trip, another seven join.

(Page 50): The marine school will be held some time in September. When we look at how much hell it is going to be with Ryan doing his work on the water front, we realize how important it is for us to become educated. We must send teamsters, longshoremen, seamen, and radio operators to this school. The second task is to see that the school takes place. I only offer one criticism

to make of Comrade Phillips' report, when he said \$10 for each student. If we send 20 students to this school, the cost will be \$1,000. Where is \$1,000 coming from? The money must come from this section.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Phillips, just one other point I want to clear up. You mentioned the fact that at the convention in July 1937 the constitution which had been drawn up by Tommy Ray and William L. Standard was not adopted. When was the official constitution of the N. M. U. adopted?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The convention as a whole elected committees who revised this constitution. It was altered and made liberal, because of the fact that a great deal of it had to be changed, and it was left with certain loopholes in it. However, the right of the membership to a voice in the union was incorporated into this constitution which was finally approved by the convention and referred to the membership for referendum of 60 days. This referendum took place on shore and on the ships.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it was adopted?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It was adopted by a vast majority of the membership, something like 20,000 to 1,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say this was a revision of the original constitution?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It was a revision of the original constitution, a great revision, and if I had a copy of the proposed constitution to compare with the completed article as it now exists, I could show you, there is merely the framework of the proposed constitution that was used.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, those are all the questions I have at this time.

Mr. STARNES. Are there any questions by members of the committee?

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, yesterday I asked the witness about the adoption of the name, National Maritime Union, and how it came about. I asked if it was because there was an order from the Federal Trade Commission that prohibited the use of the term, I. S. U., or International Seamen's Union, in connection with outlaw strikes. And to get around that order, they changed the name to National Maritime Union. The witness could not answer. Can you answer that?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I was present at the meeting of the Atlantic and Gulf district committee when this National Maritime Union was formed. The decision to group the three unions into a new outfit, provided the membership of the firemen were willing was arrived at, and this was to be an entirely new union. The reason given was that as a new union, under a new name, we could appeal for elections under the N. L. R. B. aboard the ships, whereas if we used the name of the I. S. U. or any connection with the International Seamen's Union we could not appeal for elections or could not secure elections, because the executive board of the I. S. U. would refuse to agree to an election.

The name of the National Maritime Union was suggested, I believe, by Curran; at least, he and Frederick Myers disputed over who suggested it. It was a matter of small importance to me, although I think I put a word in myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just one more question, Mr. Chairman. From your experience as a seaman, Mr. Phillips, would you say that seamen

would experience any considerable difficulty in carrying documents or communications from one country to another?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Very little. The seaman seldom has his quarters searched to any extent. It would be quite easy to secure and hide documents on board a ship during a period of search that takes place usually as soon as a ship comes into port. The seamen being on board the ship for a length of time would know all of the little hide-outs, where he could slip a document. When he goes ashore he is very seldom bothered. He is recognized as a seaman by the police and unless you are carrying a bulky object under your arm you are never searched or molested in any way.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it would be comparatively easy for a seaman so inclined or acting on instructions to carry documents, communications, back and forth, from one country to another?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It would be very easy.

Mr. WHITLEY. One other question: Again, from your experience as a seaman, would it be possible for one or two seamen, especially in certain departments of a ship, to sabotage a vessel?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It would be very easy. A mere handful of graphite picked up around an emery wheel, the grit from an emery wheel, dropped into a bearing, would cause the ship to be stopped. If it were not discovered immediately, it might cause the ship to be hopelessly disabled. The dropping of a nail into a generator would put out all the lights on the ship. The engine department, especially, is very well able to sabotage a ship and disable it for a long time.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Any other questions by members of the committee?

Thank you, Mr. Phillips. You may call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM G. RYAN

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your name?

Mr. RYAN. William G. Ryan.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your address, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. 543 North Ninth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business or occupation?

Mr. RYAN. I write for magazines and periodicals, do a little lecturing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. United States of America, State of South Dakota, April 24, 1903.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. July 8, 1929, in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you continued to be an active member of the party until when?

Mr. RYAN. Until going to Spain in 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately 10 years you were a member?

Mr. RYAN. Approximately.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that time, were you an active member at various places?

Mr. RYAN. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you name those places?

Mr. RYAN. Los Angeles, Chicago, Syracuse, New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ryan, when and why did you decide to enlist or go to Spain to fight for the Loyalist cause?

Mr. RYAN. I decided in Milwaukee, in March of 1937. We had been living in Altoona, Pa., where there was no Communist unit. When I went to Milwaukee, I did not immediately contact the party, because my wife wished me to devote more time to my own work. We began attending meetings in Milwaukee and I was very deeply sympathetic to the Loyalist cause. One evening my wife brought home a leaflet from the place where she worked, issued by the American Society for Technical Aid to Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this is the leaflet that increased your interest in going to Spain [referring to document]?

Mr. RYAN. We recognized the subtleties of the party's style. We believed it to be a recruiting leaflet.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with this organization? The leaflet is issued, Mr. Chairman, by the Milwaukee Office of the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, Josephine Nordstrand, secretary, 617 North Second Street.

Are you acquainted with that organization, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of organization is that?

Mr. RYAN. Well, I call it a pigeon-hole organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe what a pigeon-hole organization is, please, for the committee?

Mr. RYAN. There is a distinction between this sort of an organization and a front organization. This type of organization has no permanent existence or stable existence. In the exigency of the moment it is brought out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Brought out by whom?

Mr. RYAN. By the party. It is given a skeleton crew of officers and proceeds to function. For example, the League of Women Shoppers: If the party line calls for an embargo upon Japan or Japanese goods, this league will be brought out, possibly to picket stores, and so forth.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you actually mean to say that the League for Women Shoppers is a pigeon-hole organization?

Mr. RYAN. Definitely I do. Perhaps the organization may be semilegal or actually illegal, as this organization is [indicating document]. Then it will be just used when it is necessary to use it, and will disappear when it is no longer necessary to have the organization. A number of sponsors will be gotten, as in this case, prominent people will be induced to give their names to the organization and a crew will be set up, a secretary and officers and so forth, to be used as it is needed.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you recognized the sponsorships of that particular leaflet?

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me interrupt just a moment, Mr. Ryan. Do you have your party membership book?

Mr. RYAN. I have one of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You, of course, had many during the period you were a member?

Mr. RYAN. Yes. I should explain this membership book; before this membership book was taken away from the unit organizer by the police at one time, when he was arrested—that is what he told me—and the dues stamps which are marked “exempt” here are all paid, but he stamped them with the exempt stamps.

Mr. WHITLEY. This membership book is No. 17880, for William Ryan, date admitted to the Communist Party, July 1929, District 8, city, Chicago, Ill., section 4; street or shop nucleus, 404. This particular book was issued January 16, 1930, and signed B. K. Gelbert, district organizer.

Now, continue with the events leading up to your departure for Spain, Mr. Ryan.

Mr. RYAN. I called at the offices of the American Society for Technical Aid, in the Manhattan Building on Second Street in Milwaukee. There I saw a gentleman, a Mr. Brown. That is, he was Mr. Brown in the offices of the American Society for Technical Aid. Across the hall, in the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy, he was Mr. Secat. A few blocks away, in the offices of the Communist Party, he was Comrade Secat.

Mr. Secat and I had a little conversation. He asked me whom I could give for reference. As I had not contacted the party in Milwaukee I gave him Chicago references. I referred him to David Bentall, a prominent attorney in Chicago, who was a member of my unit, 404.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was a member of your section.

Mr. RYAN. He was a member of my unit, 404. He was also on the control commission.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the district.

Mr. RYAN. On the district there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mr. Bentall publicly known in Chicago?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; he is a very prominent attorney.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he publicly known as a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. I do not believe so.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to go back a moment. Was this man Brown, alias Secat, an official of all three of those organizations; the Society for Technical Aid and also the Communist Party and also the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. RYAN. I am not sure whether he was an official of the American League for Peace and Democracy. He was a functionary in the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you contact him in the offices of all three organizations?

Mr. RYAN. He had the keys to the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy. He also had the keys to the office of the American Society for Technical Aid. I accompanied him to all three offices; the party office as well.

Mr. VOORHIS. He had the keys to all three of them?

Mr. RYAN. Yes. The party office was open.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not have to have a key to get in there.

Mr. RYAN. I think he did have a key so he could go there in the evening. I do not know that positively. I know that he is a functionary of the party, but his exact position I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you gave Mr. David Bentall, the Chicago attorney, as a reference?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they indicate the type of reference they wanted you to give, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. He first asked me if I knew any one in Milwaukee connected with the movement. He asked me if I was acquainted with Mrs. Berger. I said that I was not. When I told him Mr. Bentall, he, of course, knew who he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was a satisfactory reference, in other words.

Mr. RYAN. He asked me what my political affiliations were and I told him I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then what further arrangements were made?

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. Do you mean that Madam Berger would have been a satisfactory reference from your standpoint?

Mr. RYAN. Yes, definitely. That will develop later on, I imagine.

Mr. WHITLEY. What arrangements did he make then to assist you in your plan to go to Spain?

Mr. RYAN. Well, we talked briefly. The other members of the committee have not learned the exact nature of this leaflet. It calls for technical help of almost all sorts; electricians, steel workers, telephone and telegraph repairmen, automobile workers, truck drivers, bakers, and others.

I enumerated to Mr. Secat some of my qualifications, and he asked me if it included an ability to handle a rifle. So I said, "This is, of course, for the army, isn't it?" And he said, "Yes, it is." He then told me to return in a couple of days.

Mr. WHITLEY. They do not mention the army in that leaflet?

Mr. RYAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any instances of your own knowledge where young American men went over there thinking that they would get a technical job and were put into the trenches with a rifle?

Mr. RYAN. I do; in fact, I know of no one who got any of these technical jobs.

Mr. WHITLEY. Being a party member, you knew what that leaflet meant.

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. But otherwise, a man might go over there thinking that he would be given an electrician's job or something of that kind?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you continue, then, with the events.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Secat told me to return in a couple of days when he had time to find out about the references. Two days later I returned. He said the references were satisfactory. He sent me then to Dr. Franklin on Wisconsin Avenue in Milwaukee, who examined the recruits for Spain.

Mr. THOMAS. What is his full name?

Mr. RYAN. I do not know his first name. His name is Dr. Franklin. He is a well-known doctor. He is on Wisconsin Avenue between

First and Second Streets, in Milwaukee, on the north side of the street. I have forgotten the name of the building.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he examine all of the candidates for Spain?

Mr. RYAN. He did. I talked to a great many more who were examined by him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was your examination satisfactory?

Mr. RYAN. I should call it a very cursory examination. He took my blood pressure and tested my eyes, and then he said, "Well, Comrade, you will go into the trenches."

Mr. WHITLEY. What happened then, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. Then we were called up to the office—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Did any one else come up with you?

Mr. RYAN. Later.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not gotten to that yet?

Mr. RYAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Go ahead.

Mr. RYAN. We then came back to the office where we met Mrs. Nordstrand.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say "we"; who was with you?

Mr. RYAN. My wife and I.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your wife was with you?

Mr. RYAN. Yes, although she dealt with him individually. But we were up together to get our passport applications which were given to us by Mr. Secat. Also the funds to pay for the passport applications. We went to the Federal building, got our applications, made out our applications, and Mr. Secat then took care of the passports.

In a few days, 4 or 5 days I believe it was, our passports were mailed to us at our home in Milwaukee. We were then called to the office in the evening. There were three other young men there.

Mr. WHITLEY. What office was that?

Mr. RYAN. Of the American Society for Technical Aid, in the Manhattan Building. A young man named Donald Thayer, a student at Wisconsin University, a member of the Communist Party; a young man named Alvin Ragakauskas; and another young man whose name I have forgotten. We were told we were to be given an affair, a little send-off party at the home of some fellow travelers and some liberals, and we were instructed as to what we should say there. We would be called upon to make a little talk for purposes of the collection. We were cautioned not to use too radical phrases, because Mr. Secat said the fellow travelers and stooges were very difficult to work with. They were timid and they did not like to be reminded of the illegality, and so forth, of their operations. In fact, he said the only thing they were good for was to finance the work of the party and that when "we had no further use for them, we would soon take care of them."

We then went to the home of Mrs. Thomas Duncan, whose husband was secretary to Gov. Philip La Follette at that time. At this place we met a number of prominent people; a couple of professors from Wisconsin University; Mrs. Meta Berger; Mrs. Duncan; Mrs. Thayer; Mrs. Harriet Thayer, and a number of lawyers, doctors, people of that sort; I cannot remember the names of all of them because it was rather a large party.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was in the nature of a farewell party?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. For this group that was leaving?

Mr. RYAN. Yes. There was little talking. We all said something. We had dinner and a collection was taken which Mrs. Nordstrand said was very satisfactory. I do not know the exact amount that was taken.

The next morning we were put in charge of Mr. Thayer——

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know what became of that money?

Mr. RYAN. No; I do not. Ostensibly it was to be used for financing the trip.

Mr. VOORHIS. How much significance do you attach to the presence of some of these people at this party that was given?

Mr. RYAN. Oh, they knew perfectly well what it was all about.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is, they knew you were going to Spain.

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course.

Mr. RYAN. I talked to them individually and in general.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see, but you do not mean to imply that the fact that those people came there meant that they were Communists.

Mr. RYAN. Oh, no; they were not all Communists, definitely not. Some of them were what is known as stooges. Some of them were fellow travelers, sympathizers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Were they all sympathizers?

Mr. RYAN. Well, they were all sympathizers.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would it not be more accurate to say that they were sympathizers with Loyalist Spain at that time?

Mr. RYAN. Some of them were, and some of them were definitely sympathizers with the party.

Mr. VOORHIS. I have no doubt of that.

Mr. RYAN. I had conversations with a number of them. I could not tell you individually who they were. Mrs. Berger, of course, is a sympathizer with the party.

Mr. VOORHIS. The only point I want to make is that there was a time, especially in the middle stages of the Spanish conflict, when a very large percentage of the American people expressed themselves in various ways as being in sympathy with the Loyalist cause.

Mr. RYAN. That is quite true.

Mr. VOORHIS. They, of course, were not informed about some of the inside work.

Mr. RYAN. That is quite true. They all knew there was recruiting of soldiers for Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were sympathetic to that activity.

Mr. RYAN. That is, all of those to whom I talked personally.

Mr. CASEY. They all knew what?

Mr. RYAN. That we were going to Spain to fight in the Spanish Army.

Mr. CASEY. And that you were Communists?

Mr. RYAN. Well, I did not say we were Communists. We were cautioned against saying that, but they were all, or some of them were unquestionably.

Mr. CASEY. Some of them were not aware of the fact that you were Communists?

Mr. RYAN. Possibly.

Mr. CASEY. I presume a great deal of the sentiment in this country that was favorable to the Loyalist cause at that time was because they had no idea of the Communist backing or the Communist activities for the Loyalist cause.

Mr. RYAN. That is possible. There is no way I could tell exactly how much each individual knew.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ryan, did you speak at this farewell party?

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you continue with your recounting of the events of your trip, and so forth?

Mr. RYAN. Well, we made a little talk. We said we were going to help the Spanish people and so forth. The next morning we were put in charge of Mr. Thayer, this one young fellow whose name I have forgotten did not show up, but Mr. Ragakauskas and Mr. Thayer, my wife and myself, went to the office of the American Society for Technical Aid. Mr. Sekat gave private instructions to Mr. Thayer. We were put on a Greyhound bus and went to New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your transportation was paid?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you identify Mr. Thayer as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. What happened in New York, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. In New York we went to a hotel the first night. The next morning we went to a Young Communist League headquarters over in the vicinity of Gimbel's, around Seventh Avenue; I cannot give you the exact address, but I could find the place. Mr. Thayer then took us to another party headquarters in the neighborhood of Union Square. He took our passports, gave them to the office, I suppose. I do not know exactly what he did with them because he did not tell me.

The next evening, I believe it was on the third day, we were taken to the Irving Plaza, a little hall there, and there were a number of other men there, a couple of hundred, I believe, from all over the country: some of them from Canada; some from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and we were given a little brief pep talk and told that we should not mention Spain on the boat; we should not say where we were going, to act as tourists.

I had been told to bring my clothes with me, so I had them, because some of the boys didn't look the part of tourists; they were possibly down-and-outers and didn't have decent clothes, and, of course, they wanted them to look like tourists and wear tourists' clothes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And where did those final instructions come from, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. From the party hacks.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they were in effect instructions from the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; and I might say that the American Society for Technical Aid had disappeared; you did not hear of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. The American Society for Technical Aid was just the medium for bridging the gap between recruiting and getting the men into the hands of the party?

Mr. RYAN. It had served its purpose, and there wasn't anything further for it.

Mr. STARNES. It was to bring in the young recruits, the saviors of democracy.

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you get the impression that practically all of these fellows in this outfit were as familiar and were as well informed as you were about it?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; definitely so. I considered that they were all; however, they were not all Communists.

Mr. VOORHIS. No; I mean they had knowledge about what was going on as you had?

Mr. RYAN. They all knew that they were going to Spain.

Mr. CASEY. I suppose it was a sort of adventure on the part of some?

Mr. RYAN. To a certain percentage it was an adventure, but I would say that the overwhelming majority of them were going for idealistic reasons; with most of them that idealism was very strong, and they were going in there for that reason, but for some, of course, it was an adventure.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your reason for joining the Communist Party in the first place, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. Well, I joined it because I was concerned with the aims and ideals of communism. I believed that the Communists had certain economic suggestions about which our own economists were too vague, and I believed they had a workable program, by which they could inaugurate better conditions through such an organization, and when I reached that conclusion I believed it was my duty to join the party advocating those principles.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you think our own economists are doing today?

Mr. RYAN. Well, they are too vague about the question, but I have changed my opinion about theirs.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Ours is somewhat better than the Communists?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ryan, your motive for undertaking the trip to Spain was purely idealistic; that was your motive?

Mr. RYAN. That is right. I forgot to mention that I attempted to enlist before, in August 1936, before any recruiting was done by the Communist Party. I came to Washington here to the Spanish Embassy and they endeavored to dissuade me from my purpose and said there were a great many obstacles in the way.

I talked to one of the attachés of the Embassy and he asked me to think the matter over for awhile and hold in abeyance any action.

Mr. WHITLEY. Until the American Society for Technical Aid came into existence you withheld any further attempt?

Mr. RYAN. Well, that is when they gave the instructions, that we were told that there might be Trotskyites and Fascists on the boat and that we must be very careful and not talk, but be like tourists. And we were given \$5 and a shaving set, which was sorely needed by most of the men.

The next movement of the boat, the steamship *Manhattan*, was for France.

My passport had been visaed for France. There was a man by the name of Thayer who was still in charge of the group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Thayer was placed in charge of this group from the time you left—

Mr. RYAN (interposing). Well, that is, the 68 on board the *Manhattan*. We, of course, had another fellow who was in charge; the entire group was divided; we had a head fuehrer and subfuehrers, you might say, with from 15 to 16 men under his charge.

Mr. MASON. Inasmuch as these were Communists how do you happen to use the term "fuehrer" and "subfuehrer"?

Mr. RYAN. Well because it is very descriptive.

Mr. MASON. You mean it applies just as definitely to Communists as it does to Fascists and Nazi-ists?

Mr. RYAN. I cannot see any difference.

Mr. STARNES. All right, proceed.

Mr. RYAN. We left for L'Havre, France and all of the members on the boat—except the fuehrer who had gambled away some of the funds and had to collect from different people in order to have the required \$15 to get in France. Each man had to have \$15 and had been given that, but this man, the fuehrer, had engaged in speculation on the boat and gambling and he had to borrow funds from some of those who had money enough to make up that sum. Otherwise, the majority of those on the boat which left from New York had sufficient funds.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was this individuals name?

Mr. RYAN. I can't remember his name: there were a good many and I cannot remember the names of all of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who furnished the transportation to Europe, on the boat: who furnished this money?

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Thayer brought the transportation: anyway, he got the tickets and the amount that was required for each man, the \$15.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who was Mr. Thayer?

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Thayer is a university student from the University of Wisconsin. He was in charge of a little group which went from Milwaukee to New York.

I went to France. My wife did not go; they would not take her when going to New York.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the Communist Party furnished all expenses?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And who arranged for the passports? Did the Communist Party arrange for your passports?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not those passports were fraudulently issued?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. STARNES. They were?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; a good many of the fellows told me they were. Of course, I have no direct evidence.

Mr. STARNES. They said the passports were issued to them in the names of other persons than their own?

Mr. RYAN. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. What happened to your passport afterward; were they taken from you?

Mr. RYAN. Our passports and all other identifications material was taken away.

At the International Brigade House all our clothes, and passports, and everything was taken away. I made an attempt to keep my passport but I was not able to do it.

Mr. STARNES. You were not successful in that attempt?

Mr. RYAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ryan, I was interrupted a moment ago and did not hear your answer as to who financed the trip. Do I understand the Communist Party of the United States financed the trip?

Mr. STARNES. That is what he said.

Mr. RYAN. Yes; that is what I said.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; continue your statement.

Mr. RYAN. I was first taken to Paris and we were told the instructions would only be given to the leader of the group and his instructions were very brief, and that we should report the next morning.

So, the next morning he took us to party headquarters—I could locate the street if I had a map of Paris but I cannot recall the name of the street right now. Anyway, it was in the "red" portion of the suburbs, the Communist-controlled district, and this place was alive with men from all over the world, Denmark, Sweden, England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and even parts of Germany and Italy who were enlisting in this brigade. And there were a number of places, I understood, throughout Paris where men were kept in hiding and many of these men were carried to the nearest place.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Did they take your identifications away from you there?

Mr. RYAN. No; they did not take our identification but they took away our clothes and everything else that we had. I made the mistake of bringing over a new typewriter and that was taken away and everything else except the suit of clothes I had on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then what followed, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. We first went to Lyons and were there for a short time, where there were several hundred others in a group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Several hundred in a group?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; and we went to another part of the city, another place, in which there were a number of men, and eventually we were put in a hotel; we stayed in Lyons and from there we went to Orleans, a resort town almost on the southern border and we stayed there a week or two.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how did you eventually enter Spain?

Mr. RYAN. We went to Montpellier and then to Agde, and to a little place down on the border where everyone seemed to think it strange that tourists were there at that time of the year. Even the papers were commenting on the fact that the town had tourists at that time of the year when no tourists usually appeared.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you cross the Spanish border, get into Spain, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. At night. We were put in busses, and at this place I assumed the work had been pretty well organized as they seemed to know exactly what to do.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was in charge of the Communists all the way through?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. RYAN. We had another leader than the one we had in Paris.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. RYAN. In charge of the group.

Mr. VOORHIS. At the time they were taking away your personal effects were there any others who objected to their doing that? Did not some of the other men kick about this?

Mr. RYAN. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. They did not?

Mr. RYAN. No; there was no objection, not to my knowledge.

And then we were discharged from the busses and put into a little valley. There were 168 of us, I believe—I do not know exactly, but I was told there were that many in our group in this valley. We stayed 2 days and 2 nights. We could see the French border guards walking up above us. We were told to keep away from them and not to smoke.

After we had been there for 2 days it seemed that they must have gotten a favorable guard on sometime—of course, this is a matter of speculation on my part—but eventually they started to move in broad daylight, in the afternoon and we marched along in mass formation over the Pyrenees in Spain, a very hard and difficult march and any number of men collapsed along the way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you then go: what was the first stop?

Mr. RYAN. To Figueras.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many were there in the group?

Mr. RYAN. There were 168, I was told, when we started out.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when you arrived at your first contact point in Spain what procedure was followed there, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. Well immediately before going to Figueras, just going over the Spanish border, there was a house, a white house, called the White Castle Blanco setting up on a hill and it was there we contacted the first Spanish soldiers and I saw my first commissar.

Incidentally, some of the men had collapsed along the road and had been unable to continue and we marched right on without them.

The commissar came to an Englishman, who himself was in charge of one of the groups, and who had been with us in France, and was told of the fact that a number of men had collapsed on the way, and the commissar said they would send back and shoot them; that they were Fascists, some of them anyway.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the reception you received?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know anything about whether he was attempting to do that?

Mr. RYAN. I do not know.

Mr. VOORHIS. Whether he made any contacts with them?

Mr. RYAN. I could not say. Of course, there were many of these men and some of them I had seen for the first time that day or the day before and I never saw them again.

There was one old man, in particular, who was not able to continue the march, a man about 55 years of age who had collapsed and I never saw him again. I know I tried to help him during the march.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what type of activities did you engage in after your arrival, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. In the city of Figueras we stayed 2 days and there I met some of the boys I had seen in France and some of those who had come over with our party.

And later on some of the men on the boat were killed, the boat which was sunk by a submarine; I think there were 65 or 70 of them killed on that boat.

There we were given some training, taught to shoot—had about 10 rounds firing a rifle and one or two demonstrations of a machine gun. This was at Albacete. There our clothes were taken away from us and we were given a uniform of a Russian soldier which fell apart about the third day and after that you took your clothes from a dead man if you had any, or wherever you could steal them: and the same thing was true of shoes. And it was at this place that our passport papers were taken from us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were your passports and papers taken, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. At the National Guard House in Albacete.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever get your passport again?

Mr. RYAN. I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the majority of the men had their passports returned?

Mr. RYAN. I saw an article in the newspaper, I think it was in the Chicago Tribune last year, in which it was stated that the last group came back, composed of some 400 men, had only 4 passports with them. I think that is about correct.

I know I have never talked to any man who got his passport again.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what use was made of the passports?

Mr. RYAN. I do not; I can only speculate about that.

Mr. VOORHIS. What reason did they have for taking up the passports?

Mr. RYAN. I suppose to make desertions difficult; and later on I understand they made use of the passports in getting men from other places.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, what type of military training and instructions was the group given before it went into action, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. We were sent to Tarazona where the Americans were being trained. I fired 10 shots out of a Russian rifle and 1 shot out of a flat machine gun, and listened to a great many speeches; that was a part of the maneuver and also were taught the marching songs.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the official marching song of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade taught to you?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; it was a battalion.

Mr. WHITLEY. A battalion?

Mr. RYAN. It was not a brigade; it was referred to as a brigade but there never were enough men to make a brigade; it was a battalion.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was the marching song that was taught to the men; do you recall it, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. The first one goes something like this:

Twenty long years into history hath past
Since "red" revolt was victorious,
Lenin called and to victory led on
For the chapayev as the partisans.

Then there was the refrain that went something like this:

We will Franco's ranks demolish
The Great Mafija leads us on
And on our rifles depends the freedom
No passaran, no passaran.

And the last stanza is:

"Red" becomes light that in Russia is bright
Still fighting strong in the dark of the night
Souls of the masses forever we'll be
Forward "red" soldiers to victory.

That was the marching song.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the marching song of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. RYAN. Yes. Then, there was another one that was to reapply when we got back which went something like this:

When we go back home once more
We'll do the same thing there.

Mr. WHITLEY. And after the intensive course of military instructions that you said you were given, that is, of firing five rounds of a rifle——

Mr. CASEY. And listening to a lot of speeches.

Mr. STARNES. Yes: listening to the speeches.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were the nature of those speeches; military instruction?

Mr. RYAN. The speeches were directed mostly against Caballero, more than against Franco. Caballero, it seemed, was known as a fighter; he was the premier before Dr. Negrin, and the fight was directed, the speeches more against Caballero.

Mr. WHITLEY. Caballero was trying to oppose the Communists?

Mr. VOORHIS. He was not premier at that time, was he?

Mr. RYAN. He had just been removed.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. RYAN. But he still had a very strong influence.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; he was influential at that time.

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And had been premier up until a very short time before that?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What was the salary you received as a savior of democracy in Spain?

Mr. RYAN. Well, they floated a loan of about 40,000,000,000 pesos and you would get an average of about 1 cent per peso, and we received 10 pesos per day—about 1½ cents per pesos, so it would be about 15 cents.

Mr. STARNES. You got about 15 cents a day?

Mr. RYAN. We were paid about 15 cents, and, of course, we got food in addition when we were up front. We would receive the entire 10 pesos in addition.

Mr. STARNES. The food was furnished.

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Who paid that money to you; how was that part of it financed?

Mr. RYAN. That was paid to us in each outfit. For instance, I made up the pay roll in the battalion in which I was serving.

Incidentally, no one ever died, so far as the pay was concerned. The officer always saw to that, and I know of one fellow who was a sergeant who drew around 4,000 pesos of pay for men who were, I was told—and I made out the pay roll—not living.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Ryan, to what extent was the Communist Party active in and in control of the activities that affected you and affected all of these men?

Mr. RYAN. They were in complete control of the arm of the government, of the administration party; they controlled through their political commissar in the army to the extent that he was above the military power. The political commissar has authority above that of the commanding officer, at any time, and if he is dissatisfied he can have the commanding officer removed and even shot, as was done on many occasions.

In the beginning the commissar had been elected, duly elected but usually they thought that they would have, as the Communist Party usually does, three or four nominated who were Communists and would railroad it through. And after that the commissars were merely appointed.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your observation, Mr. Ryan, what was the primary interests of the Communists; were they concerned more in winning the war or in propagandizing?

Mr. RYAN. It is my opinion that they did not wish to win the war. When Cabellero was Premier had he had the full cooperation of the Russian Communist Party—I am referring now to the Russians and not necessarily to the International Brigade—had he had the full cooperation the war might have been won for the Loyalists.

Mr. VOORHIS. The cooperation of whom?

Mr. RYAN. The Russians and the Communist Party. But they also saw that because Caballero was very popular, that he was a strong man in Spain, that he had been six times in prison and he was familiar with the Communist tactics and I think they felt that he would have been very difficult to control. He has written some articles on that question.

Mr. WHITLEY. So if they had cooperated with him he might have pursued a vigorous policy?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; in order to overcome the sabotage of certain groups who were working in Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Whitley, it is evident we cannot finish this witness before lunch. Would it be satisfactory to recess and come back at 2 o'clock?

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, before we recess for lunch I would like to say that by mistake the Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union of the United States of America was placed in the record as a sponsor for one of these front organizations; it is referred to on page 328 of the record of last year.

We have evidence here which shows that they are absolutely not a sponsor and never were and are opposed to such organizations, and I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this letter addressed to the chairman of the committee be placed in the record and that these other exhibits be filed as exhibits to bear out the contents of the letter and thereby clear the name of this Catholic organization of any charge of it being affiliated or even interested in this organization.

Mr. STARNES. Any objection?

(The letter referred to is printed in the record as follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., November 2, 1939.

HON. MARTIN DIES,
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit to your Committee a letter, together with certain exhibits marked "A" and "G," inclusive, received by me from Mr. Frank J. Jones, General Counsel of the Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union of the United States of America, a fraternal insurance society having its national headquarters in Joliet, Illinois, in the Congressional district I represent in Congress.

Since receiving the letter above referred to, I have met and consulted with the general counsel, Mr. Frank J. Jones and the supreme secretary, Mr. Joseph Zalar, both of whom are personally well known to me. As officers of the Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union, they have been quite concerned over an unauthorized use of the name of their society by the "Fraternal Orders Committee" which has recently been cited by your Committee as a Communist organization. The misuse of the name of the Union was first disclosed to these officers when during the latter part of 1936 they received the letters reproduced herewith as Exhibits "A" and "B," respectively. They called the incident to the attention of the supreme committee of the Union which met during the latter part of January of 1937 and at their direction took prompt action toward the removal of the name of the society from the stationery of the "Fraternal Orders Committee." (See Exhibits "C" and "D.") Of course, at this time they had no knowledge of any subversive or Un-American activities by the Fraternal Orders Committee and were not cognizant of the same until advised of the disclosures by your Committee. The Union is fraternal, patriotic and religious. It teaches loyalty to the government of the United States and adherence to the Roman Catholic faith—hence communism has no place in its fraternal structure.

I earnestly request the publication of these letters and exhibits in the hearings of your Committee because (1) it is irrefutable evidence that the Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union did not and does not promote communism or permit the use of its name to other organizations who have such objectives, and (2) it reveals the sinister methods employed by certain Un-American groups in building up an auspicious front through the unauthorized use of the good name and reputation of loyal and patriotic organizations with whom they claim affiliation.

Sincerely yours,

CHAUNCEY W. REED,
Member of Congress, 11th District of Illinois.

Mr. MASON. The other material may be filed as exhibits with the committee.

(The letters and statements referred to were filed with the committee.)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.
(Whereupon a recess was taken until 2 o'clock, during which time the committee announced an adjournment subject to call of the chairman.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee reconvened, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings. Mr. Whitley, who do you have for a witness this morning?

Mr. WHITLEY. Major Wilson will be our first witness.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Major, will you come around and be sworn?

TESTIMONY OF HAMPDEN WILSON, INVESTIGATOR, VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION ASSIGNED TO SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state your full name, Major?

Major WILSON. Hampden Wilson.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is your address?

Major WILSON. 1841 Kilbourne Place, Washington, D. C.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Major?

Major WILSON. In Nottinghay County, Va.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when were you born?

Major WILSON. May 3, 1874.

Mr. WHITLEY. Major, will you state for the committee your experience in the educational field?

Major WILSON. I left the University of Virginia in 1892 and began work in college preparatory schools. Twenty years of that time, following 1893, I was at Cluster Springs Academy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that located?

Major WILSON. Halifax County, Va. I closed that school in 1917, since which time it has not operated, in order that I might enter the military service.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you outline for the record your military service and your service connections, Major?

Major WILSON. I was at the second officers' training camp at Fort Myer and from there to the Quartermasters' Training School at Jacksonville, and the following 2 years on duty at Newport News,

Va., as supply officer at the Embarkation Hospital, where we cared for about 55,000 patients.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you discharged from the service?

Major WILSON. October 31, 1919.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was an honorable discharge?

Major WILSON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, will you state for the record, Major, your experience as an investigator in the investigative field?

Major WILSON. On about December 1 I entered the employ of the Federal Government in the Vocational Education Division.

Mr. WHITLEY. December 1 of what year?

Major WILSON. December 1, 1919. That organization became later a part of the present Veterans' Administration.

In that employ I began and for 2 years organized schools for patients in the Public Health hospitals. They were then called Public Health hospitals. Later on I became the head of the Professional Training Division of Vocational Students, and occupied that position for about 2 years, at which time we had about 35,000 professional trainees under our supervision. Following the close of that work in 1925, I served on the Board of Appeals a few months in the Veterans' Administration, and in April 1926 I was assigned to General Hines as an investigator for the Administration, which position I have continued to the present time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, when did you become connected with this committee, Major?

Major WILSON. I reported for duty with the committee on the 7th day of March 1939.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what was your status with the committee?

Major WILSON. I was an investigator charged with the responsibility of finding out for the committee what was being done in the educational field in the United States by subversive agencies.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you loaned to the committee by the Veterans' Administration?

Major WILSON. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words——

Major WILSON. In other words, General Hines detailed me to the Dies committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. You remained on the rolls of employees of the Veterans' Administration, but performed duties and investigative work for this committee?

Major WILSON. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state for the record, Major, the extent of your investigation of the educational institutions throughout the United States, on behalf of this committee.

Major WILSON. On or about the 10th of March I began my work in New York City, where I spent considerable time learning the technique of the various groups that are at work, and following that I visited some 42 States and more than 50 colleges and universities, State boards of education, and city boards of education.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you read for the record a list of the various institutions which you inquired into and which you contacted during the course of your investigation?

Major WILSON. I contacted Columbia University, Barnard College—

Mr. WHITLEY. Major, will you give the location in each instance of the college or university for the record?

Major WILSON. Columbia University; Barnard College, a subsidiary of the university located in New York City.

The Presbyterian Theological Seminary, New York City; Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City; New York University, New York City, with its several branches in the city; City College of New York, which is a part of the New York City College system, having four colleges representing approximately 35,000 students.

This system is under the control of the board of higher education, members of which were also interviewed; the Board of Education for the city of New York have responsibility for the primary, secondary, and high schools of the city; the superintendent of schools of the city of New York; superintendent of schools of Boston, Mass.; State superintendent of education for the State of Minnesota; the president of deans of the University of Minnesota; the University of Wisconsin at Madison; the University of Chicago; the Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill.; the University of Ohio at Columbus, Ohio; the superintendent of schools, Durham, N. C.; the University of North Carolina; the officers of the city school system of Atlanta, Ga.; Tulane University; Sophia Newcomb College at New Orleans; city authorities responsible for the educational work in the city of New Orleans, La.; the superintendent of education, State of Texas, at Austin; the attorney general of the State of Texas at Austin; the city superintendent of schools, Houston, Tex.; certain authorities in the city of San Antonio, Tex.; the president of the University of Colorado at Boulder, Colo.; the State superintendent of schools of Colorado at Denver; the University of Denver, library department; the Reed College, Portland, Oreg.; the University of Washington at Seattle; school authorities of the city of Seattle, Wash.; Chamber of Commerce and others in the city of Spokane, Wash.; State superintendent of schools of the State of North Dakota at Bismarck; the president and others of the North Dakota Agricultural College at Fargo, N. Dak.; Billings, Mont., Polytechnic College; the University of Nebraska at Lincoln; Wesleyan University, of Lincoln, Nebr.; State superintendent of schools at Lincoln, Nebr.; the University of Kansas at Lawrence, Kans.; Washington University, of St. Louis, Mo.; University of Illinois at Champaign, Ill.; the University of Indiana at Bloomington; the superintendent of schools of the State of Indiana; and certain authorities in the city of Cleveland, which concludes that part of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Major, at all of the places and institutions which you have just named, did you personally make contacts and conduct investigations, and conduct interviews with officials and those in position to furnish information in regard to subservient or un-American activities in those educational institutions and systems?

Major WILSON. I did. I followed the method of, in every institution, going to the president's office—not always seeing the president, for certain reasons—absence and others—and in each institution made contact with the persons who were in an executive responsibility in the institution. I purposely avoided junior professors and

at no time contacted students either in groups or as individuals, except incognito in two instances.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, for a period of approximately 8 months, you devoted your entire time to this investigation of educational systems and institutions which you have just outlined to the committee; is that correct?

Major WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Chairman, Major Wilson has submitted detailed reports to the committee from time to time on his investigations with reference to all of these various institutions. However, he has more or less digested or summarized his entire investigations in a report which he has submitted to the committee showing the result of his investigations, and his findings, and I suggest at this time he read that report, his official report to the committee into the record.

Mr. STARNES. Which is a digest of the reports that have already been made and filed with the committee?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. There have been numerous reports, detailed reports, and this is a summary of the entire investigation. Would that be agreeable, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. I see no objection to that. Major, you may proceed and do that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you give the committee a summary of your investigations, Major, and your findings?

Mr. STARNES. Major, may I state at this time that this, of course, is not a statement, but this is a summary, a digest, of previous reports made, but this puts it in concise form for the purpose of the record?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Major WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And you are just being permitted to read that digest in order to save time.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. This is a summary and not a statement.

Mr. WHITLEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. Because we have refused to permit statements to be read, and it is the policy of the committee not to permit statements to be read.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not in the form of a statement; no, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed.

Major WILSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the following is a statement concerning subversive activities in the educational field. In this statement I have made an honest endeavor to avoid all controversial questions and am presenting those facts obtained through personal contacts which I consider are beyond question, by the schools visited. Not all of the schools will have all of the facts reported here, but this report will deal with things that were not contested or protested at the time of my visit.

Personal contact has been made with more than 50 institutions of higher learning and State and city school systems in 42 States covering 8 months for the purpose of obtaining for the committee knowledge as to the existence of and nature of any un-American activities in this field and public-supported institutions, as opposed to those under private control, have been largely used for this study.

Information has been obtained from chancelors, deans, department heads, members of boards of regents, State and city superintendents, city officials, alumni, and so forth. No contact has been made with students either in groups or singly and no institution was selected for survey because of any previous reports as to the matters under consideration. Further, neither the chairman nor any member of the committee has suggested any institution to be studied. This method has been followed in order that an entirely unbiased cross section of public opinion might be obtained from those persons charged with the administration of education in the United States.

In each instance, care has been taken to state that particular reference was being made to fascism, nazi-ism and communism as representing the groups about which information was desired. Without exception, the individuals contacted have been most cordial, cooperative, and on the whole frank in the statements made. As might be expected, the administrative heads of institutions have been disposed to minimize the extent of the infiltration and its seriousness, while on the contrary many deans, professors, and so forth, have been very definite in pointing out the serious nature of these activities in special institutions.

In practically every institution of higher learning and in many city high schools it was found that the American Student Union was the agency used in spreading communism. It is the uniform practice of colleges to require any organization desiring to hold meetings on the campus to file with designated authorities names of members, responsible officers, and so forth, before authority can be obtained for the holding of meetings and 12 is the minimum number required. In almost every instance information was given that this organization had only a few members, probably 12 or 15, and only 1 of the officers reporting was naive enough to suggest that the number of members reported might have some bearing upon the regulation governing the recognition of organizations. In many institutions the American Student Union was loathe to file the number of its members and in one institution recognition was withheld because of direct refusal to cooperate in this respect.

It is also a requirement that one or more professors must sponsor any group thus recognized. In the case of the American Student Union it was universally stated the professor named as sponsor was characterized as a "red," "pink," or so-called "liberal." In many cases it was reported that these sponsors had never attended a meeting of this group. It will, therefore, be seen that there is a secretiveness about this organization which is in nowise consistent with the high ideals set forth in its constitution and which on its face would cause college authorities some concern. Many such frankly stated that the group was recognized to prevent the charge of abrogation of free speech, and so forth, while one very well-known professor in a large institution admitted that he stated in a public address before the student body that he "wished that 5,000 of the students would join this organization."

He stated further when interrogated as to this statement that the subject of his address on this occasion was *An Elucidation of the Principles of Democracy as Laid Down by Thomas Jefferson*. He was asked whether he knew the history of the organization and he gave an affirmative answer and continued by stating that he had

been invited to serve on its council at the time the organization was formed (December 1935), that he consented to serve but had never been asked to attend a meeting and had had no official connection with the organization. One felt tempted to ask him what Joseph Lash, executive secretary of the organization, expected to get for nothing. This same professor is a member of a board controlling some 35,000 college students, in other institutions than the one in which he holds an important chair. This incident is recited to show the very high esteem in which this Communist-controlled organization is held in some quarters.

It will be conceded by all, that the thinking of students is largely directed and controlled by their teachers, all the way from elementary to graduate groups, and one cannot measure the extent of this influence when exercised by an alert teacher who is filled with zeal for the spread of communism. It was found in practically every instance that the professor chosen to sponsor the American Student Union was always actively seeking every opportunity to bring himself or herself before the student body as the champion of liberty, showing himself or herself untiring in his efforts to make himself popular. No one can deny that this of itself is most commendable but when coupled with the spread of communism it becomes the basest kind of prostitution.

The party has set up a very definite program for the teachers of the United States as will be found from an article in the Communist, published in May 1937. In this article by Richard Frank, the American Student Union and the Young Communist League are named as the agencies to be utilized in the spread of communism in schools and the following quotation therefore shows the responsibility devolving upon teachers:

That they are responsible for training these children. * * * Communist teachers are therefore faced with a tremendous social responsibility. * * * They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working-class education. To enable teachers in the party to do the latter, the party must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teachings at the least risk of exposure, and at the same time conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner.

The article continues with instructions for the use of Communist teachers in the rural schools and leading up to this climax:

A people's movement around the schools can thus transform the latter into popular forums for progressive social action, ultimately into forums for the revolution. * * * It can be seen from this how important it is to build the American Federation of Teachers.

The above excerpts have been made to show the real significance attaching to the repeated assertion that the American Federation of Teachers is strongly impregnated with communism. A teachers' union has been organized in all parts of the East and West and in practically all the cities of the South, while not being usually found in the rural districts. Many of the leaders of these unions are, according to common report, zealously trying to comply with instructions issued by the party, their success being measured solely by the true Americanism to be found in the great body of teachers

who are earnestly striving to train the boys and girls of the United States.

The college chapters of the Teachers' Union are found to be ardent champions of academic freedom and free speech, and are invariably supporting the program of the American Student Union. They cannot yet comply with the instruction "Marxist-Leninism analysis must be injected into every class," largely because of the fear of exposure, which is a cardinal sin to the true Communist.

In a southern community of 30,000 population a former director of Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark., and a well-known Communist labor organizer was elected to membership on the school board, and as a result Communist teachers were brought into the schools. When this was discovered by the superintendent, he set about to change the composition of the board, and when this was done he dropped 31 teachers and 2 clerical employees, all members of the Teachers' Union, because of the Communist activities. This matter is now before the attorney general of the State for decision as to the authority of the board to discontinue the employees in question. This incident shows the power of one capable leader with zeal for the party. Commonwealth College is in close touch with this community, and at the present time has its printing done there as shown by the union label used.

In a close-by city in the same State, the acting chairman of the school board is a lady physician who served as medical officer for the party in Spain. The superintendent of schools stated that she had never made a move on the board which he considered subversive though she is recognized as a "liberal" in the city.

The American Student Union is always a "noisy" minority wherever it exists. It invariably gets representation on the school paper, if not full control. It succeeds in getting space in these papers clearly in excess of its proportionate student membership. It is always opposed to the R. O. T. C. at every opportunity. It is ever seeking to bring "red" speakers to the campus and is active in sponsoring "red" movements whether local or national in scope.

In one university, the American Student Union surreptitiously obtained the names of 600 freshman male enrollees and sent each one a letter which, according to the chancellor, was scurrilous and obscene, criticizing the R. O. T. C. unit and urging them not to enlist. He turned the letter over to the post-office authorities with a view to the prosecution of the guilty parties. No prosecution was attempted, but the chancellor canceled the scholarship appointments of the three students who were responsible for the issuance of the letter. He was unable to find out how they had obtained the names of the incoming students. This was cited by him as an outrageous instance of subversion. The same chancellor in discussing this subject said he was a "liberal," that he would hesitate to question any statement of a professor before his class, even if he showed himself to be more favorable to a foreign economic system than to that of the United States.

In a State university with an enrollment of 12,000 students, a proposal to establish an R. O. T. C. unit was so strongly opposed by one of the professors, a brother of a well-known Communist of the State, that the proposal was defeated. The colonel of the U. S.

Army in charge of the R. O. T. C. in the area stated that he had personal charge of this fight, and that he has personal knowledge that checks came from the New York headquarters of the party to the professor in question, but could not prove this. It is his contention that the influence of the Communist Party was the prime factor in defeating the proposal for the establishment of an R. O. T. C. unit in this institution.

In another State, a member of the Supreme Court stated that the party had made a fight for the abolition of the R. O. T. C. and was successful in getting the legislature to pass an act making military training optional, rather than compulsory. He states that a lady member of the board of regents was the local leader in this fight, and that on his request she exhibited her file of supporters and he recognized many well-known Communist leaders residing in far distant States as being in active opposition.

Throughout the Southern area, the American Student Union introduces the question of social equality between Negroes and whites into its program whenever it is possible. An illustration of this was given by a university president who stated that when the recent Supreme Court decision was handed down in the *Missouri case* to the effect that Negroes must be given law training by the State, that the American Student Union caused the institution to be flooded with telegrams demanding that Negroes be admitted to the law school of the institution and that this demand was quite embarrassing to him. This group is invariably composed of students possessed with the crusader spirit and leaves no stone unturned to carry out the policies transmitted to them by Joseph Lash of New York, the director of the American Student Union. The student paper is likewise of prime importance in the spread of party propaganda and the party has instructed its adherents to get space in these papers clearly out of proportion to their relative importance, if we accept as valid information obtained as to the membership in these unions.

Mention has already been made of the importance of the Teachers' Union in the furtherance of Communist aims. In the South and West, teachers have not joined the union except in large cities, while in the Middle West and East they have joined in goodly numbers, especially from the younger and radical group. President Green of the A. F. of L. in January 1939 suspended the largest Teachers' Union in existence because of its Communist leadership; a large body of its members have previously withdrawn from the union for the same reason.

In those colleges where the union is strong they assume to exercise a voice in the employment and discharge of professors. In some institutions this has caused great strife and a much lowered morale in faculty groups.

The method of the union is to propose always the democratization of the faculty. In one group of institutions authority has been granted for the election of group heads by the vote of the entire membership of the group, with the result that "red" leaders are chosen and older more experienced professors are supplanted by recent accessions to the teaching staff, these having less training and experience. It has been the practice of the party for several years to flood campuses and classrooms with bulletins carrying the title of the institution and thereunder showing that the document was issued by

the Young Communist League unit of the college. These pamphlets carry news about the institutions and many times contain severe criticisms of the administrative actions of the authorities always without showing the identity of the authors and with a defaced Printers' Union label to prevent tracing to point of publication. College authorities say that they have no recourse at law for these offenses. It is the universal opinion that the many thousands of dollars expended in this way must of necessity come from Moscow.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been used as a vehicle for reaching the unsuspecting public as well as students and in at least three States it was found that students had been killed in Spain fighting for the party and that their parents were unable to find out when or where their sons were killed. One member of this brigade was interviewed and he professed such ignorance as to all the circumstances surrounding his participation in the Loyalist cause in Spain as to indicate him to be a very low-grade moron were it not a fact that he has since his return from Spain completed the requirements for a baccalaureate degree in a well-known university.

It was readily established that the American Student Union had been active in these enlistments. It is shown that in some cases the State Department furnished passports and that in others there is strong evidence that Seamen's Maritime Union assisted these students to leave and return to the United States. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was assisted by the American Student Union in collecting funds for the Loyalist cause.

Among the additional movements used by the party in educational institutions are—

(1) The establishment of so-called liberal clubs both on and off campus.

(2) The revamping of courses of study and textbooks to show the glories of communism as developed in Russia.

(3) The liberalization of movements for the liberalization of regulations, the democratization of institutions, advocating "more control" by students, "free speech and peace strikes," etc.

(4) Off-campus work as pickets and otherwise participating in industrial controversies.

(5) Infiltration of student government by Communist leaders.

(6) Infiltration of parent-teacher associations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, do you have any questions of Major Wilson with reference to the report?

Mr. STARNES. Major Wilson, did you find any other organized groups at work in the student body of our schools and colleges other than the American Student Union and Young Communist League?

Major WILSON. There were found in several institutions letters from Oscar C. Pfaus, Hamburg, Germany, who professed to speak for the Ficht Bund. Several of these letters were addressed to individual students, always signed "Baron." These letters were very personal. They were, in several instances, striving to show the college students to whom they were addressed the very great success of the Hitler movement in Germany.

Another very common practice in the colleges was for a representative of the German Government, generally an official on duty in this country, to visit the college president and propose to give to him a series of books dealing with German culture. These books of them-

selves were quite inoffensive, dealing with early Germany, but having entered the library on the German mailing list, the library reports that they continued to receive and did receive large numbers of pamphlets dealing with Hitlerism or nazi-ism, all of these pamphlets purporting to show the great success of the Hitler movement in Germany. Emphasis is being placed upon the signature on these letters, because of the fact that most boys and girls in America are flattered to receive a letter from a baron in Germany, regardless of his or her attitude toward Germany.

Other than that there was no concerted movement on the part of either the Fascists or Nazis in the schools.

I might say this, in conclusion, that no place is too small or too far from New York to be approached by these organizations.

Mr. STARNES. You found that as a rule the movement stemmed in this country from New York City?

Major WILSON. Always; and from no other source.

Mr. STARNES. Did you find any evidence of the fact that Fascist units or branches of the Communist Party existed among the student body other than these front organizations that you have named?

Major WILSON. It was common report in many of the colleges that certain professors attended unit meetings of the party in the towns and cities contiguous to the institution, but there was no evidence that students were actually attending such meetings, but there were, however, several instances where Marxist clubs were formed on the campus for the study of Marxism.

Mr. STARNES. I believe that your statement or your summary shows that the Communists were particularly active in obtaining positions on school publications or means of communication which reached the student body with their articles and their theories. Is that correct?

Major WILSON. That is true, and, to be specific, in one university president's office I picked up the current issue of the paper and found four articles about a given professor who had been reported to me to be a "red." I did not meet the gentleman; do not know anything about his affiliations; but these four articles related to social activities among students and dealt with this professor's very valuable assistance in this phase of college life, all of which is fine, if there was not attaching to the situation the belief on the part of those present at the university that this man himself was a "red."

Mr. STARNES. Did you find any evidence of the fact that in their attempt to infiltrate into the schools or colleges or to get their viewpoints expressly before student bodies of our great educational institutions, that the Communists often have some member of the faculty or some front organization on the campus to extend an invitation and then have the school authorities refuse to grant a place for this Communist to speak; then set up the cry of suppression of free speech and the violation of civil liberties? Did you find that to be a technique that is used to a considerable extent?

Major WILSON. That is universally their technique. It is the desire of the American Student Union to present itself to the student body as an active agent to procure advantages for the student body, which of itself is quite commendable. They always, however, antagonize practically everywhere possible the general administration;

always agitating some advantage whether deserved or not that the authorities are opposed to granting.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, antagonizing, deliberately antagonizing, the authorities and encouraging them to refuse the privilege of the use of the buildings there to Communists in order to set up their cry of suppression of civil liberties and denying free speech.

Major WILSON. And to win favor among certain types of students who think that the organization is thereby increasing its power and influence in the institution.

Mr. STARNES. That seems to be a well-established procedure. Of course, there is not any denial of the right of free speech. It is just merely to raise a false issue that that is built up.

Do any other members of the committee have any questions?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes, I want to ask some questions.

Major, what do you mean when you say that a professor is a "red"?

Major WILSON. So characterized by the local authorities and locally informed.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you mean that he is a member of the Communist Party?

Major WILSON. I think very few are members of the Communist Party in practice. In fact they are told that they are much more valuable to the party not to become members of it. I think we are being misled when we say that these and other people are members of the party. A man who holds a certain administrative position in a college can be a very valuable ally to the party as a fellow traveler, whereas his usefulness in that institution or that community would be at an end the day that it is known that he is a member of the Communist Party and in possession of his card.

Mr. VOORHIS. Major, your report was fairly general and I would just like to see if we cannot get the picture as accurately as possible.

What did you find to be the estimated membership of the American Student Union throughout the country?

Major WILSON. As stated, they file usually 12 or 13 members as the official membership. The actual attendance at meetings varies according to who was doing the talking, from we would say 50 to 100 or 300 sometimes, and if Earl Browder was to speak there would be a larger number. Obviously those who attended such a meeting would not be members of the party or interested in the party, but attending through curiosity.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right; but what I am trying to get at is, I think it would be a great disservice if this committee gave the impression that it thought that the American educational system was communistic, and I think unless we are more definite about the thing that that is exactly the impression that is going to go out. I do not personally believe that at all. I think that there are certain efforts being made, some of which you have indicated here partly in your report and partly in your answer to Mr. Starnes' questions; but I would just like to know what percentage of the American student population you think is at all inclined toward either communism, nazi-ism, or fascism.

Major WILSON. For obvious reasons, no consideration whatever has been given to what the students in a given institution were thinking and doing, because that is of no importance to this committee

or the American people. The effort was made to find out how many professors were lending support; how many members of the boards of regents; how many members of boards of education were interested in the development of this proposition.

It is the general consensus of opinion that from 1 to 5 percent of the faculties—and that includes all teaching members of the faculty from the juniors through to the deans—are lending sympathy to this cause.

No estimate was, of course, made as to the number of students taking an active part in the American Student Union. I happened to be at the Peace Day strike at Columbia, presided over by one of the deans. There were probably four or five hundred people on the campus where the meeting was held. It was obvious that most of the students attending the Peace Day strike took it as a joke, but there went out from the university an airplane or in an airplane two or three members of a committee bringing very glowing reports to the city of Washington concerning the success of the Peace Day movement at Columbia at that time.

I do not want to leave the impression that in any institution was it found that Communists were in control; we found in practically every institution a very alert, noisy group composed of professors and students who were at all times talking about American democratic freedom, free speech, getting additional liberalization of faculty rule. That has been true from time immemorial, so far as students are concerned.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes. In other words, ever since education was started you have always gotten the friction of people who are interested in the most exciting thing that is coming along and at any given time.

I want to ask one question about the American Federation of Teachers. Do you know that at the last convention of the American Federation of Teachers that Dr. George S. Counts was elected president of the organization; do you know that?

Major WILSON. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And do you know what his position is on the question of communism and fascism, and nazi-ism?

Major WILSON. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would just like to point out that there is an extremely vigorous effort being made within the membership of the American Federation of Teachers to eliminate the Communist influence, and it seems to me that that ought to be at least mentioned in connection with this.

Mr. STARNES. I presume, Mr. Counsel, that you will have other witnesses dealing with this same subject; college professors and educational advisers and leaders who will supplement his summarized report with detailed information of the various institutions as to the particular and different activities carried on there and at the various institutions.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Are there any further questions? You have finished?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That will be all, Major.

Call your next witness.

Mr. WHITLEY. The next witness will be Dr. Hartmann.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE W. HARTMANN, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY, TEACHERS' COLLEGE, NEW
YORK

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Dr. Hartmann, will you state your full name?

Mr. HARTMANN. George W. Hartmann.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your address?

Mr. HARTMANN. I am associate professor of educational psychology, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, and when were you born?

Mr. HARTMANN. I was born in the State of New Jersey in 1904.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you outline, Doctor, for the committee, the nature and extent of your experience in the field of education?

Mr. HARTMANN. My background, to begin with; I was an instructor in psychology, Dartmouth College, around 1925. I have also taught in Pennsylvania State College and have been in the social science research council field: fellowship in the University of Berlin during the years 1930 and 1931.

Until last summer I was editor-in-chief of the journal in the field of education known as the "Social Frontier," now under the direct financial control of the Progressive Educational Association, one of the most important professional bodies of the United States. I have also been the chairman of a research organization known as the Society for the Sociological Study of Social Sciences.

I think of myself as a person with an advanced liberal and progressive point of view. If the person to whom I compare myself does not object, I should say probably my social attitudes overlap about 95 percent those of one member of this committee, Mr. Voorhis.

I have been, and was until last spring the president of the Columbia University Chapter of the College Teachers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, and in turn with the American Federation of Labor.

My principal contact with that group is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that I was a delegate to the Cedar Point Convention in August of 1938 of the American Federation of Teachers.

Do you wish further details, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that covers the question.

Now, Doctor, what can you tell the committee about the behavior of the communists in the Teachers' Unions and your experience with those organizations?

Mr. HARTMANN. Because I hold a very definite point of view that I think is important to this interpretation, it may be of assistance to the committee if I indicate that in my own judgment the great body of American teachers, from the kindergarten to the graduate schools are, if anything, too conservative for their own professional good, or even the welfare of the American community.

Hardly more than 30,000 are organized into Teachers' Unions. This ratio has been compared to a population of well over a million comprising the educational population in the country.

For example, some of my work has had to do with the measurement of the attitudes and opinions of this particular professional group and I have constantly been impressed with the extraordinary conservatism represented by the great body of teachers. This may

seem to some of you slightly irrelevant, but when I found fully 56 percent of all elementary school teachers of America deny the principle of organic evolution, which is, you may say, the foundation stone of contemporary biology, I think you see so far as the typical teacher goes there is, if anything, an overconservative orientation toward the problems which are presented.

Mr. MASON. Doctor, right there, if I may interrupt, the fact that 56 percent of the elementary teachers deny this theory is not significant, to my mind, because of the fact that at least 56 percent of the elementary teachers of America have never come in contact with these theories and therefore reject them because they know nothing about them. The preparation of 56 percent of the elementary teachers of America is very low, as you know.

Mr. HARTMANN. Yes. That is true. I submit that item only as an indication of the fact that to say that the American teachers have a foreground of cultural advance would be doing probably a greater compliment than the teachers seem to deserve.

Mr. MASON. Well, as a teacher of 35 years' standing, I want to point out the fact that the great majority of our elementary teachers have not been exposed to these theories and therefore naturally on a questionnaire would reject them.

Mr. HARTMANN. I think in recent years, however, the training of school teachers has advanced well beyond that level so that it is still a rather startling thing to find such a cardinal principle in the cultural life of the world is nonetheless denied by this important professional group. I hope that the——

Mr. STARNES. You would not say that that is un-American, however, Doctor?

Mr. HARTMANN. It would probably be considered somewhat unscientific in the light of the best judgment of our day and I am one who hopes that the best scientific concepts and best American concepts can be merged together into one unified whole.

My own point of view, Mr. Chairman, is that the spirit of research, spirit of scholarship, the area which I represent, educational psychology and social psychology should not antagonize my evidence and testimony this morning, and I hope to touch upon that which future witnesses in this area must use.

To answer directly the counsel's inquiry, as to what I know about the behavior of the Communists in the American labor unions and the American teachers unions, in particular, I may state the following: A fair appraisal of the service or disservice that Stalinists—as representatives or sympathizers of the official, regular, or "orthodox" Communist Party are called, among the cognoscenti, to distinguish them from dissenting "sectarians" such as Trotskyites or Lovestoneites—render to the labor movement is both difficult to make, and, once made, to publicize so that it is accepted by both laymen and experts.

The enormous mass of printed material—to which Benjamin Stolberg, Sidney Hook, Ferdinand Lundberg, Eugene Lyons, Lillian Symes, and so forth, have notably contributed—on this topic is exceeded only by the bitter and interminable oral controversies that grow out of it.

Most educators have trouble appraising this issue because their personal histories have not provided them with the concrete and

direct experiences that make this a real and complex problem in human relations.

Evidence from many quarters demonstrates that many unions, whether local or national bodies, are controlled in whole or in part through underground manipulation by a political faction. The Communist Party, of which Mr. Earl Browder is the general secretary, is the group usually responsible for these tactics.

In my judgment this behavior is out of harmony with the implications of the Bill of Rights, because as I interpret it, one of the principles of the American Bill of Rights is to make possible the procedure of open persuasion and by active conspiracy on the part of these underground groups, they are denying their affiliation and the Communists to that extent are hamstringing the very principles of constitutional liberty.

I may add that the Nazi movement, which would be a parallel to it, almost a classmate, at the present time is practically unrepresented in American universities, so far as I know.

The Stalinist organization has been more powerful. They appear in the publication field, in the type of influencing or exerting an influence over publications, journals, and magazines along the artistic, scholarly, and scientific lines to an extraordinary degree.

The reasons for this strange behavior on their part lie deep in the complicated history of the Russian revolution with its conspiratorial bands of exiles, the internal organization of the Communist Party with a rigorous discipline that compels all members to follow the decisions of a caucus or a designated "floor" leader, and the reluctance of actual Stalinists to acknowledge themselves as such before their fellow unionists for fear of economic reprisals or because they recognize that their influence on specific policies would be weaker if non- or anti-Communists suspected that their concern was based on strictly partisan considerations. For Communists—as for many others—"loyalty" to the union is secondary to loyalty to the party, as the latter appears to offer a more comprehensive world outlook.

This party is exceptionally severe in its demands on the resources, energies, and consciences of its supporters; many ex-Communists who have broken with their former associates claim that the party subordinates all other values to the quest for power over persons and that it is essentially an agency for promoting the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This is also my own conviction concerning them, the foreign policy of the U. S. S. R. When this changes, American Communists simultaneously change their slogans and practices to conform to this master director.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, to use the words of the leader of the Communist Party in this country, the Communist in this country must find himself in agreement—I believe that is the term—he must find himself in agreement with any change in policy; and change in line of the party laid down by the Soviet Government, else he is outside the party.

Mr. HARTMANN. My only comment on that is so far as external observation is concerned, and behavioristic evidence goes, that they must harmonize themselves, or else.

The problems presented by the presence of true—as distinguished from alleged—Stalinists within unions are largely ethical ones. All

major human and social decisions turn upon some system of values, and the more clearly structured the system held by the personality, the more obvious and explicit is this dependence. The frequent obscurantist use of the term "Communist" by unsympathetic reactionaries who believe—or who wish others to believe—that everyone with a humanitarian impulse or progressive sentiment is one who cannot be countenanced by any scholarly or just observer. Indeed, this technique has redounded to the advantage of real Communists who can masquerade as liberals because the latter have seen too many worthy enterprises illegitimately hurt by the random use of the label and are therefore ever skeptical when honest radicals and informed "reformers" object to Stalinist agents or maneuvers.

Communist morality knows nothing of respect for personality, the basis of a true democratic culture, and seems to sanction the systematic use of deception in terms of the principle, often associated with Machiavellian power politics or the practices known as jesuitical, that the end justifies the means—a principle of individual or group conduct which pacifists and, one may suppose, honest minds everywhere, tend to repudiate.

How to deal constructively with Communist union members is an unsolved difficulty for most labor leaders at present. The internal organizational struggles of the American Labor Party in New York are a political projection of this situation. Those who are convinced that the Stalinists are committed to a "rule or ruin" policy within their associations and feel that every confessed or suspected member of this party should be excluded find it inexpedient to do so because of the danger that such exclusion will not stop there, but be extended to cover other "minorities." They wish to defend the right of any person or group to advocate any policy, but they feel free to expose the ugly and inhumane responses of the Communists to their union "brothers."

During the 1920's the Communists organized rival "dual unions" to the American Federation of Labor, but these were abandoned during the 1930's in favor of the Trojan-horse tactics, which have been extraordinarily successful—because of the difficulty of combating them—in multiplying their direct influence within the labor movement. By posing as the militant advocates of democracy they often win the indulgence of those who abhor the protofascist and authoritarian practices of much of American industry, at the same time that they defend a dictatorial regime that would kill or exile men like John Dewey, Norman Thomas, and Senator George W. Norris for their views alone. Such hypocrisy is sickening only to those who are acquainted with the facts concerning the absence of civil liberties within the Soviet Union and who bestow some esteem upon consistency in attitudes and acts.

This is not the place to offer a full interpretation of Communist behavior, but it may not be amiss to suggest that much of the party's grip on its adherents depends upon the needs of these personalities for a stable body of beliefs in an era when every traditional conviction is tumbling about our ears.

Functionally it is a dogmatic "mother church" that satisfies the longings of individuals for a cause. There are latent possibilities for high nobility in this situation, although much plainly depends upon the content of the creed and what it requires of its worshippers.

On the whole, the intelligence and drive of Communists within labor unions exceed that of their average fellows; the result is that they are

disproportionately well represented in the officer category, a result that is also fostered by well-developed "cells," blocs, or caucuses, and a training in parliamentary law and some elementary principles of social psychology—both areas in which the typical unionist is woefully deficient. Workers' education has so far done little to correct this limitation. Some students of the problem hold that Stalinists are useful to these public organizations so long as they comprise no more than 2 to 5 percent of the membership, but that as soon as their number exceeds this threshold value they behave like a Tammany clique, seize control of the governing apparatus, and "misgovern" in the interests of irrelevant or antagonistic purposes.

Discriminations such as these may seem to be unduly refined, but a failure to respond to real distinctions can cause no end of havoc in political affairs. This need to develop critical distinctions also appears in the much-abused field of "red baiting," particularly since the foregoing discussion is likely to be construed as an instance in point. The term seems to have arisen in liberal circles during the immediate post-war years as an expression of their resentment at the unwarranted persecution of radicals by citizens or officials, particularly when this involved a callous disregard of elementary human decencies. It is also applied to the deliberately dishonest efforts of conservative politicians to injure the effectiveness of distinguished opponents by pinning an ugly and false label upon them. But in recent years a third and curious application of the phrase has been made by Stalinists who indignantly raise the cry of "red baiting" whenever frank and accurate exposition of their aims and procedures is offered. In this case it serves as a protective device since no liberals wish to be guilty of actual "red baiting" and the confusion and intentional distortion thus created limits the effectiveness of their criticism.

It is important to note that the labels "red baiter" or "red baiting" when used by Communists to brand their critics unfavorably are as much a case of "name calling" designed to block analytical reflection as stating that the child-labor amendment is a "Bolshevik" proposal. All these terms are legitimate once when applied in the proper context and they must continue to be used; but their deliberately illicit employment is a barrier to both clear thinking and just treatment of persons. An awareness of these elusive psychological factors will do much to clarify some of the points imperfectly or incompletely elaborated in this statement.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, you say that the principal difficulty with the American Federation of Teachers in recent years has been the underground manipulation and control by a political faction.

MR. HARTMANN. Precisely that; and the Communist Party is the agency responsible for that consequence.

This underground behavior takes the form of deception; of lying; of the familiar technique known as character assassination; of behavior which is not only unprofessional, but low and vile in any group, no matter where it may occur.

I think perhaps the thing that disturbs me most is the discrepancy between the slogan of the American Federation of Teachers, "Democracy and Education for Democracy," a slogan which has my complete loyalty, and its use unfortunately and unintelligently, undoubtedly, by the Stalinist organization to cover up behavior that is anything but

democratic, and certainly miseducative in the extreme. That, to me, is the ugly and nasty thing about this group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, how much freedom of expression exists among their groups within the Teachers' Union?

Mr. HARTMANN. That question can perhaps best be answered by reference to the history of an attempt to ventilate the Communist Party problem within the professional organization itself.

College News Letter, edited in New York and used only by the local group of the metropolitan area, is practically the house organ of the Communist faction which has that unit in its grip, so that nothing really appears in that which would not also be acceptable to the New Masses or to the Daily Worker.

Our reasons for believing that are not speculative.

They are based upon definite test cases, or a series of test cases, carried on between August 1938 and May 1939—roughly, the last academic year.

In both those instances, in an effort to clean house internally, to call the attention of the membership to the seriousness represented by this problem, I prepared a very brief article, which I knew would clash with the official Stalinist line as operated at that time.

For instance, any expression of opinion in favor of the principles of the Ludlow-La Follette war-referendum idea was distinctly, until recently, most in opposition to the official line of the Communist Party of the United States. Consequently, when any union member spoke favorably in its behalf, he was at once singled out by the Communist Party groups for their attack, because they were, for reasons of their own, distinctly opposed to the principles or even the letter of that particular constitutional amendment which was proposed.

Therefore, in December of 1938, I prepared a short four-page article, a copy of which I have here, entitled "Teachers in Uniform," the gist of which was an effort to call the attention of all teachers in the Union, Communists or non-Communists, to the fact that there was a war-mongering spirit aided and abetted by the Communist Party group at that time, in line obviously with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which it has adopted plainly on an international scale until late August of this year.

That article was rejected; and because I happened to be acquainted with two members of the editorial board, I know that the reasons for that rejection were not because the article was not an appropriate one for discussion, but because it was in conflict with the majority opinion of the editorial board, who took their directions from the Communists, either directly or indirectly, that is, with respect to publications to be made in the New York Teacher.

In order to carry the thing further, I submitted the same article to the American Federation of Teachers' Journal, national organ known as The American Teacher, a few months later; late in January, I believe.

Mr. STARNES. What was the title of your first article?

Mr. HARTMANN. "Teachers in Uniform."

Mr. STARNES. And to what publication did you submit it?

Mr. HARTMANN. Submitted that to the New York Teacher, the official publication of the public-school teachers of the metropolitan district in New York.

Mr. STARNES. And they refused to print it?

Mr. HARTMANN. They refused to carry it.

Mr. STARNES. And you ascribe that to Communist influences?

Mr. HARTMANN. Exactly. Now, I grant that they may be interpreted as a disgruntled author's feeling about the situation, but it happens that I have with me letters also from two or three members of the board who happened to be in the minority, who have now resigned, but who were active at that time and know exactly what happened.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, to use their tactics, you could very easily say that they deny the freedom of the press?

Mr. HARTMANN. It is precisely that and therefore in answer to counsel's question, I should say that within the union's publications in the New York district, all of them, from the public-school teachers to the college teachers' groups, no article containing any phrase or reference which is hostile in any way to the official Communist Party's position can appear, whereas I have here half a dozen issues of that periodical and news release which indicates time and time again that in defense of the so-called Stalin principles and objectives they use what they consider "red baiting," which is used constantly—appears in the columns. So, there is evidence internally and externally, both direct and indirect, with respect to the editorial policy and it is clear to me with respect to the New York locals. That was true last year and that remains true today.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the attitude that they have taken since the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. HARTMANN. One of embarrassed silence.

Mr. VOORHIS. They have not mentioned it?

Mr. HARTMANN. They have mentioned it, but they are now following what may be called a passive campaign which is very strange and an utterly unexplicable type of reversal which can only be accounted for on account of foreign affiliations of the group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, I believe you said you also submitted that article to the American Teacher.

Mr. HARTMANN. Yes. Do you wish me to continue with the history of that particular article?

Mr. WHITLEY. If you will.

Mr. HARTMANN. This is a somewhat more complex situation, because the national body is not so clearly defined in its order taken as brought out earlier this morning by my colleague and friend, Prof. George S. Counts who shares in a large measure my own views, who is now the chairman and president of that organization. But he was able to become such only by a close vote and only in terms of revolutions and struggles within the organization within recent months. In this particular he has also an uphill battle on his hands, based upon the fact that the council is not by any means wholly with him in this problem; but returning to the question of the Stalinists' influence in American educational life.

As to this article it was first suggested that rather than print it in the American Federation of Teachers' publication, the editor of which happens to be the editor of another journal, so he suggested that, why don't you publish it in the other publication. I suggested that this was an internal problem; a matter for the organization

domestically to try to clear up rather than to make it a public issue directly.

Then some correspondence ensued. The result, however, was very clear that they felt issues like that should not be dealt with in the columns of the periodical.

Somewhat later I therefore circulated all of the national councilmen of the American Federation of Teachers—this was before Mr. Counts became president of it—and urged that they do their duty and see that some provision be made for opening up the columns of the official publication, which was supported by all groups, and not just the official group or the majority group, but also the minority groups. That, however, was evaded, although I know that it led to a spirited battle, since it is nip and tuck between the Communists and the anti-Communists now within the national and local groups. Nonetheless the result was that which I have described in summarizing my reply to counsel, and I should say that one of the most extraordinary things we have is that of a body which very vitally insists upon the subject of discussion of controversial issues and wants to use the classrooms and public-school forums for their proper settlement, actually deny that to its own members when issues affecting the life of the organization are involved.

That is the most unhappy history of it and makes sense only in terms of the powerful influence and respect which the Communists have secured from their associates.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, that is due wholly to the Communist influence within that organization?

Mr. HARTMANN. I can see no other explanation of that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, why is it that all of the New York Teachers' Unions have been suspended by the Central Trades Council of that city?

Mr. HARTMANN. First of all, the fact is clear and must be emphasized, they have been suspended for a period of some years in all cases.

The explanation again goes back to the fact that persons with genuine democratic orientation, who wished to make the unions contribute to the progress of this country, felt that the majority was not exercising its proper function, but the principle at the present moment, which has been in existence in the Communist Party group who, though often numerically in the minority, may, none the less, by their close cohesion succeed in carrying off the entire show. The result has been that Local No. 5, Public School Local, No. 5, in New York City, has been out of the Central Trades Council for some years. The so-called adult education project, W. P. A. workers' group, in the same way, has been suspended as has the College Teachers' Union, which I have close connection with, because of the fact that I was president of the Columbia University Chapter of the A. F. T., which was also suspended. The only explanation again in that case is that the type of conduct which the Communist organization and officials engaged in was such as to alienate every honest-thinking union member in the group. Indeed, I may present this brief condensation of the situation as follows. It was actually stated

in essence by many of the persons who voted for the suspension of these teachers' groups.

For teachers to pose as defenders of "progressive education" and "democracy" while doing G. P. U. espionage and other service for Stalin's regime in which both of these goods are nonexistent is the greatest and most demoralizing kind of hypocrisy.

Those who are willing to use this interpretive key can easily detect the Communist gang at work, despite its numerous disguises and duplicity. One then readily learns to detect the "steering committee" and the "floor leader" as they function at meetings, and eventually to predict with reasonable certainty that the exact moves which this highly routinized organism will make at any given juncture.

The whole Teachers' Union—in fact, much of the labor-union situation—is a mysterious riddle to an observer until he grasps the fact of Stalin's machinations. Then all of the parts fall into place, the total pattern stands forth fully revealed, and what was once dark and obscure becomes clear and comprehensive.

That was the insight, which, in my judgment, led to the suspension of these unions.

Mr. STARNES. Then undoubtedly there has been strong communistic influences; undoubtedly there has been strong communistic influences in the Teachers' Union there in New York City?

Mr. HARTMANN. Concentrated particularly there, but operating also on a national scale.

Mr. STARNES. In other centers of the country.

Mr. HARTMANN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I presume that counsel will deal with that a little bit later in detail? That is the point I am interested in, and if you are not going to develop that point, I will ask some more questions. Are you going to develop that later?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Doctor, with what sized minority group have the Communists been able to attain the position of control and prominence which they occupy in the Teachers' Unions?

Mr. HARTMANN. That is somewhat difficult to estimate, but I should say in one test case which I know about personally, because I was chairman of the meeting at which this instance occurred, I should say that the vote of something like 23 to 16 was able to defeat a move which they wanted to see accomplished. However, the fact remains that those 16 were, because of their particular methods of operation, meeting in advance of the meeting, having a common objective and common understanding, able to dominate the situation, whereas the divided groups in the opposition were utterly unaware of the procedures of defense to be used.

In that one local case, I should say the figure of about one-third sufficed under most circumstances, except in rare situations, to give them effective control of the situation.

I may say, too, that one of the characteristic procedures of the Stalin group is to use, as a chairman or president some person with some measure of professional prestige and distinction, behind whose skirts they can hide.

So the actual man in the organization, the real key man that you want to get after, is not the chairman or the president so much as the

secretary. Find out who the secretary is; who does the detail, intimate detail work. He is the one who provides the interlocking connection with other organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask a question along that same line. You said a while back that Dr. Counts was elected by a close vote.

Mr. HARTMANN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What groups comprised the vote against him? What I mean is this: Were they all people whom you would believe to be Communists?

Mr. HARTMANN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Or some of them people who went along with them?

Mr. HARTMANN. In earlier years I should say that the Communists had an intersecting alliance overreaching around to the extreme right wing within the Teachers' Union groups, but what led to the systematic victory of Professor Counts there is that the opposition was restricted almost entirely to the very venomous and bitter hostility as between the different groups. He was elected in a last-minute situation, aided somewhat by the rather dramatic fact that the convention was in session at the time the Hitler-Stalin pact was announced, which gave him the indirect support of certain wavering groups.

I should say that his election was the bitterest, most contested, we have had.

I think it is safe to say that the figure which I have given is representative of the effective strength that they can muster.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you think about the future of the organization?

Mr. HARTMANN. I think the future, if housecleaning can be successfully accomplished—if the Communist Party and its work can be thoroughly discredited by publicity of the kind that I hope this occasion may help to provide—that that may be sufficient to turn the tide.

Mr. VOORHIS. You would feel, would you not—in fact, you said it—one thing which has to be carefully observed is not to catch in a dragnet, as it were, people who do not belong to the Communist group; and to the extent that is done, the work of attempting to combat the real influence of the actual Communist is likely to be weakened?

Mr. HARTMANN. Precisely. I think that the greatest danger either this committee or any group faces, either intentionally or unintentionally, is to confuse Stalinists with all other minor sectarian, radical, or progressive groups which may exist in the country. They are in an entirely different category.

Mr. STARNES. But a fair, impartial, and fearless exposure of communism at work in the schools, and in the colleges, and in the trade-union movement brought to light by witnesses who are thoroughly familiar and conversant with the facts will enable the genuine friends of organized labor and the genuine friends of educators in the country to clean their house, with the aid of public opinion, so that those unions or those organizations may become instrumentalities for good, rather than being subservient to the Communist Party.

Mr. HARTMANN. I think that is true, and I hope it can be achieved.

Mr. STARNES. That is the hope, I assure you, of every member of this committee. We do not have to reiterate that over and over, because some of us have been here long enough to make a record. That is our hope and sole aim as a committee. The committee does not have to be reiterating that, and I am just making that statement now as

acting chairman of this subcommittee to that effect so that it will not be necessary for any member of the committee to express any fear that this committee will try to spread any sort of a story or make a report that will be harmful hereafter in any way to any genuine progressive movement in this country or that will hurt any trade-union or any body of organized labor.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, just to clear up what I had in mind when I asked that question: I am not concerned about what happens here in this room. The only thing I am sometimes concerned about is the comparatively short, dramatic, and sensational reports which go out as a result of statements that may be made from time to time, which it seems to me cover too much territory.

Mr. STARNES. I grant my very fine colleague that; but at the same time, it is one of the things which happen in democracies, and I have no desire to control or lecture the press or the gentlemen who report these proceedings. I think they have done a very good job.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am not lecturing the press. I did not have reference to that.

I would like to say just one thing: You said you felt that you were, perhaps, 95 percent in agreement with my views. I would just like to say that I am 100 percent in agreement with what you have said this morning.

Mr. HARTMANN. I appreciate that.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Dr. Hartmann, in practically every instance when any organization or union is designated as communistic, as being controlled by the Communist Party, the defense always offered is that it is ridiculous to make such an assertion or designation, for the simple reason that the Communists comprise such a very small minority of the membership of that organization or group.

Would you say, from your experience and observation in the work of the Teachers Union, that it is entirely possible for the Stalinists, with their technique, with the tactics which they pursue, to dominate an organization with a small minority?

Mr. HARTMANN. Precisely. That is the secret of their success.

There are some situations, probably around New York, where they may literally approach a true majority or even have a substantial numerical majority of, say, 60 to 70 percent of the total; but that does not explain their influence in a great many other quarters which can be often controlled effectively with as few as 10 to 30 percent of the total membership, and the explanation is to be found, it seems to me, in a close examination of their ways. They are drilled in tactics of parliamentary law. For example, an unfavorable motion which they want to suppress arises, and they move to table. Very quickly it is seconded; and when an objection is made, the simple statement is made that a motion to table is not debatable, and so on, and it sort of intimidates the rest of the group, with the result that in the absence of any aggressive opposition to them they win, because of this principle which Aaron Burr gave credence to, that effective power and often law is anything which is forcibly asserted and plausibly maintained, and the Communists are experts at that particular procedure.

In addition, the membership, please remember, is a disciplined group, which means that it is subject literally to the orders of a semi-military organization, at least in that spirit; and because they are

the first to appear when a meeting starts, with the result that some important bills or actions are taken before the majority of the membership is present, or they use staving-off tactics so that the meeting lasts well beyond midnight, when most of the other teachers want to rest for next day's professional work. The result is that some important things are done late in the morning.

There is, of course, a certain damaging parallelism between that and other political action besides Communists. I think I may say that. But, in that type of maneuvering they are experts and obtain a control which they are able to maintain.

In addition, they have something—what seems to me like a file system. "Use principle 169-A" whenever such-and-such a measure arises. It has been tested and verified by other organizations. That is their history.

Then, they have been operating on these so-called Trojan-horse principles and have been so successful that it is literally true that even though 60 percent of the organization is very well informed as to these matters, they still have definite up-hill travel in the face of that situation. That is the actual extraordinary power of what seems at first sight to be a meager minority group.

MR. VOORHIS. Do you not believe that there are possibly two other factors in that situation? One I think you alluded to formerly, the need on the part of the progressives in this country and in the labor movement, and every place else, for a better coordinated philosophy of their own; for a greater driving force toward their objectives; and in the second place, the tendency on the part of those progressive groups to be hesitant about taking a strong stand in these matters, because they do not want to be called "red baiters," and because they do not want to appear to be narrow-minded, and so on and so forth; that until they realize the fact that they have two fronts to fight on rather than one, that it will be a hard job.

MR. HARTMAN. Those things are very true, Mr. Voorhis, for the best groups to eliminate the Communists from the picture as appears in the educational groups or professional and labor organizations of the country, if I may add to that statement, my own experience indicates that constructive relations with the Communists are absolutely impossible, no matter what the area concerned may be. They have cursed and contaminated every revolutionary reform movement with which they have been associated.

MR. STARNES. I agree wholly with that statement.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, what other evidence do you have concerning the Stalinists' activities in education circles?

MR. HARTMAN. Well, it is present in the existence of a periodical called *Science and Society*, a copy of which I have in my hand. This, I may say, is a scholarly document that would be considered very heavy reading by most persons. Not all contributors are Communists, because that is one of the principles met with in their window dressing, to give an air of distinction and eminence to it; but as I open up the latest issue of this particular periodical I find in it a critique of John Dewey's philosophy, which is entirely acceptable as an approach, except that in every other paragraph one encounters a subtle attack upon Professor Dewey because of his critique of the Soviet experiment in recent years; his point of view with regard to

the end and means which obviously cuts rather deeply, is here refuted, at least, to the satisfaction of the Communist groups.

This generally does not have a very wide circulation, but it would represent, you might say, the intellectual tops in the Stalinist circles in America at the present time.

Other evidence, I think, is to be found in the manner in which they have responded to our efforts to work peaceably and join with them on certain situations. I mentioned earlier in identifying myself that I have been editor of *The Social Frontier*, a copy of which I hold in my hand. Beginning in October I began writing a series of editorials criticizing their unprofessional, unethical, and undemocratic, and, in the best sense of the word, un-American, behavior in our community life, and that led to a series of attacks which are most interesting, pressure being brought to bear upon subscribers to cease patronizing it. Attacks were made at professional meetings held in different cities in the country away from us, and it is very significant, although we opened our columns to the replies which the Communists or their sympathizers wished to make, as shown by such cartoons as this, in which they lambasted us rather viciously, and such as including an answer to an article written by Dr. Linville in the March issue; we ran a response to that by Mr. Hendley, head of Local No. 5, commonly known as the Teachers' Union of New York City.

This is the type of genuine freedom of speech we sought to provide them, but which they never reciprocated to in any single publication they even gained control of.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it reinforces the statement you made a moment ago that communism cannot stand ventilation.

Mr. HARTMANN. Exactly.

Mr. STARNES. It is sort of like a skunk. When you ventilate it it loses its power or force.

Mr. HARTMANN. Well, if I may use another figure, it is like the pus in a boil. If you prick it a little bit, the pus comes out and the system is healthier as a result of that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you put the name of that first magazine in the record?

Mr. HARTMANN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I was just wondering whether the reporter got that. And I wondered whether the point was clear as to the difference between the *Social Frontier*, which is your publication, is it not?

Mr. HARTMANN. That is right. This represents the liberal advance, progress, orientation that we wish to promote as the maximum attainable in a democracy, with political economic doctrine which is the maximum which human beings may obtain.

I think it is important at this point, too, that I express this fact, because it seems to me highly significant in the present state of the unionization among teachers, a principle in which I believe, although I was forced to resign, partly as a gesture and partly because I would be freer in my efforts to rehabilitate the situation.

I think it is important to emphasize that Prof. John Dewey, who is the most distinguished philosopher—and that is the thought of all teachers, of all opinions—and is thought to be the very chief fountainhead, educationally, in the theory and practice in our day, found

it necessary, along with his distinguished colleague, Dr. Linville, to abandon and resign from the very organization that those gentlemen themselves brought into being. They are the ones who founded and established the New York branch of the Teachers' Union. Thus, they lost the very finest stock that the union had at that time. We have paid the price for it in the absence of those high-minded professional persons.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, in your opinion, does the situation as it relates to the Communist Party's activities in the educational field and Teachers' Union in New York accurately represent the extent and nature of their activities in the educational institutions of the United States?

Mr. HARTMANN. No. It is obviously accentuated in the metropolitan New York area. However, I should say the Philadelphia Teacher, just like The New York Teacher—that is, the official publication of the local group—is distinctly under the Stalinist domination. I would say that the national group is considerably weaker; but, nonetheless, one should not deny the result of its presence and the seriousness of the issue that arises.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it your observation that they follow the same tactics and the same strategy and program?

Mr. HARTMANN. No matter where they are.

Mr. WHITLEY. No matter where they are throughout the Nation.

Mr. HARTMANN. As I outlined earlier this morning in my testimony, the broad experience of the teachers' unions is identically the same, and it is a perfect pattern, repeated almost stereotypically in countless organizations, whether they are front organizations like the league or whether in bona fide trade or professional union groups.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, is it your observation also that the Communist Party has made a particular effort or has a particular interest in spreading its influence in the educational field in the United States?

Mr. HARTMANN. I think it has been interested. I should say especially in the educational field and in what we might call the general cultural area; the channels of communication, the channels of influence, the art groups, the scientific groups, even if you will, primarily, because the Communist Party program is able to bank on what I call an intellectual leg among the intellectuals. For example, if at the world fair you encounter an exhibit from the Soviet Constitution, it says that the Soviet Republic is a workers' republic; of the workers and peasants.

It seems to me that they do not sufficiently realize the gap that exists; the gap that exists between the symbolic professions and the professions that are there represented and the brutal reality which is a world apart from them. The ideals of socialism are noble ideals, and ideals which have won headway in every nation, and is very credible to recent generations. It is, in my judgment, a magnificent idea, perhaps the noblest given expression by human beings; but what you are likely to have, it seems to me, is a failure to appreciate the fact that it is somewhat akin to what Napoleon said about the Holy Roman Empire—that it was neither holy, Roman, nor an empire. So the U. S. S. R. today is neither a workers' republic nor a

peasants' government nor a Socialist society, and that the complete and utter damnation is that that is not recognized by many intellectuals who are in the centers, you might say, where the word is accepted; who you might say are hypersensitive and for that reason, I say, gullible. It is possible to have a gullible intellectual, obviously, and they occupy the journalistic field and the book-publication area, and among teachers who are unable to make this distinction between a genuine democratic principle and their complete contradiction in behavior and action.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, does the Communist Party direct its efforts to spreading its influence among the students of educational institutions as well as among the teachers and professors and leaders of those institutions?

MR. HARTMANN. Yes; I should say so. There is no gulf to which they do not try to spread their influence in some way. Of course, in some areas they have had better luck than in other fields. The American colleges and universities, I should say, have represented at least somewhat better than average cases of infiltration on their part; but please, gentlemen of the committee, do not exaggerate the degree to which that occurs. Oh, they say that the great curse perhaps of the American educational system is that the outmoded routine has not had a real modern social philosophy which will make education more a factor in the lives of the people, and the strength of the Communist Party's position lies almost entirely within the fact they have in a sense preempted the progressive field in certain areas, and students look upon this group and say, "Whatever you say about Communists, at least they are active." and they enjoy that activity which seems more positive than just a mild statement of approbation for certain kinds of social advantages and philosophies, and this hyperactivity which seems to be characteristic of most of the Communist Party organizations appeals in many cases to the young individuals who need that outlet for the unrest which unhappily is very real in our day.

The best way to take the wind out of the sails of the Communist groups is to provide those forms of expression that are really healthy and complete as to society at the present time; give the youth a chance instead of permitting these things to happen.

Unemployment seems to be lingering with us, which produces an unbalanced condition, over a long period of time. Those are forces which make people often sensitive to this message that comes from those quarters.

MR. VOORHIS. In other words, the solution of the unemployment problem will do more than anything else to combat real un-American activities?

MR. HARTMANN. I certainly believe that it would be one of the major contributing factors.

MR. MASON. Education and employment would be an aid to it?

MR. HARTMANN. Both education and employment. If we had a higher level of education, we would be far better off in that regard than we are at the present time. Education in the true sense generally produces people who can deal with all problems and will not be afraid to tackle them for fear that certain forces in the community do not like that particular type of improvement.

Mr. MASON. But, Doctor, when you say that education is one factor which will cure it, you are leaving out the fact of this intellectual lag among the "intellectuals," as you used the expression a moment ago.

We have certainly intellectual education and yet there is a lag, you say, in discriminating between the ideals of communism and socialism, which is heaven on earth, and the actualities of communism and socialism, as we see it, which is hell on earth, and there is where they lag, and all of the education that you can give them will not change that lag.

Mr. HARTMANN. Is that not too hopeless a prediction?

Mr. MASON. I do not think that you can cure it by education. You have got to put something practical into their minds to discriminate between this ideal and this actuality.

Mr. HARTMANN. Well, perhaps education means something slightly different to you from what it does to me. The education I have in mind is just this very genuine practical witnessing of things. And in discussing this very issue, there is a very different condition between the word "magic" as it were and the brutal picture you see right before your eyes. That is characteristic and realistic. That I think, is within the sound possibility.

Mr. MASON. Now, you are talking about education as the ideal and I am talking about education as is, as I have been familiar with it for 30 or 40 years, and education as is fails to put that something there which is discrimination.

Mr. HARTMANN. I think you are right on that point at the present time. It is a real indictment of the quality of contemporary American education that so many people fall victims to their sentiments when rationality should dominate.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, does the Communist Party use any particular organizations or tactics to try to spread its influence among the student bodies in our educational institutions?

Mr. HARTMANN. Well, I believe there is just one that is really active, and that is the American Students' Union. The precise degree to which that is under Communist orientation, I cannot say, because my work at Teachers' College primarily is in the graduate school, and the American Students' Union is active chiefly among undergraduates, that is, people in the liberal arts colleges, people who have not as yet obtained a bachelor's degree. My own experience is most intimate with the so-called graduate level in the institutions, people who are working for their master's or doctor's degrees and hence are on a different level; but the students in this respect are mere mimics. They are just little Charley McCarthys, you might say, for the hand that manipulates them outside.

Mr. STARNES. And that hand is usually some professor or teacher who has fallen under the sway or domination of the Socialist Party?

Mr. HARTMANN. I do not know whether I can say that. Often it is connected with a direct lay front, rather than in those groups.

Mr. STARNES. Doctor, in the union to which you belonged and the one to which you are directing your energies so that it will be enabled to cleanse itself of these unholy elements; from what institutions and how from that field or area does it draw its membership?

I mean does that apply solely to the college features or does it reach down and get the high-school and elementary-school teachers?

Mr. HARTMANN. I should say from all levels. You mean from what sources are the Communists drawing their members?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. HARTMANN. I should say that the proportion of Communists is somewhat greater among the college teachers. They have a membership of probably somewhere between two and three thousand. I know that the percentage is large in the metropolitan area. It is also large in the Boston territory.

Mr. STARNES. They are rather strong, are they not, or influential in Harvard?

Mr. HARTMANN. And the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a few other schools of that character.

Again I hope I can emphasize the fact—

Mr. STARNES. There is no charge made that the Communists are dominating those people.

Mr. HARTMANN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Not at all; but unfortunately they have made some infiltrations.

Mr. HARTMANN. Exactly.

Mr. STARNES. And the best thing to do is to ventilate, as you say.

Mr. HARTMANN. Make that known.

Mr. STARNES. Make it known.

Mr. HARTMANN. It seems to me that the most damning thing I see about the Communist Party is that their members refuse to admit that that is what they are. They operate under a subterfuge. They say that they are just labor men or say that they are New Deal Democrats, or say one thing or another, and actually they are not that.

I can say that I am, as I have been and I am, a member of the Socialist Party. I can speak as a Socialist. I was the Socialist candidate for lieutenant governor in New York last year, the running mate with Norman Thomas. I feel that I can do that and retain my self respect and my integrity can be maintained, though I am wholly in a minority position. Why the Communists cannot do the same thing is something I cannot appreciate, unless there is a possible sense of guilt as a result of doing underhanded work that they feel cannot stand the light of day.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, do you have any other evidence that should be presented to the committee, that has not been covered?

Mr. HARTMANN. I think this perhaps gives my major points.

Mr. STARNES. May I say that the committee appreciates the very fine statement you have given us, and that in my judgment as one member of the committee I think that this field should be thoroughly explored, because I do not think that any such evil will ever take root in our adult population. They are too well grounded for it to take root, but, the influence of the teacher is far reaching and it is dealing with plastic minds, and eager minds of adventuresome youth, and I do think that there is a real danger there, and I think that it is important for men of your type and character to come here, and it is commendable that you are willing to come here and give us genuine authentic information with reference to the work of the Com-

munist Party and its efforts to bore from within in these colleges or educational institutions, and direct their avenues of thought, and I think that you are making a valuable contribution, and we thank you.

The committee will stand adjourned until 1:30 o'clock this afternoon.

(Thereupon, at 12:10 p. m., a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The hearing was resumed at 1:30 p. m. pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Counselor, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. STARNES. Whom will you call, please?

Mr. WHITLEY. Dr. Linville.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Linville, will you come around, please?

(Whereupon the witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

STATEMENT OF DR. HENRY R. LINVILLE, NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NEW YORK TEACHERS' GUILD

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, will you state your full name for the record, please?

Dr. LINVILLE. Henry R. Linville.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your address, Doctor?

Dr. LINVILLE. 195 Claremont Avenue, New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where were you born?

Dr. LINVILLE. I was born in St. Joseph, Mo., on August 12, 1866.

Mr. WHITLEY. And will you state for the committee your educational and professional training, Doctor?

Dr. LINVILLE. I graduated from the University of Kansas in 1893 and from Harvard University in 1894, and I took there also the degree of master of arts and doctor of philosophy in 1897.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you outline for the record your connection with the teaching profession?

Dr. LINVILLE. I began teaching in New York City in the DeWitt Clinton High School in the fall of 1897 as a teacher of biology, which I continued until 1921, when I retired to take over the work of being executive president of the Teachers' Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present connection, Doctor?

Dr. LINVILLE. My present connection is as the executive director of the New York Teachers' Guild, which is an organization which was formed by the separation of several hundred members of their old union in order to set up another organization. That was formed on October 1, 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state for the committee your particular social and professional interests, Doctor?

Dr. LINVILLE. Well, my professional interests, aside from teaching my subject, in which I took a great deal of interest and made certain contributions to the science of teaching the subject, which I continued during the time I was teaching, was in taking part in various professional activities and organizations of different char-

acters, locally and nationally, and prepared and published certain textbooks on the subject, and also became interested in the situation in which education existed in New York City, being at that time rather backward and perhaps dominated by political and other influences, to extend which seemed to me antisocial.

I became very much interested in trying to correct those conditions and being interested. I became concerned about certain definite conditions which I thought were anti-educational in my own school. And in the early part of the present century I took up more or less definitely on an independent basis a good many cases that involved academic freedom, what I considered was unfair treatment of teachers, in none of which I was personally involved, and so helped to originate a movement which, perhaps, was the first in this country among the teachers of high schools and elementary schools that was related to the permission of freedom of speech and freedom of teaching for teachers, not only locally in New York but throughout the country. And I am also interested in the question of civil liberty and such violations of civil liberty outside of the teaching profession which seemed to me dangerous. For instance, I became interested in opposing the proposed Lusk school laws which were introduced by the so-called Lusk committee of New York State Legislature in 1920, the bill, one bill, applying to the controlling of schools and the controlling of the opinion, as it was exhibited, in teachers in schools or by schools themselves; and then another bill which sought to control the thinking of teachers wherever they were. Of those two bills, the organization with which I was then connected, the Teachers' Union, became practically the only opponent of that legislation among the teachers. And the result of our activities, joined with labor unions and other social organizations, was that, although the bill was passed, two bills were passed by the legislature in 1920, they were vetoed by a famous message delivered by Gov. Alfred E. Smith after the session of 1920.

But these laws came up again in the legislature of 1921 and were signed by the Governor of the State at that time, Nathan L. Miller, and became a law, and operated as a law in that field for a period of 2 years. And then, in the turn of politics Governor Smith was re-elected in 1922 and made it one of the principal promises of his campaign to repeal all those laws, which was effected in 1923. I might say that the early record that we made at that time in the field of civil liberty in a general sense and in teaching, the liberating of teaching, freedom of teaching, became quite well known throughout the country. And then about that same time in 1921, at the time I left the schools, resigned my position in school and gave up my pension rights and entered upon the career which I have followed ever since of contacting teachers' organizations which were supporting these principles of civil liberty, as well as many other educational enterprises, educational and professional enterprises, and also the social status of teachers not only in New York but all over the country. And on the question of civil liberty I became a member of the executive committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1921, as I recall it, and remained a member of that executive committee for about 10 years and then resigned because I disagreed with

the policy of the committee in taking up almost entirely a group of Communist cases which seemed to me to be rather indicative of a bias toward defending Communists. And that is the reason I resigned from that committee, although very much attached to the civil liberties movement, and retained my membership in the national committee of that organization until about a year ago, of course, being unwilling to give up my connection with the civil liberties movement. I finally decided it was useless to continue in any relation with that committee. That, I think, covers the field of the subject matter.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, will you outline for the committee what your connection with the New York City Teachers' Union and the American Federation of Teachers has been?

DR. LINVILLE. I was one of the organizers. I might go back a little back of that, January 1912, when in company with four other teachers we organized a movement to publish the American Teacher, which is at present the organ of the American Federation of Teachers. And we conducted that, a little periodical, for the purpose of promoting the ideals we had with reference to improving school conditions, teaching, and so on, with the social background which we thought was necessary to promote such ideas. And out of that grew a movement which took first form in the organization of what was called the "New York Teachers' League" in February 1913, which continued as a movement somewhat similar to what developed later as the Teachers' Union, but more limited perhaps. That organization continued until 1916, when we organized the Teachers' Union in March 1916. At that time the union movement made a considerable appeal, the union movement in industry made a considerable appeal to teachers because, as I said before, the conditions of teaching were very difficult and were unfavorable and there was a movement among a limited number to try to improve those conditions. So the formation of the Teachers' Union, its organization, was almost simultaneous with a similar feeling in several parts of the country—Chicago, Indiana, Washington, and a little later in Atlanta, Ga., and to a minor extent in Philadelphia, in St. Paul and Minneapolis and other cities of the kind. Boston, I believe, and Cambridge, Mass. That was formed then in May or April of 1916, the American Federation of Teachers, with a limited number of locals and that organization at first had a purely professional outlook. It formulated objectives which were thoroughly American and democratic, with the idea that the social conditions prevailing in the country were very likely to affect any professional organization among teachers for better or for worse, and that we would have to work with the knowledge of the fact that we would have to cooperate with other teachers, groups who were similarly motivated in establishing a social organization with particularly educational objectives that would make an appeal to the American teachers.

Of course, at that time and since, the difficulty has been that a great many teachers felt that a union was—any professional union of teachers was—an unprofessional sort of organization, especially because it seemed we were organizing and cooperating with a section of the public and against, perhaps, the rest of the public. But we were so thoroughly convinced that the labor movement was a social movement and that by affiliating with them and their purposes very

definitely and known, and being social and being American, that we had allied ourselves with a loyal and progressive organization. And we justified our activities on any particular issue. That was in the early years before, which I will indicate later, the American Federation of Teachers. And we established connections at that time with groups of teachers as much advanced perhaps as we were in the form of social understanding and a movement which was co-operative and established and held a friendly relationship to the American Federation of Labor and likewise a friendly relationship to a large number of other groups, social groups of all sorts; for instance, in the fight against the Lusk laws in New York, at that time we were called upon as teachers to lead that fight by 25 other organizations, many of which were outside the labor movement, to indicate we had made an appeal of a social character to the public. I continued to be selected as president of the local Teachers' Union in New York, and also as vice president, for a good many years, of the American Federation of Teachers. In 1931 I was elected president of the American Federation of Teachers and continued in that position until 1934. And this is going over the incidents of that record rather briefly. Until, in October 1935, when we had reached the limit of our endurance after having been in conflict with the Communist, the growing Communist movement for since perhaps 1922 when the movement began to make its appearance in the New York local, limited at first, only limited entirely to the New York local, but had grown to such proportions in 1935 that the majority group which was then loyal to the liberal element in the New York City local made up its mind it would be necessary for us to take drastic action and appeal to a convention of the American Federation of Teachers for relief. And it transpired they declined to give it; when we decided we would leave the American Federation of Teachers and the labor movement, with many regrets, and establish another organization with which we would attempt to carry on the purposes we had held before.

Mr. VOORHIS. When did that happen?

Dr. LINVILLE. When did the separation happen? It happened in the convention.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean, when did you carry that appeal to the convention, what year?

Dr. LINVILLE. In 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, when did trouble with the Communist element influence first begin in the Teachers' Union?

Dr. LINVILLE. That began in 1922 and it is curious how few members are requisite to start an amount of trouble, that is, what the Communist starts. At one time, so far as we knew, we had only two or three members who came to be elected to the executive board of our organization. And by being on the executive board they were strategically placed to introduce motions and second the motions and by various maneuvers present their demands. From a point of view they seemed to make a kind of appeal to members and rather than seem to be illiberal or reactionary many of those appeals were approved by the majority of members who were not in sympathy with what is supposed to be the general policies of the Communist members although we did realize quite definitely that they were Com-

munists. But the background of the whole movement, their method, we were only slightly familiar with at that time.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, how do you know this trouble which you have just referred to in the early days of the union came from Communist sources?

DR. LINVILLE. We knew enough about the movement to know what particular demands that were made by these Communists were of Communist origin. For instance, in 1925—in the month of May 1925—the situation had become serious enough so that some of our leaders drafted a statement on their own initiative and transmitted that statement to our members in the form of a letter in which we explained to them the difficulties we had been under, not only with the Communist activities but the difficulty of persuading some of our own liberal members, with these maneuvers from the Communist sources was quite as serious possibly as the difficulty of drafting the particular demands as Communists. Well, among these I have a copy of this communication and among the particular demands made were the following: Affiliation with a political party. These two members of the executive board, that is all they had but they were enough, saying frankly they would like it to be a workers' party. The Workers Party was the name affected by the Communists at that time.

MR. WHITLEY. In 1925?

DR. LINVILLE. In 1925. For a few years they called themselves the Workers Party and did not call themselves the Communist Party, although at first, in 1919, when the Communist Party split up from the Socialist Party they called themselves Communists. That was the first demand they made. That we affiliate, it was an outright, clearly expressed demand that we join, we belong in the workers' movement; we belong in the trade movement. "Well, why not join the Workers' Party"? Of course, that rather confused our members themselves because they did not really know why they should not. Of course, some of the better informed persons know where they came from; it was from Communist origin. Although, we never acceded to that demand, although we were pressed constantly to accede to that demand.

Then there was a second demand, which was affiliation with the Teachers' International, which is a Communist organization with headquarters in Paris. That is definitely known and admitted. It continued many years and perhaps is still in existence. It probably is under cover, as a Communist organization. We learned enough about that to know that that also was Communist. And then they also demanded that professions of our reaction should go to the outlaw unions, that is, unions that were outlawed by the American Federation of Labor and denounced as dual unions, sometimes referred to as dual unions, or outlaw unions, and resolutions were demanded that they be sent to the Workers Party headquarters and also resolutions offered for voting which demanded that we condemn labor bodies with which we were affiliated at that time, the American Federation of Labor, the Central Trades and Labor Council and resolutions of such nature, which if passed would cause us to lose our trade-union friends and prevent working along with them. I might say at that time demands made upon teachers' and other unions were more openly expressed than they came to be later when

more people knew the nature of those demands. At that time they were more bold, although the number of persons, as I say, making the demands, were rather small. And then propositions were made that we vote no confidence in our officers, various ones of our officers were held up to contempt and ridicule. Resolutions were offered which were not passed, but they were offered and served to confuse the situation. These were directed especially against the legislative delegate and the joint salary committee of the local New York teachers organization. And then they even went so far as to demand elimination of the merit system in education, which showed their contempt for that movement. And then as a second point they demanded the admission of unqualified or doubtfully qualified member teachers for the probable purpose of doubling the voting strength of their party. And the fact that we were able to recognize all these demands as of Communist origin was the first evidence we had of the presence of Communist elements.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, at that date was there any indication of Communist activity in any other local or any other national conventions of the American Federation of Teachers?

DR. LINVILLE. There was none to our knowledge. In fact, already at that time rumors were getting out from New York to our national convention, and I remember that in about 1930 some of the members from the southern locals protested against the number of radical resolutions that apparently came from Communist sources from New York and were identified as Communist by even persons who did not know very much about the Communist movement. And the threat was made that if we kept this up that these locals would retire from the American Federation of teachers. But the way that came to be known was the fact that our members at that time had become considerably depressed as the result of the attempt to prevent the continual exploitation of these special demands and so in a more or less spirit of indulgence we allowed resolutions to go through although we could have defeated them by a majority vote which we then had if we so desired. The responsibility we felt was on the national convention. But then little by little the national group came to be familiar with the situation until 1931 a formal letter was sent to our national officers giving some details of the activities, of the technique and sort of thing the Communists were doing in the union. So certainly we can say from 1931 on the national officers of the American Federation of Teachers were quite well informed: at least, we felt they had every reason to be well informed regarding the Communist movement, and the fact it might spread to other locals, which it had not done, to our knowledge up to the year, well, I should say 1931 and 1932, but that might be the limit of the time within which it was restricted more or less to New York City.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, when did the New York Teachers' Union first undertake to deal with the Communist elements in an official way?

DR. LINVILLE. The problem had become so serious by the year 1932 that on one occasion at a meeting of the executive board in June of 1932 after one of the Communist leaders, who has since become prominent in the Communist Party movement, although at that time he denied he was a Communist, challenged the legislative representative and charged him with selling out the teachers, be-

traying the teachers, which was one method or a part of their strategy and we then passed a resolution to take steps to bring about the investigation of the presence of left-wing groups in the Teachers' Union. And a committee was appointed by the executive board in June 1932 to take the matter up through the summer to assemble the material relative to the case, to prepare steps to bring charges against the leader of the Communist movement. I might say at that time there were two well-defined Communist elements. There was the Stalinist group, which was then known as the rank-and-file group, a name that was similarly applied to the Communist element, the Stalinist element in all other trade-union groups; it was not exclusively in the Teachers' Union group but it was at that time, it was the Stalinists of the Communist Party groups and they were so known in the Communist publicity agencies itself. Then there was the so-called Lovestone Communist group, sometimes called the Communist Party opposition, which had been the real Communist Party up to 1929 at a time when Stalin and the Russian hierarchy gave orders that the group that then represented the Communist Party in this country should be wiped out and a minority group which seemed to be more or less in accord with the Communist Party line should be given possession of the party machinery and set up as in complete control of the Communist Party. And since that time the Lovestone group of the Communist Party opposition has been more or less outcasts of that group, although they tried to keep a semblance of organization all this time.

We had, at that time, the Stalinist group, which was considerably in the majority because after the Lovestones had been expelled from the Communist Party they lost membership because some of their members went over to the Communist Party. But they held a definite organization in the Teachers' Union. Both were similarly destructive. Both pursued a policy of attacking officers and creating dissension and also attacking one another in the Teachers' Union. Now, all of these facts together with the details supporting the charges were presented by a committee that was elected by the executive board to assemble the material and then reported to the union at a meeting which was held in New York on October 20, 1932. This meeting approved the step that the executive board had taken to carry out an investigation of the Communist elements and to elect a committee to make this investigation. A committee of our own members of the committee elected, consisted of Prof. John Dewey, who was one of our members and has long been associated, that is, for a long time, and four other members of the union. This committee held a series of 24 meetings in the winter of 1932 and 1933 at which they heard the testimony of witnesses from both sides, from what was then the majority group, the group with which I was associated and the minority groups, consisting of these two Communist factions. At that time, I might say, the Trotsky group was scarcely in existence although a little bit later it began to emerge, even taking one or two members only, so they were allowed to disregard it and they scarcely appeared in this first investigation. A total of 109 witnesses had come before this committee which met under the chairmanship of Prof. John Dewey. At that time it was stated that this enterprise of ours, of investigating in a way that protected all the issues of civil liberties and rights of any individual, that he

might assume to be his right, and under conditions which few persons could perhaps have maintained that had not the experience and dignity and character of Professor Dewey, our most distinguished member as well as perhaps the most distinguished philosopher and educator in the country.

He gave in his rather advanced years at that time, just now he has passed the age of 80, a considerable amount of time as the statement indicates, and prepared himself from all the evidence a report of which I have a copy, which I will submit to the stenographer, an eight-page report carrying the important conclusions of the committee with the evidence. I might say that before I begin the description of that, if you wish me to continue that, that one of the important documents that came out in their testimony consisted of a publication called the Education Worker. It says here it was published monthly except during July and August by the Education Workers League of New York, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League which, of course, we know was Communist—purely Communist organization. And the Educational Workers International, that, of course, was Communist, with headquarters located in Paris. This is the issue of New York, January 1932. Now, this issue on the fourth page contains a very detailed account of certain of our meetings of the Teachers' Union and contains a rather specific reference to resolutions and activities and motions that were passed and discussed and that were carried on in our meetings which could not have been known by any persons other than those who were members of the union. If anybody had heard it, they would not have understood it. I mean, outside of members of the union it would not even be understood. But it was a very detailed account of the occurrences but so far as the actual occurrences were concerned it did not correctly state what had been done and the interpretation taken was made completely from the Communist point of view and others.

Not only the entire fourth page of this publication, referring to recent activities of the Teachers' Union but the whole set-up and the format and the affiliations indicated in the heading of the little periodical, those persons whom they had under trial and investigation denied any knowledge of this; they never heard of it and did not know any such thing existed and they said it was all a cooked-up job and attempted to impose upon the members of the union and misrepresented them completely. But it so happens that this copy and other copies of the Educational Worker I obtained in the Workers Bookshop of the Communist Party and could not be found anywhere else shortly after the investigation. This disappeared from publication and this may be one of the few numbers that remain in existence. That was one of the specific bits of evidence that proved Communist connection. There is a good deal in this report that I will not bother the committee with.

MR. WHITLEY. That is the report submitted by Professor Dewey?

DR. LINVILLE. Yes; this is the report submitted by the special grievance committee of the Teachers Union and prepared and distributed and submitted to our members at a special meeting of the Teachers Union. This was printed and sent out to our members for that meeting where we were to submit a report for consideration and submit certain amendments to our constitution, the design of which was to make the situation more workable, and part of the purpose of

the meeting was to take up and decide whether certain of these members against whom charges had been preferred should be disciplined, suspended, or expelled or whatever the members chose to do. Therefore, the entire text of this issue was presumably known to every member of the Teachers' Union. But events indicated that it probably had rather slight influence upon those people who went into the organization strong to oppose anything that in their judgment infringed upon their rights.

I might say that the meeting which this report came before was a very large meeting and comprised perhaps practically all of our entire membership. There were about 800 persons present at that meeting, only members of the union. Of those 800 a little above 200 definitely identified themselves by their actions and attitude as belonging to these two Communist elements. On certain votes taking place there was a little shifting, not away from the 200 but toward the 200 when the members felt perhaps, "Well, it might be a good idea to give them the benefit of the doubt on a certain proposition." So as many as 100 to 150 votes went to their side on certain issues and to indicate the spread of the movement it took 1 hour and 50 minutes to adopt the agenda for the meeting and 6 hours to carry through the meeting in its entirety. During that time I was in the chair and Professor Dewey was in to make the report and he endured all this experience including a very personal and vicious attack upon him which, of course, we conceived to be as nearly impossible among a profession of teachers as anything could be. That a body of teachers could attack Professor Dewey, his honor and professional standing, his integrity and character and do that with brazen faces seemed to us just about as nearly an impossible thing as could be conceived to happen in any group of American teachers because everywhere he goes he has and receives homage and praise also, of course, of persons who are not in our profession. So that the picture was one that resembled fanatical opposition to any sort of action that would embarrass them in the least so that we on the stage watched the reaction of these people. We felt that here we had come to a situation which would not be believed generally among intelligent people if the thing were described to them: that human beings could not act that way. But we saw ourselves that human beings could act that way and did act that way, and no matter what the upshot or conclusion of the meeting might be they were unyielding and uncompromising.

They have compromised many things since in many other ways, but insofar as all of that kind of talk they were unyielding and uncompromising and were unwilling then and since that time to accept the result of democratic procedures while proclaiming their loyalty to democracy. They are the habitual ones and have shown themselves subsequent to the action of this body that they were completely impervious to the appeal for the acceptance of democratic results or the results that ensued from democratic procedure. If those results were not in agreement with their own objects and purposes, if they were in disagreement, they refused and did act as if they had no intention of accepting the result of democratic procedure.

MR. STARNES. Do you want to identify that for the purpose of the record, the copy of the Education Worker that the doctor has or attach it in as an exhibit, and also a copy of Dr. Dewey's report?

MR. WHITLEY. Yes; I would like to have those.

Dr. LINVILLE. I am prepared to submit that.

Mr. STARNES. Let the reporter identify them as exhibits.

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes; I will have them marked and labeled so he can identify them.

(The following is a copy of Education Worker submitted by Dr. Linville.)

EDUCATION WORKER

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THE CONSTITUTION GETS REVISED

By R. N.

II

At the November, 1931, meeting of the Teacher's Union of New York the old constitution was only partly uplifted. Consequently a new sitting for the patient was dated for December 4. The seance opened with the substitute teachers "roped off" in the rear of the hall. This was an "advance" over the previous meeting when Lefkowitz and Linville actually prevented some substitutes from entering the hall on the ground that \$3 a year merely makes them "associate" members (read "unwelcome members without a vote"). At the second meeting one substitute managed to get the floor, whereupon he made an earnest plea for his group of "untouchables." We shall see later with what result. The important items to be dealt with were:

1. The number of signatures required for the recall of officials.
2. The question of regular business meetings.
3. Dues and membership.

RANK AND FILE DEMANDS

The Committee of Rank and File Teachers of the Union issued a leaflet urging the membership to vote against increasing from 5% to 25% the percentage for initiating a recall of officials. The sentiment of the teachers was evidently for the old number when one of Davidson's "progressives" moved to amend so as to increase the 5% to 10%. This was a deliberate bid to the administration for reconciliation. Miss Hardy snatched at it, thus securing a favorable compromise and at the same time "saving face."

The second item in the leaflet pointed out that a real union doesn't transact business solely thru Executive Board encyclicals or press releases; and that instead of four meetings a year, it holds at least monthly meetings to enquire into and carry out the will of the membership. This amendment, too, was so sensibly presented that the administration began to scurry about for a face-saving formula. Davidson's stalwarts again obliged by moving for eight general business meetings. Carried. The administration heaved a collective sigh of relief. The standard bearers of reaction and of "progressivism" were beginning to fraternize.

THIRD ROUND

Hope was rising triumphant that the constitution would be out of the trenches by Christmas when lo and behold, those naughty Rank and Filers injected the third point of their leaflet: abolition of castes in the union; the same rights and privileges for the "untouchables" (the substitutes), earning \$500 a year, as for the "Brahmins" (the first assistants), earning \$5,000. Die-hards and "progressive" leaders prick their ears. They relinquish their amorous clinch and prepare for the next round. This time the matter is more serious for Davidson, Wolfe, and Gitlin. After all, they pretend to make an appeal to the new and underprivileged teachers. They call for "new blood" to regenerate the union. They are even playing with some unemployed whom they delude with the belief that Lefkowitz, Linville, and Lindlof, that is the administration, will, when urged, take up the fight for the speedy entrance of the unemployed into

the school system. The progressive leaders cannot blithely sabotage this move for equality in the union. It would "queer" them with their sincere followers. In this connection recall their clever opportunism of November 19; at that time their abstention from voting helped to defeat the Rank and File proposal that a majority of the Executive Board be composed of elementary and junior high school teachers comprising six-sevenths of the city's teaching staff.

ABOLITION OF CASTES

The proposal for the abolition of castes again thrusts progressives in opposition to the machine. Lefkowitz opens the round with a straight financial right: Though he agrees in principle, he asserts that the passage of this amendment will cause the union treasury a loss. It appears that this loss amounts to something like $11\frac{1}{2}$ cents on each substitute, which sum multiplied by 100 would amount to the staggering loss to the treasury of \$11.50 a year! The "greatest amateur secretary-treasurer of the Union since Andrew Mellon" is very "practical." Linville, our \$5,500 a year president, is impressed. A teacher at our side whispers something about bankruptcy, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other cities with busted treasuries. Just then Hendley, the union secretary-treasurer, counters with a weak liberal hook proving that the admission of substitutes with full rights will still leave a profit of $7\frac{1}{4}$ cents a member. A general mix-up follows. In the confusion everyone gets the floor, including a substitute.

LINVILLE'S FAUX PAS

Finally Linville attempts a beau geste. He extricates this part of the amendment from other extraneous matter and asks for a vote on it. Then, brethren, the fun begins! All the big shots and all the big pots, Lefkowitz, Lindlof, Hardy, Hayes, and Naftalowitz begin to bubble and burst. How dare Linville make such an unheard-of ruling. They appeal to the floor. The president is sustained. They try walking out calling upon their supporters to follow. Weak response. So they linger in the rear of the hall talking and shouting. Linville realizes something has happened. The Old Guard tries the old trick: a call for a quorum. A majority of the members overrule Linville's ruling that the new quorum is in force. They vote that since the constitution is not as yet totally revised, the old quorum of 50 still stands.

THE DAY IS DONE

The day is done. The constitution has been uplifted another inch or two. Some plucky teachers "want to save the union." They will not let the old dame die. They want to rejuvenate her. Vain hope! Lefkowitz and his cronies carry her in their pockets. She will rot there, unless they trade her to 59th Street for principalships and superintendencies. When this becomes quite clear the Education Workers League will grow even faster than it is now.

AN APPEAL

With this issue the Education Worker intends to come out regularly once a month instead of every two or three. Hundreds of teachers are clamoring for the paper. Nearly 2,000 of them, mainly unemployed, are receiving it by mail. We would like to add more. Many substitutes cannot afford to pay for it.

Of course we have applied for "Moscow gold." But unfortunately those "Roossian Bolsheviks" had just changed theirs to pounds sterling and consequently find themselves temporarily "broke." Inasmuch as one of the aims of this paper is to contribute its limited energies toward the injection of Vitamin H into the spine of genus pedagog for purposes of Hardening it, this appeal is made for subscriptions and donations:

Subscription 50c a year and Up.

Donations Up and down.

ALERTNESS COURSE

Alert Teacher (not on 59th Street model): Compare ancient Rome and the American Federation of Labor.

History Student: I can't.

A. T.: Well, don't they both follow the policy of "Divide and rule"?

H. S.: I see by the papers where Kaplan, boss of the Motion Picture Operators' Local 306, A. F. of L., pocketed over \$50,000 in a couple of years. Do you call that dividing?

A. T.: Divide the workers, not the money!

(The following is a copy of the report of the Special Grievance Committee of the Teachers' Union submitted by Dr. Linville:)

THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE OF THE TEACHERS' UNION TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE MEMBERS FOR FORMAL ACTION AT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE TEACHERS' UNION AT THE HIGH SCHOOL OF COMMERCE, 155 WEST 65TH ST., NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1933

I. INTRODUCTION

Organization of Grievance Committee.—The Grievance Committee was elected by the membership at a meeting of the Teachers Union on October 27, 1932. It consisted of Mrs. Esther S. Gross, Mr. Max Kline, Mr. John Dewey, Mr. Raphael Philipson, Mr. Charles J. Hendley (alternate, who took the place of Miss Ruth G. Hardy, who retired in his favor.) The defendants against whom charges were brought were Miss Clara Rieber, Mr. Abraham Zitron, Mr. Isidor Begun, Mr. Joseph Leboit, Mr. Bertram D. Wolfe, Miss Alice Citron. The case of the last defendant was not heard because her physician presented a statement that she was not able to engage in any activities for at least six months, except the minimum of school work.

The committee organized by electing Mr. John Dewey, Chairman, and Mr. Raphael Philipson, Secretary. It held twenty-four meetings of from two to three hours each. Five of these were executive meetings for the consideration of matters presented by the defendants and for the preparation of the report. The transcript of the evidence consists of 721 closely typewritten or printed pages of evidence and minutes. Of these 181 pages were presented to the Grievance Committee by the Joint Committee before the hearings commenced. Up to date the total expense for postage, stenographer, typewriting, printing and office work has been \$700.00. Sixty-three witnesses were heard in behalf of the charges brought by the Joint Committee against the defendants. Forty-six witnesses were introduced by the defendants, a total of one hundred nine.

Method of procedure.—At the meeting when the Committee completed its organization it decided to emphasize the concluding section of the Joint Committee report of October 27, 1932, which stated:

"This Committee is unanimous in thinking that a work basis has not yet been found for securing cooperation with the members of the Left Wing groups. We are leaving the solution of this vexed question in the hands of the members."

Because of this decision to inquire into the general situation rather than to confine its inquiries to specific charges against specific individuals, the Committee decided not to appoint anyone as prosecuting counsel.

At the preliminary meeting held with the defendants on November 15, 1932, the Chairman explained to the defendants that the main purpose of the Committee was to try to understand the broader phases of the situation in the Union as well as to hear evidence on the charges against individuals. All the defendants except Miss Rieber agreed to cooperate from this point of view with the Committee. Miss Rieber objected by saying: "I want the Committee to hear the charges brought against me. To some degree it may be necessary to go into the broader aspects, but to the extent it can be limited I stand on that."

The Chairman answered: "In Miss Rieber's case we will carry out the procedure of sticking to the letter of the law."

Each defendant had the right to be represented by counsel. Mrs. Royce appeared for Miss Rieber; Mr. Davidson for Mr. Wolfe; and Mr. Kirshner for Mr. Begun.

Since the Committee considered itself investigators and judges rather than prosecutors, it gave witnesses on both sides very wide latitude. Hearings were also necessarily informal because the Committee had no power to compel attendance of witnesses nor to enforce answers from witnesses when they declined to respond. A good deal of testimony was introduced on both sides that, strictly speaking, was irrelevant. It served the purposes, however, of communicating to the Committee the temper and the atmosphere of the situation in the Union and of helping the Committee to understand the divergent points of policy at issue.

The hearings were somewhat prolonged by the intervention of vacations, holidays, and the illness of the Chairman.

Since the Committee was charged with unfairness to the defendants by the counsel for Mr. Begun in his final summing up, the Committee regards it as desirable to state the facts. The charge of Mr. Kirshner was that the Committee allowed "the widest latitude" to the prosecution while restricting the witnesses for the defense. His statement was, "When the defense wished to introduce witnesses who could testify as to the prejudiced atmosphere at Union meetings indicated by numerous provocative acts and illustrations of red-baiting by Administration leaders at Union meetings, the defense was told to stick to the specific charges and bring charges against the Administration leaders if they desired redress."

As a matter of fact, the record is full of charges made against various members of the Administration by defendants and their witnesses bearing on precisely the points mentioned. Moreover, the record shows that four witnesses testified, some of them at considerable length, as to the "prejudicial atmosphere" that was alleged to have accompanied the meeting of October 27, 1932. At one session, however, Mr. Begun and counsel wished to introduce a number of additional witnesses to testify solely on the conduct of the meeting of October 27th. The Chairman then ruled that any appeal on that score should go to the general membership, as it was obviously absurd to ask the Committee to pass upon the body which elected it. The further statement that the defense was told that it must stick to "specific charges" is false. The defense had the same latitude given it as had the prosecution, illustrated for example by the fact that Mr. Begun's defense occupied four entire meetings or over eight hours, about twice as much as was taken by the prosecution in his case.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION

Factional Alignment in the Union.—The Committee finds that the immediate source of trouble in the Union is the activities of two organized groups that regard the Administration and the Executive Board as merely another faction like their own, except that, as will appear below, the Administration Group is regarded by the others as simply a "clique" interested in keeping power by any means. Nothing was more convincing to the Committee about the attitude of the leaders of the opposition groups, than their uniform disregard of the fact that no administration could gain and hold power except with the support of the Union as a whole.

Originally there was but one organized opposition group. Part of the members of this group seceded and formed a new group, calling themselves the Rank and File, while the original group is known as the Progressives. The causes of the split were not made entirely clear in the testimony. It was stated, however, that those who took the lead in forming the new group did not regard the leaders of the old Progressive Group as sufficiently radical in their policies, nor sufficiently militant in their tactics. The charges that are brought by the two groups against each other agree with this statement. The Rank and File charges the Progressives with being only a pseudo-opposition and in reality an ally of the Administration. The Progressive Group charges the Rank and File with the purpose of ultimately "splitting" the Union.

Each group, according to the testimony of their leaders, has both a loose organization that holds open meetings and a directing body called either the Executive Board or else made up of those who are entitled to attend executive sessions. Each faction has a secretary and possibly other officers, holds frequent meetings of the open and closed types, and is at considerable expense for rent of halls, printing, mimeographing, postage, etc. The immediate situation then is that the Union is confronted with two organized factions that are hostile both to each other and to the Administration, each one of the two uniformly treating the elected officers of the Board as constituting another faction but lacking their own high principles and purposes.

Danger in Factional Strife.—The Committee sees no reason why opposition should not arise from time to time to the views of administrative officers and no reason why such opposition should not be helpful. When, however, minorities are permanently organized with their own leaders and officials and become permanent opposition factions, there is, to say the least, a danger that standing and ever-growing antagonisms will be fostered and that these will seriously hamper the effectiveness of the Union. The Committee finds that this danger point has been reached and exceeded in the condition which now confronts the

Union. At a critical time when unity is imperatively needed, a condition exists which threatens not only the usefulness of the Union, but its very existence.

This situation is more serious because the great body of the membership is not organized in any group, whether the Administration, so-called, the Progressive, or the Rank and File. Testimony amply shows that members are confused and bewildered, while they tend to be made doubtful as to the efficacy of the Union, and so resentful of conditions that they find prevailing in the meetings of the Union that they are unwilling to attend. Evidence was presented which showed that the existing division and antagonism operate to prevent many teachers from joining the Union.

The larger unorganized body of teachers in the Union finds itself the passive victim of angry disputes, and has little influence on policies. If matters continue as they have been going the tendency will be for these members themselves to organize new groups in order to have a voice in the conduct of the Union. Thus, the fractionization tendency will go still further.

The Committee accordingly finds this a convenient place in which to state its views upon a point presented for its consideration by the Rank and File Group. The latter requested that "such minority groups as may exist at any time in relation to various issues" should be recognized through preallotment of definite amounts of time for discussion in Union meetings, and should be given proportionate space in the *Union Teacher*. While the Committee is of the opinion that any special arrangements which will promote order in debate, are desirable, it is unanimously of the opinion that it would be very unfair to the great body of unorganized members, if official recognition were given to factions that are organized. Such a course would either deprive the unorganized members of a chance to get an adequate hearing or else force them into the undesirable procedure of forming new factional groups.

Seriousness of the Situation.—The Committee regards it, therefore, as its first duty to report to the Union that the situation which exists is most serious. It wishes particularly to impress upon the membership that while personal antagonisms have been aroused and while some members of the Executive Board have been provoked by false and injurious charges into responding by the use of provocative language, the seriousness of the situation far transcends all personal differences and animosities. It grows out of differences of policies, and these differences are declared by leaders of the minority groups to be fundamental. Moreover, they are enthusiastically certain that their own policies constitute the "correct line," while elected officers of the Union are said to have either wrong policies or else no policy at all excepting opportunistic drift.

Accusations against the Administration.—The minority factions, especially the leaders of the Rank and File, accuse the Administration officers of being undemocratic, arbitrary, dictatorial, oppressive; with going to the limit in using measures of coercion so as to keep themselves in power; with being bureaucratic, mechanical, and apathetic; with either failing to lead the membership or with misleading them; with fawning on 59th Street in order to get favors, so much so that a struggle against the Administration is the same thing as a struggle against 59th Street. The Administration is charged with winning whatever successes the Union has gained not by adhering to definite policies, but by catering to their superiors in office; with maintaining the interests of the higher paid "aristocracy of labor," instead of the interests of the mass of teachers; with using the referendum (which is admitted to be in principle a democratic measure) simply to induce the membership to support their own reactionary policies, thus making the Union, in the words of Mr. Begun, "a mail order Union." The Administration was charged with gratuitously employing red-baiting tactics in order to prejudice the membership of the Union against the leaders of the opposition groups, this being said to be part of their tactics for keeping themselves in power. Every one of the phrases used in the previous statements is a literal transcript from the testimony of the defendants and their witnesses. The charges were repeatedly summed up in the statement that the officers of the Union, Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz in particular, were engaged in "betraying the Union."

It is obvious that even if such charges were purely personal in nature, they are so serious that they have a tendency to disrupt the Union or at least to reduce greatly its efficiency. But the testimony, especially as coming from the defendants themselves, showed that these charges are not merely personal, but are integral parts of a deliberately adopted procedure of so discrediting the Administration as to bring about a thorough change in the basic policies, aims and methods of

the Union. While personal feelings have been aroused on both sides and crimination and recrimination were freely aired before the Committee, the Committee wishes to record its firm and unanimous conviction that the basic cause of the crisis goes far beyond any personal difference.

Defendants' Justification for Accusations.—One of the matters that was most instructive to the Committee was the reply of the defendants to the charge brought against them that they engaged in continuous misrepresentation of the Administration and its policies. The defense proffered by the defendants was justification for their charges against the Administration. The reasons they gave in justifying their cause brought out very clearly the nature of their objection to the policies of the Administration and the nature of the fundamental change of policies which they desire. Examples are given below:

1. Motions introduced by leaders of the minority factions under conditions that led to their being ruled out of order for parliamentary reasons were made the basis for asserting that the Executive Board was opposed to the cause involved. This misrepresentation was repeatedly made about matters on which the Administration was already actively on record in behalf of the cause in question. Flagrant instances of this procedure are found in connection with the Mooney Case, the Scottsboro boys, insurance for the unemployed, and such general issues as disarmament and the recognition of Soviet Russia. The fact that there was opposition to the exclusive endorsement of a particular agency such as the International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the Communist Party, was made the basis of the charge that the Administration objected to the cause itself.

2. The use of parliamentary regulations without which any deliberate body cannot do business, such as having a quorum, introduction of substitute motions, etc., is made the basis of the charge that the Administration will go the limit for the suppression of minorities, that the Administration desires, to quote the statement of leaders of the Rank and File, "to eliminate entirely any participation of the membership." Such unblushing misrepresentations like the violent accusations already noted can be explained only on the ground that leaders of the factional groups, especially the Rank and File, regard all opposition to their policies as inherently vicious.

The failure of the Administration to approve the ulterior aims and tactics of the minority groups is, the Committee finds, the sole basis of the charge that the elected officials of the Union are betraying the Union and the labor movement. Thus, the policies and aims of the minority groups are, in the minds of their leaders, the sole standard for measuring loyalty. Because the testimony revealed so clearly the nature of the situation, the Committee became less concerned with the evidence introduced to prove the charge of misrepresentation and sabotage brought against the defendants than in the justification which the defendants themselves offered for adopting their uncompromising course of opposition.

Details of Charges against Administration.—The Committee believes that that portion of the Union which has not been committed to any faction, and indeed many individuals who have been more or less regular adherents of one or the other of the minority groups, will gain an appreciation of what is involved in the counter charges brought against the Administration, by considering a number of these counter charges in some detail.

1. The Administration is attacked because it uses methods of legislation and general publicity instead of those of mass action.

2. It is attacked on the alleged ground that the wage cuts which have occurred and others which may take place in the future are entirely the result of the policy of the Administration. It was asserted that if certain resolutions offered by the minority leaders had been adopted these cuts would not have occurred.

3. It is attacked on the ground that a difference of opinion as to the best method to be pursued in dealing with a particular issue indicates a deliberate betrayal of the cause involved. A good illustration of these tactics of attack against the Administration is found in the way in which the latter dealt with the matter of the so-called voluntary contributions to the School Relief Fund. The leaders of the Rank and File Group asserted that when the contributions were opposed on the ground of "coercion" instead of on the ground of being a "salary reduction," the Administration deliberately failed to oppose the reduction of salaries, and thus helped to bring on cuts later.

4. Not content with their local charge, the leaders of the Rank and File faction extended their policy of attack to include the Chicago unions, claiming that the policy of these unions was the cause of the salary troubles in which Chicago teachers were involved. It was asserted that policies in Local 5, New York, similar to those of the Chicago unions were leading to results like those that have happened in Chicago. When asked for justification of the public charges of the Rank and File Group against the Chicago unions, Mr. Begun pleaded ignorance of the Chicago situation as a reason for inability to supply any facts whatever. It was characteristic of his tactics in defense that he went on to blame the Executive Board for his being ignorant of the Chicago situation—although, in fact, articles explaining it have been repeatedly printed in the organ of the American Federation of Teachers, the *American Teacher*.

5. The attacks on the Administration and on the Union itself were extended to include misrepresentation of their policies and their acts in formal charges addressed to the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers of June, 1932.

6. The Administration is attacked for complete indifference to the interests of the substitute teachers and the unemployed teachers, because it proposed and followed out different methods for dealing with them than those desired by the minority groups.

7. The Administration was attacked on the ground that an expression, even if it came from merely one of its members, of a desire for discipline of leaders of the minority groups, proved the existence merely of resentment against those who exposed the bureaucratic methods and lack of leadership of the officers of the Union. Although it is self-evident that power to expel destructive elements must always be in any organization a measure of final resort, a suggestion that expulsion should take place under any conditions was used as proof of the coercive and arbitrary nature of the Administration in a desire to suppress all criticism.

The Committee wishes at this point to emphasize again the statement that it is not now so much concerned with the truth or falsity of particular charges and counter-charges, as it is with the fact that the charges are so constant, multiplied, accumulative, and acrimonious, as to prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the Union is faced not with a matter of personal controversy, but with differences of policy that are fundamental to its existence. For the defendants justify their attacks on the Administration on the ground that the attacks themselves grow out of basic differences as to the proper policies of the Union. Unless this point is clearly understood, many members of the Union will remain confused, bewildered and wavering in their loyalty to the Union because they do not understand what the troubles are about.

Differences are Fundamental.—Differences of opinion and frank discussion are helpful in any large organization, but a campaign that aims to destroy the confidence of the members of an organization in the officers it has chosen, that subjects to constant ridicule and misrepresentation the measures and aims which the Union has itself established and followed for many years, creates the necessity for a full and candid consideration of aims, tactics, and probable consequences. The necessity for this full consideration cannot be avoided by the desire of those conducting the campaign to shelter their movements from examination behind the cry of "red-baiting." We repeat that specific charges and counter-charges cannot be understood of themselves, but only when placed in the light of that conflict of policies which the leading defendants have themselves declared to be fundamental. For this reason the Committee decided that the chief service it could render to the Union was to put before the membership the conclusions it has reached regarding the nature of this conflict.

III. CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

Minor Causes.—We return, therefore, from a statement of the outer symptoms of the conflict to an analysis of the causes that have created it. The testimony given before the Committee disclosed a number of minor causes and one major cause. The minor ones may be listed as follows:

1. There is a certain amount of cleavage between older members who feel that they understand best the traditions of the Union and members who have come in recently who incline to the idea that new conditions require new methods and that the older membership is imbued with too much conservatism.

2. There is a certain amount of cleavage between older and younger teachers, the former feeling that they have the wisdom of maturity and the latter feeling that age tends to become conservative and that youth brings in new vigor and fresh blood for more energetic and vital activity. This difference was evident in the fact that the very things, friction, dispute, bickering, etc., that repelled many members from attendance at the Union meetings, were remarked upon by a smaller number as signs of increasing vitality.

3. There are, as is inevitable in any large organization, differences of personal temperament. These psychological differences have reached an acute pitch in the case of a number of members of the Union. They account for some, although not all, of the charges of obstreperous and unseemly manners brought against the defendants and also their counter charges that witnesses against them had been guilty of equally bad manners and unnecessary provocation—a counter charge that the Committee believes to contain a certain amount of truth.

4. There is some evidence of a difference of attitude between those members of the Union who respectively hold the lower salaried and the higher salaried positions in the schools.

5. There are differences due to unlike cultural backgrounds of earlier surroundings and of academic traditions. It is natural that the distinctively educational features of the Union should appeal more strongly to some teachers, and that the industrial phases and the need of cooperation with oppressed labor should appeal more strongly to others.

In listing these sources of divergence, the Committee does not imply that the right lies with one tendency or the other. On the contrary, the Committee holds that such differences as these may be made sources of increased strength to the Union, if they are exhibited in a genuinely cooperative spirit in behalf of a common end.

The Major Cause of Conflict.—In any case these differences are not the real cause of present troubles. They would hardly produce more than a passing friction if they had not become bound up, in the minds of many persons, with the main cause. This main cause is the existence of a conception as to the proper functions and objectives of the Union that goes contrary to policies established and approved in the past. The leaders of the minority groups conceive that the proper purpose of the Union is to join the class war in order to promote the cause of workers against employers. Employers of teachers as well as of all other workers use their power, in the minds of these minority leaders, to oppress the workers. In the case of teachers, the Board of Education and other high authorities in the school system represent the employing and oppressive class. Accordingly, the Union must not only join in the class war in order to "fight with the working class for their economic and political demands," but must also fight the people above them, from the Board of Education through the Superintendents down to principals and supervisors. Any let-up in this struggle, to say nothing of cooperation with supervisors even for educational purposes, is "betrayal" of the workers' cause.

While immediate demands relating to wages, conditions of work, etc., must be made, and while individual teachers must be vigorously protected when their rights are threatened, these operations are not ends in themselves, but are means of carrying on the class struggle. As long as the mass of the membership and the majority of the Administration fail to take this view, that the sole fundamental aim of the Union is to promote "the political and economic demands of the workers in the class struggle," conflict in the Union is inevitable and irrepressible. Moreover, the conflict is made more acute because some of the leaders of the minority factions feel it necessary to conceal their ultimate aims while carrying on the tactics which in their view will conduce ultimately to their realization. The Committee is of the opinion that the ultimate ends have been so concealed from the sight of many individuals, that even many members of the minority groups are not themselves aware of them, but take the view that the conflict is merely on special points where differences of judgment are wholly legitimate.

Crisis in the General Labor Movement.—Because of the Committee's conviction that the basic cause of the troubles in the Union comes from this difference as to the proper function and methods of the Union, we feel that a brief discussion of the situation in which organized labor in general now finds itself, will lead to a better understanding of the situation in the Union itself. The existence in the United States of twelve to fifteen millions of unemployed

workers, the part-time employment of millions of others, the drastic reduction in the wages of workers, necessarily have a profound influence on the lives and consequently on the ideas and emotions of workers. It is equally inevitable that radical differences of opinion should arise, and that there be great emotional excitement over what is to be done in the face of the apparent collapse of the present capitalistic economy.

This divergence of opinion and feeling in the labor unions at large is reflected in violent internal strife, in great decline of membership in many unions, in the split-up of some unions, in the disappearance of others, and in the rise of new unions. These results have definitely weakened the power of the labor movement in this country, and have given a correspondingly greater advantage to the already powerful employing class. Thus, labor is divided and without effective power in the face of the greatest need for solidarity in its whole history.

Division in the trade unions is due of course to many causes. There is an evident conflict between old-line craft unionism, which has been rendered archaic by technological development, and the newer principle of industrial unionism which is a conflict between elements innately conservative and those which are militant. There is a danger in every union of excessive growth of conservatism and consequently a failure to recognize that new conditions may require new methods. Differences in political and economic philosophies manifest themselves in practically all unions. The differences range from anarchism and syndicalism on one side to the most reactionary capitalistic policies on the other extreme. Unions may be classified as radical, reformist, and reactionary. But these are relative terms. Consequently, much of the classification that is made reflects only the temperament of the classifier. For example, the Teachers Union is reputed to be radical, reformist, and reactionary, depending on the point of view of the observer.

It was probably humanly inevitable that these forces which are operating throughout the whole labor movement should find their way to some extent into our Local 5. The Committee does not believe that these differences are inherently bad. It does not believe that those individuals who hold even extreme radical economic and political views do not have a proper place in the Union, nor that they might not contribute an element of strength and growth to it. This statement, however, does not apply to the matter of tactics which have been steadily pursued in promoting the desired realignment of policies.

The Committee was much impressed with the fact that leaders of the minority groups, especially of the Rank and File, openly expressed the conviction that all sincere believers in any particular political movement would necessarily attempt to use the Union as an instrumentality for promoting their special views.

Wrecking of Established Unions.—One method of union procedure that the Committee has had to take into account is the method for destroying old unions to make way for new ones which would presumably be better suited to the times. It is argued that conservative and reactionary unions stand in the way of the advance of the working class. It is then argued that all unions which do not definitely ally themselves with the class struggle of workers are conservative and reactionary. A conclusion is thus drawn that they are either to be destroyed by frontal attacks or that they should be captured and transformed, by boring from within, into entirely new organizations with new objectives and new tactics. When operating in unions that do not accept this policy, minority factions, in order to operate as a wrecking crew, must camouflage their objective of either splitting or capturing the organization. Hence, a familiar tactic in the American labor movement is to exploit the weaknesses of any union that is not pursuing what is considered the "correct line," not for the purpose of correcting the weaknesses, but for the purpose of confusing and dividing the membership. Examples of disastrous work of this kind are seen in the wrecking of the Furriers' Union and the crippling of the textile and the garment workers' unions.

In this connection it is interesting to know that one of the defendants who is a leader of the Progressive Group, has charged in a printed pamphlet that it has been the policy of some extreme left-wing movements to send a handful of workers into one or another American Federation of Labor union, not to seek to rebuild or transform the old unions, but to undermine and disrupt them, and to make new and more successful splits. (Wolfe—"What is the Communist Opposition?", page 25.)

The Issue of Dual Unionism.—Dual unionism is, therefore, such a fact in the labor movement that the Committee was compelled to take seriously the charges made on this score and to go into that subject. The defendants replied to the charge brought against them by claiming that the attempt to discipline them is itself creating dual unionism. In fact, they charged the Administration with being the chief promoters of dual unionism in the Teachers Union. The Committee found that the term is used not merely to describe unions organized under separate names, and unions outside of the American Federation of Labor paralleling unions within the latter, as in the case of the clothing trades, but also in the sense of an organized combination within a union. Technically, the factional groups in the Teachers Union do not now constitute dual unions. But the Committee is strongly of the opinion that the strategy and tactics of the leaders of these two groups tend definitely in the direction of dual unionism.

The Progressive Group charges the Rank and File Group with deliberately working to split the Union. On behalf of the Progressive Group Mr. Wolfe introduced facts showing that the Communist Opposition believes in capturing unions rather than in dividing them, and that this difference of policy is one of the points at issue between the Communist Opposition and the official Communist Party. The Committee accepts this evidence. Leaders of the Progressive Group, however, did not seem to realize that tactics used with the view of capturing the Union might be just as disruptive as those employed in splitting it. Leaders of the Rank and File Group asserted their loyalty to the Union in case it adopts the principles for which they stand. While proclaiming the principle of "united front," they strongly asserted that this united front could be had only on the basis of "the correct line" which they alone represented.

The Tactic of Constant Attack.—There is undoubtedly difficulty in determining the exact point at which organized opposition to the policies which have prevailed for many years in an organization become disruptive. But there could be no doubt of the preposterousness of the claim of the Rank and File leaders that they have the right to continue with impunity a constant barrage of attacks upon that portion of the Union that is unwilling to accept their program. They must know that such attacks provoke counter attacks. These counter attacks are then used by them as if they had originated gratuitously in the Administration itself. By circulating these counter attacks with no reference to the conditions under which they arose, they have succeeded in misleading some of the passive members of the Union into a belief that they are being violently and falsely attacked merely for expressing disapproval of policies on particular points. The continuance of such performances is bewildering, as well as repellant and tiresome, to many members. The testimony given to the Committee indicates that too much of the discussion in the Union has degenerated into mere bickering which has bred mutual hostility and contempt.

We have been unable to discover constructive results coming from the organized opposition. The latter has put its emphasis on struggle as a means of progress with little or no regard for the character of the struggle. Although it urges that struggle is a manifestation of life, it is clear that chaotic struggle leads to frustration of purpose and is a symptom and cause of decline. Recent growth in the Union membership was pointed to by the opposition groups as a sign that they were pursuing the correct line. The fact seems to be that the economic crisis has brought about the increase in membership in spite of internal strife, and not because of it. The Committee feels that if the opposition groups showed as much concern about factionalism in the Union as they claim to have on the subject of dual unionism, there would be much less danger of the latter becoming a reality. Their seemingly entire lack of concern for the bad consequences of factionalism throws grave doubt upon their profession of desire for unity.

Members of both groups asserted that the condition of struggle indicated a healthy state of affairs. Mr. Begum, for example, stated, "The Union can grow only on struggle or fight." This type of statement was repeated by him a number of times. In general, reckless denunciation was justified as a necessary part of development of the internal fight which is said to be a sign of a healthy condition.

The denunciation was condoned much as politicians condone it in the heat of campaign. Leaders and witnesses for the defendants made light of the suggestion coming from members of the Committee that reckless charges of betrayal, arbitrary conduct, reactionism, dishonesty, if continually repeated, might injure the persons attacked and injure the Union, in spite of the fact that the charges may be false.

Factional Animositities and Loyalties.—During the long discussions that have taken place since the beginning of the hearings of the Grievance Committee, we have been impressed by the rigidity of attitudes taken by leaders of the opposition groups. None of them seemed willing to have the identity of the group merged with the interests of the Union as a whole. We have had exhibitions of factional animosities from both defendants and some of the prosecuting witnesses. They indicate factional loyalties which apparently have been permanently crystallized. Moreover, the Rank and File and Progressive Groups criticize each other and oppose each other as severely and vehemently as they oppose the rest of the Union.

Unless all factions obtain an orientation to a common cause larger than that of the objectives of separate groups, we fear the Union is doomed to be split into two or three competing unions. Extremely disastrous as such a division would be, it may be urged, and with much force, that it would not be so bad as a continuance of the present factional alignment. In dual unionism there is at least a frank recognition of fundamental differences in objectives and tactics. In such strife as now exists not only are real issues beclouded but also ultimate purposes are deliberately concealed and the energies of the Union are diverted from purposeful activity.

Nothing was more instructive to the members of the Committee than the assertion of the leaders of both opposition groups that although they expect finally to come into control of the Union, they do not desire to do so excepting on the basis of the ideologies which they respectively hold. The present officers, and inferentially the members who elected them, were criticized on the ground that the officers were not chosen on the basis of definite political economic ideology. We do not question the sincerity of the defendants' belief in their own ideologies. We do point out, however, and as emphatically as possible, that the more sincerely their belief as to the proper function of the Union is held, the more dangerous it is when it is pressed immoderately as the only criterion by which to judge present policies and the officers who are chosen to carry them out. If the membership of the Union is to be brought over to a change in the conception of the proper activity of the Union, it can be done consistently with the effectiveness of the Union, only by a process of education and frank and open discussion. Concealment of the ultimate desire to convert the Union into an organization for carrying on the class war, and the attempt to lead the membership to think that the sole difference is on matters of isolated items of immediate policy, conjoined to the tactics of unscrupulous attack, can lead only to the bitterness, friction, crimination and recrimination that now exist.

The Issue of Communism.—While, therefore, it might be personally agreeable to the Committee to avoid any reference to Communism, it is not possible to do so, for the special aims and tactics on particular issues of the opposition groups cannot be understood or put in their proper context without frank discussion of this topic. Preliminary to the discussion, however, the Committee wishes to state definitely that no evidence was presented that a majority of the members of either group belong to any of the various factions of the Communist faith. Moreover, the testimony is far from showing that it is the conscious intention of the bulk of those affiliated with these opposition groups to use the Union as a tool of any particular economic political creed. It is quite likely that a large number of the members of both minority groups regard questions under dispute as isolated special points. To the leaders, however, these matters are inter-connected details of tactics in the general strategy of bringing about a radical change in the purpose and function of the Union. So frank were some of the leaders of the groups in stating this fact that the Committee does not think that they will publicly deny it, nor can the bitterness of their attacks be explained in any other way. The Committee finds that these leaders are systematically striving to subordinate the Union to their own special ends.

Before the Committee, as well as at other times and places, the defendants used any reference to the topic of Communism to support a claim that they were being subjected to "red-baiting" merely in order to weaken their influence with the membership. The Committee therefore is bound to state as positively as possible, that it has no concern with the political and economic faith as such, of any member of the Union; that it made no attempt to ascertain the political affiliations of any of the defendants; and that it does not believe that the Union should or does question the right of any teacher, whether in or out of the Union, to hold such economical or political views as seem to him to be justified. But if there were evidence that a Republican, Democratic or Socialist group, or any faction representing a religious body or sect, were striving to use the Union as an instrumentality

to carry out the policies of that outside organization, every intelligent person would recognize the disruptive evidence of such a policy. The Committee would be unmindful of the weight of evidence submitted to it (largely by the defendants themselves) if it did not record its conviction that this is the sort of thing that is now going on within the Union. The Committee suggested a number of times to the defendants that there is a real distinction between economic and political beliefs on one hand, and the use on the other hand of such organized tactics as they employ in order to control trade union policy in behalf of these beliefs. The defendants declined to accept the distinction. Their failure is perhaps accounted for by the statement of one of the defendants that it is impossible to separate faith in Communist principles from the use of the tactics that are endorsed by that party. In general, he expressed the conviction that any sincere adherent of any political economic view must naturally use the Union to promote the interests of his own cause.

Much evidence was presented as to similarities between procedure of the leaders of the Rank and File Group and that of the official Communist Party, and of the Progressive Group and one branch of the Communist Opposition. The Committee believes that no one in studying this evidence could emerge with the belief that the similarities are mere coincidence. We do not believe that it is merely a coincidence that we have in the Teachers Union a Rank and File Group and a Progressive Group corresponding practically point by point to Communist Groups of the same names in many trade unions throughout the country. We do not think it a mere coincidence that our own Rank and File Group and the Progressive Group criticize each other in identically the same way in which the official Party and the Opposition criticize each other. Communist literature abounds in the discussion of strategies and tactics to be employed in trade unions. In view of the Communists' great interest in unions it would be indeed strange if they were to overlook the Teachers Union. The strenuous efforts of defendants to make light of the various coincidences, to dismiss them as having no significance whatsoever, to decline to view them as anything but further evidence of "red-baiting," appears to us to be evidence that there is significance in the points of identity. The charge that the Committee was engaged in "red-baiting" because it ventured to bring up the subject, comes in any case with poor grace from those who have been strenuous and persistent in attacks upon the majority of the Union officials as reactionaries and traitors to the cause of the teachers.

Why Mention Communism?—The Committee does not question the right of the defendants to raise the question which they brought up. "Is it within the province of the Grievance Committee to question the propriety of the defendants' tactics because of any similarity to Communist tactics?" followed with the query—"What of it even if the tactics of our groups and of the Communists are alike?" We think it was wholly within the province of the Committee to do so for at least three reasons.

In the first place and fundamentally, the cause of the trouble in the Union cannot be understood apart from the desire of some individuals at any cost to use the Union as an instrument in militant war to overthrow the existing economic system.

In the second place, the Union has much to gain from an open and above-board exploration of all Union policies including those of Communists and other radical groups. Instead of the Union's being scandalized by such an exploration and discussion, it might obtain by this means a new and beneficial orientation in regard to the whole labor movement in relation to existing social and economic trends. To ignore the issue of Communism is to encourage deception and concealment within our ranks and to protect from exposure bugaboos which exist because of the fear of Communism. A courageous, frank meeting of all issues is the surest way to defeat any "red-baiters" that may exist, namely persons who would exploit the prejudice against Communists for some ulterior purpose of their own. The principle of democracy demands that within our own ranks we speak openly of all that vitally concerns the Union.

In the third place, comparison between the tactics of opposition groups with the trade union tactics employed by the Communists supports the charge that the opposition groups have employed disruptive methods.

We cite particular instances of material found in the *Education Worker* for January, March, May, July and December 1932. This publication is issued by the Educational Workers' League of New York, which is affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League and the Educational Workers' International—Communist organizations.

The *Education Worker* of three of these dates contains the same bitter criticisms of the Teachers Union and its officials as those made by the Rank and File leaders, both in their public statements and in their testimony given to the Committee. For example, the January, 1932, issue discusses the revision of the Union's Constitution in the following words:

"The day is done. The constitution has been uplifted another inch or two. Some plucky teachers 'want to save the Union.' They will not let the old dame die. They want to rejuvenate it. Vain hope! Lefkowitz and his cronies carry her in their pockets. She will rot there unless they trade her to 59th Street for principalships and superintendencies. When this becomes quite clear the Educational Workers' League will grow even faster than it is now."

It is evident that this secret League has teachers in its membership, that it definitely considers itself to be a dual union and a rival of the Teachers Union, and as an organization that is bound to grow through the splitting of the Teachers Union. To ignore the similarity of this view with the accusations brought by the Rank and File Group against the Administration in connection with a revision of the constitution is to engage in the silly policy of shutting one's eyes to the facts. In this connection it should be noted that the Communists denounce all progressive and radical labor unions that do not identify themselves with the "correct line" of the Communists with much greater severity than they attack reactionaries. The latter are regarded as merely living up to their bourgeois prejudices while the former are traitors. Thus the attacks of the Rank and File Group against the officers of the Union agree almost verbally with the denunciations that are brought in Communist literature generally against so-called "reformist unions," the latter being those that have a somewhat socialistic outlook, but do not go the whole way with the Communist movement. The "Progressives," the name belonging to one of the groups opposed to the official party, desires, in the words of its representatives, to "eliminate reformist influences."

IV. REMEDIES PROPOSED

An Elected Assembly.—As far as the general situation is concerned, the Committee is therefore, unanimously of the opinion that certain changes in the conduct of the Teachers Union are necessary in order to moderate the use of disruptive tactics and bickering procedures that tend to disgust large numbers of members. We propose, therefore, such action by Constitutional amendment and otherwise as will effect the following:

(1) The creation of an Assembly whose delegates will be elected to represent the members in their respective schools. This assembly will have the powers—deliberative and voting—now exercised at business meetings.

(2) Business meeting of the membership to discuss, deliberate, and suggest to the Assembly, but not to commit the Union to any policy.

(3) Cultural and social meetings of the membership.

The Committee recommends the above because it feels the Union membership too large to be able to deliberate adequately at meetings. It feels that an Assembly of delegates would represent more adequately the majority of the members than does a meeting of 200 or 300 members at present.

(4) The referendum to be retained to ensure a membership check upon its delegates in cases of importance.

Discipline of Members.—

(1) The Chairman should have the power to suspend from any meeting any member guilty of improper conduct at that meeting.

(2) Any member or group of members spreading false or libelous statements or charges against any other member or group of members, using obstructive tactics, or showing repeated insubordination to the Chairman at meetings, may be suspended, after a hearing, by the Executive Board for a period not exceeding six months.

The Committee hopes that the adoption of the above suggestions will insure orderly meetings, do away with violent, undisciplined charges and counter-charges, and bring back to the Union the unity in a common cause at present being corroded by the basically opposed groups.

The Committee believes that action along the lines recommended is essential to the preservation of the effectiveness and probably of the existence of the Union as a united body. At the same time we record our conviction that formal rules are not sufficient in themselves.

The Spirit of Cooperation.—The main requirement is for the Union as a whole to understand the situation, a willingness on the part of all to recognize

the need for frankness in stating ulterior purposes; and the pressing need for mutual respect, personal forbearance, the cessation of personal attacks and misrepresentations, and a spirit of cooperation for common ends—considerations that should be easy to accept by those who proclaim that the essential contest is not personal, but is one of fundamental principles. However, the Committee has seen and heard too much of the tactics that have come into use, to be under any illusion as to the probable effect of our appeal upon some of the leaders of the factions. We do believe, however, that it is possible for the mass of the membership, including very large numbers of those who are loosely affiliated with the two opposition groups, by the pressure of public opinion and sentiment, to render the Union practically immune to the poison of the germs of disruption that have been introduced.

Basis for Democratic Procedure.—The Committee is unanimously committed to the principle of democratic procedure in the Union, and assumes that the organization is definitely committed to this as one of its fundamentals. We wish, therefore, to emphasize certain elementary principles of psychology that are the basis of democracy. First, it rests on an abiding faith in the integrity and inherent wisdom of the mass of the Union membership. There can be no democracy resting on cynical contempt for the average membership or on a general suspicion concerning the motives of fellow members whose opinions differ. Democracy does not consist merely of the machinery for registering the opinions of the membership, as in frequent elections, proportional representation, free discussion, etc. These mechanics of democracy can function only when there is a clear understanding of the community of interest that the membership has, and likewise a deep, sympathetic understanding of one another's weaknesses, shortcomings, and proneness to error.

Secondly, to effect a change of policy in any democratic organization, as the defendants clearly wish to do in the Teachers Union, requires a patient process of education. Such changes must come as a matter of growth and development, if it is to be done democratically, rather than through a fight resulting in victory for one side and conquest of the other. We who teach ought to be able to see the educational principles involved.

The Committee feels that it must warn those who have appeared as witnesses against the defendants that forbearance must be mutual, and that a certain flexibility in attitudes is absolutely necessary for the salvation of the Union. The great crisis in our general social and economic environment is putting democratic principles to the severest test. We wish to reiterate that we regard differences of opinion that arise concerning fundamental principles of unionism as not necessarily the cause for weakness or division but rather the opposite. If our organization can make a demonstration of how these differences can be used to develop greater power, it will make a most valuable contribution to the history of organized labor.

The report of the Committee on specific charges against individuals will be presented at the general meeting called for April 29, 1933. Copies of that report will be sent to the defendants and their counsel in season to allow plenty of time for their consideration and for preparation of such defense as they may wish to make.

The Committee has requested that this Report be printed and sent to all members.

ESTHER S. GROSS
CHARLES J. HENDLEY
MAX KLINE
RAPHAEL PHILIPSON, *Secretary*,
JOHN DEWEY, *Chairman*.

Dr. LINVILLE. The major cause of conflict, as Professor Dewey said, you remember I said Professor Dewey himself drafted this report from the material—enormous amount of material—that was collected by stenographic reports of the secretary; that he had everything of these 24 sessions, everything that was said was taken down stenographically and the record was complete and accurate. He says in this paragraph dealing with the major cause of conflict:

This main cause is the existence of a conception as to the proper functions and objectives of the Union that goes contrary to policies established and approved in the past. The leaders of the minority group conceive that the proper purpose of the Union is to join the class war in order to promote the cause of workers

against employers. Employers of teachers as well as of all other workers use their power, in the minds of these minority leaders, to oppress the workers. In the case of teachers, the board of education and other high authorities in the school system represent the employer and oppressive class. Accordingly, the Union must not only join in the class war in order to "fight with the working class for their economic and political demands"—

This was taken from the evidence submitted by one of the witnesses for the defense—

but must also fight the people above them, from the board of education through the superintendents down to principals and supervisors. Any let-up in this struggle, to say nothing of cooperation with supervisors even for educational purposes, is "betrayal" of the workers' cause.

While immediate demands relating to wages, conditions of work, etc., must be made, and while individual teachers must be vigorously protected when their rights are threatened, these operations are not ends in themselves, but are means of carrying on the class struggle. As long as the mass of the membership and majority of administration fail to take this view, that the sole fundamental aim of the Union is to promote "the political and economic demands of the workers in the class struggle," conflict in the Union is inevitable and irrepressible. Moreover, the conflict is made more acute because some of the leaders of the minority factions feel it necessary to conceal their ultimate aims while carrying on the tactics which in their view will conduce ultimately to their realization. The committee is of the opinion that the ultimate ends have been so concealed from the sight of many individuals that even many members of the minority groups are not themselves aware of them, but take the view that the conflict is merely on special points where differences of judgment are wholly legitimate.

I might say that the tactic of stressing the immediate needs, at that time I think that our members generally did not understand just how far-reaching was the policy of stressing the immediate needs of teachers. Of course, there are plenty of them. They can know what they are. They can even sit with those persons in the school system.

It was not difficult at all to assemble a statement that would comprise all the immediate needs of teachers, grievances of whatever kind which they had, the correction of which should be called or classed as "immediate needs." And during the trial and subsequent to the meeting of April 29th, Prof. Dewey himself was challenged to know what there was wrong about presenting for correction immediate needs—"Is that disloyal?" "Is that communistic?" and so forth, when, of course, it was only that they were all the time concealing their real aim, which was, of course, a social revolution by the proletariat, and that they not only concealed that end but felt it was necessary to do so, and as it was necessary, of course, from their point of view. And instead of the immediate needs being the end, they were merely the means which were exploited, and any other processes, of course that was not the only means they used. They used any means at that time and later to promote their ends, changing their end from time to time, to make immediate needs of some other factor as the important need, in the process of which, of course, they kept people guessing within themselves as to the formulated policy of the movement.

Now, under the topic which I will refer to here, as the first topic, "The major cause of the conflict," the second topic, the second paragraph, which began with the immediate needs, I have classed here as concealment of ends and the discussing of aims and ends.

Now, on the third topic, the factional groups and the so-called correct line, that is discussed under this third topic. "The progressive group —," I might say that the progressive group which called itself the progressive group was the Lovestone group: the Lovestone

Communists called themselves the progressive group. In the last year or two it has been a regular practice of the Communist movement itself; the Daily Worker and all the Communist agencies call all their activities progressive, so the term "progressive" swung back and forth. It is used from the progressives in the Lovestone group, which really had seized upon it as their own characterization, a name that is in the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and in all other unions where they have a Lovestone Communist element they use the term "progressive group." And there are members of Stalinists, and they also call them by that name, so that was more or less a technical name, although it was a concealment; and during the time the Stalinists called themselves the rank and file. So, it says in this paragraph [reading]:

The Progressive Group charges the Rank and File Group with deliberately working to split the Union. On behalf of the Progressive Group, Mr. Wolfe—

And he was under charges. He was one of our members also under charges—

Mr. Wolfe introduced facts showing that the Communist opposition believes in capturing unions rather than in dividing them, and that this difference of policy is one of the points at issue between the Communist Opposition and the official Communist Party. The Committee accepts this evidence. Leaders of the Progressive Group, however, did not seem to realize that tactics used with the view of capturing the Union might be just as disruptive as those employed in splitting it. Leaders of the Rank and File Group asserted their loyalty to the Union in case it adopts the principles for which they stand. While proclaiming the principle of "united front," they strongly asserted that this united front could be had only on the basis of "the correct line," which they alone represented.

That very briefly characterizes the conflict between those two Communists and the demands of the rank and file; that is, in their view the union could only carry out what they thought was its purpose by accepting the line which the rank and file set forth.

Then in that section dealing with ideologies and concealment of aims, Professor Dewey wrote [reading]:

Nothing was more instructive to the members of the committee than the assertion of the leaders of both opposition groups that although they expect finally to come into control of the Union, they do not desire to do so excepting on the basis of the ideologies which they respectively hold. The present officers, and inferentially the members who elected them, were criticized on the ground that the officers were not chosen on the basis of definite political economic ideology. We do not question the sincerity of the defendants' belief in their own ideologies. We do point out, however, and as emphatically as possible, that the more sincerely their belief as to the proper function of the Union is held, the more dangerous it is when it is pressed immoderately as the only criterion by which to judge present policies and the officers who are chosen to carry them out. If the membership of the Union is to be brought over to a change in the conception of the proper activity of the Union, it can be done consistently with the effectiveness of the Union, only by a process of education and frank and open discussion. Concealment of the ultimate desire to convert the Union into an organization for carrying on the class war, and the attempt to lead the membership to think that the sole difference is on matters of isolated items of immediate policy, conjoined to the tactics of unscrupulous attack, can lead only to the bitterness, friction, erimination, and recrimination that now exist.

We felt that was a very accurate statement of that phase of the difficulty.

And then, considering the matter of "how do we know"—the question that the counsel asked awhile ago, "How do we know that this

particular series of demands and these pressures were of Communist origin?"—we knew after the investigation of what we have been calling the Dewey committee. The following paragraph will help make that clear. Addressed to the case of teachers, that comprises, Mr. Chairman, what I think is the most important and most revealing of the sections of this report, which we regarded as a splendid document and which we felt then and still believe was the only effort that has ever been made within a union affiliated with a trade-union of the parent body, has ever been made to investigate and disclose the actual Communist situation and the nature of it in detail in a scientific and unbiased fashion. But as I said awhile ago, the result of that, so far as settling our problem, was almost nil.

The paragraph says:

Much evidence was presented as to similarities between procedure of the leaders of the Rank and File Group and that of the official Communist Party, and of the Progressive Group and one branch of the Communist Opposition. The Committee believes that no one in studying this evidence could emerge with the belief that the similarities are mere coincidence. We do not believe that it is merely a coincidence that we have in the Teachers' Union a Rank and File Group and a Progressive Group corresponding practically, point by point, to Communist Groups of the same names in many trade-unions throughout the country. We do not think it a mere coincidence that our own Rank and File Group and the Progressive Group criticize each other in identically the same way in which the official Party and the Opposition criticize each other. Communist literature abounds in the discussion of strategies and tactics to be employed in trade-unions. In view of the Communists' great interest in unions, it would be strange if they were to overlook the Teachers' Union. The strenuous efforts of defendants to make light of the various coincidences, to dismiss them as having no significance whatsoever, to decline to view them as anything but further evidence of "red baiting," appears to us to be evidence that there is significance in the points of identity. The charge that the Committee was engaged in "red baiting" because it ventured to bring up the subject comes, in any case, with poor grace from those who have been strenuous and persistent in attacks upon the majority of the Union officials as reactionaries and traitors to the cause of the teachers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, following his investigation of the extent and nature of the Communist Party influence in the Teachers' Union, what action did Professor Dewey take?

Dr. LINVILLE. Professor Dewey presented the report, of course, formally. Of course, presumably, it was read; it was not reread. And he then delivered an address in which he characterized the situation from his own point of view more or less extemporaneously, and in that address he answered the attack in a very effective fashion and made it clear to the people—attempted his best to make it clear—that there was no hope for a professional organization that quibbled about these issues, that attempted to push them aside as of no importance, or that failed to meet the issues, because sooner or later there would come a time of reckoning when the problem might not be so easily solved as it was at that time. So he made a professional and strong appeal to the teachers to abolish this political set-up, which in a professional situation was untenable and he believed to be unworkable; but his appeal fell on deaf ears so far as the block of 200 was concerned, and there was a feeling among us that although we had done our best that the effort had not succeeded, although we did set up this delegate assembly on the basis of representation from all groups of teachers on a proportional basis, which we felt would be a democratic machinery that would enable the union to go ahead

and carry on its work. Well, at that time we had some hope that the delegate assembly might work out that way, and for a few months perhaps I felt more or less at ease thinking we would handle the situation. It was not long, in fact, September of the same year, when these minority groups, at least the rank-and-file group, made an attack upon the delegate assembly, calling it undemocratic and that it was a machinery for preventing the voice of teachers being expressed, although it was the best sort of bit of machinery for just that purpose.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Professor Dewey withdraw from the union after submitting the report?

Dr. LINVILLE. Not at that time. Professor Dewey stayed with us; I mean, a considerable number of us finally withdrew in 1935. He stayed with us and helped us all he could; although at the time I explained he was along in years and had his own professional work to take care of, he was in entire sympathy with our effort to clean up the situation.

Mr. WHITLEY. And later on, when he saw it was hopeless, did he then withdraw?

Dr. LINVILLE. He then withdrew with the rest of us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, at that time, at the time of that investigation and report, which was 1933, to just what extent had the Communists succeeded in getting control or domination of the Teachers' Union in New York?

Dr. LINVILLE. At that time, in 1933, as I said, there were only 200 of them at that meeting. That was not anywhere near a majority, of course. We had at that time, I think, something over 1,600 members. But the situation was like this: In our general meetings, where anybody could come, the Communist elements were always on hand and came early and stayed late, and by their disciplined maneuvering of introducing motions and having supporters bob up all over the meeting and confusing the situation, they often were able to carry certain motions like, for instance, the proposed affiliation with the International Labor Defense, which we knew by that time was completely a Communist organization. It wasn't even a united front. It was an official Communist aggregation. We knew at least that that, at least, was not an innocent group. They never succeeded in persuading the members to vote support of it in any form of affiliation; but the fact that they kept up this constant attack, month after month, in special meetings and mass meetings of all sorts, taking up one cause after another—they wore our people out. And it was only due to the fact that we had built up a very strong following among the teachers, which had been with us, many a number of years, and had, I might say, complete confidence in their officers and stood by them, especially, I might say at this meeting of 6 hours, with no lunch, where nearly the entire 800 stood by. Some did not; that is, the majority of the union. The minority seemed together. I was felt there all the time, and they kept up constantly. But steadily our supporters began to drift away.

Mr. VOORHIS. Doctor, would you say that the Communist group was pursuing a policy that it would be better to destroy the union if necessary rather than have it continue under democratic control?

Dr. LINVILLE. I think they had no conscience of that. They announced boldly that in another year they would have control. They

made that announcement, first, formally in 1935. At that time we felt their prediction would come true. They had worn out our supporters, and many were drifting out. It was becoming publicly known that there was a strong Communist element in the union. They were bringing members in, younger members, who flocked to the Communist movement more or less as a sort of adventure, with the thought to add to the voting strength of this movement. But by the election of 1935 I believe they had approximately 700 members out of 2,100, one-third. On certain votes it exceeded 40 percent. In June 1935, and we knew from the way our scale of infiltration increased, that probably by another year, through the process of wearing out our members, although they were very loyal supporters of leaders of the original union, they could not stand it. And one must understand that a teachers' union is not an organization that a teacher must belong to to retain his position. In the industrial union it often happens you must be a member of the union, otherwise you have no job. So far as teachers are concerned, belonging to the union is something outside of his requirements. They have their position whether they belong or not, and sometimes it is risky to belong to the union, and risky to belong to the union if you wish to retain your job teaching. So, under the circumstances, members kept drifting out. While that happened, more radically disposed people, especially in New York, of course, with which situation you are familiar—there was a constant supply and influx from that group so they were rapidly gaining support, and we felt within another year they would have a majority. And although they might hold, that would not imply the destruction of the union; so far as we were concerned, it would not; so, in order to prevent that, we finally came to the decision that we would have to take drastic action. I have here a paper to answer a question which came up awhile ago.

I think it might be well pressing a little the point. But before I come to that last situation in 1935, in the early part of January—January 19, 1935—I have a copy of the Workers Age, which is an organ of the Communist Party opposition; that is to say, the Lovestone group. There are articles here by Jay Lovestone and by other members of that group, and there is here a statement that came out in connection with an effort that was being made in the early part of 1935 on the part of the Lovestone group to reestablish its connection with the Communist Party. They had been thrown out, as I said formerly, in 1929 by edict from Moscow. They wanted to get back, and the Communist Party apparently had been unwilling to accept them back into membership unless they would agree to certain forms of confession of error which seemed necessary for the sake of discipline to exact of this opposition group. While negotiations were going on for we don't know how long—but suddenly there appeared in this Daily Worker of January 19, 1935, the following paragraph: "Cooperation in the Teachers' Union will become possible." That is, cooperation between the Lovestone group and—

Mr. WHITLEY. Pardon me, Doctor, is that the Daily Worker?

Dr. LINVILLE. This is the Workers Age. This is the organ of the Lovestone group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Dr. LINVILLE. It says there had been discussed the question of cooperation between the Communist Party and the Lovestone group.

which then in this paper themselves gave note of the conflict between the two factions, and another section was given over to a drive for cooperation between the two groups. Mr. Lovestone, in an article, said:

Cooperation in the teachers' union will become possible just as soon as the "Rank and File Group" drops its antiunion attitude, dissolves the dualist Classroom Teachers Group, and comes to the support of the progressive movement.

They charge that the rank and file was against the union, trying to split it up. The "progressive movement" means the Lovestone movement. So that they have there disclosed to us the fact that they were willing to come out in print and to indicate that the rank and file and the group, the progressive movement itself, was identified with the Teachers' Union and that they wanted to eliminate the factional conflict between those two groups as well as any other groups.

(The Workers Age, January 19, 1935, was filed as an exhibit with the committee.)

Dr. LINVILLE. And this is another document that appeared in April of 1935, issued by the progressive group committee of the Teachers' Union, incidentally associating itself with the progressive group in the trade-union movement established in the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 22, which was at that time controlled completely by the Lovestone group. And in this document there is reference to the conflict in the Teachers' Union and the conflict between the progressive Lovestone group and the rank-and-file group making charges against one another and carrying on their fight at the same time, so that contributes to the understanding and verification of our idea that the Communist movement was discussing quite openly this connection.

(Following is a copy of Progressive Group Bulletin.)

Note Change of Meeting Place

PROGRESSIVE GROUP BULLETIN—APRIL

PROGRESSIVE GROUP MEETING

Thursday, April 11, 1935 at 8:15 P. M.

LABOR TEMPLE—242 E. 14 St.

Progressive group program for Teachers Union.—Analysis of the different tendencies Progressive Group position and proposals.

Future for progressive trade unionism.—Lessons of Local 22—ILGWU Election.

Speaker.—Chas. Zinnerman, Leader of Progressives in needle trades and the AFL. Reelected Manager of Local 22.

RESTORATION OF SALARY CUTS—THE JOINT COMMITTEE

The Joint Committee made its gesture. After a year of silence, it issued a little ineffective publicity and carried on some legislative publicity in support of the Feld Bill for restoration of salary cuts. Neither the teachers nor the general public were organized to exert pressure. There were no mass meetings and no mass delegations to City Hall or Albany. Not a single meeting of the school salary committees was called to organize a campaign. Instead the Joint Committee, without consulting the teachers, immediately offered a compromise—one half restoration in 1936, one half the following year. The result was to be expected. Mayor LaGuardia rejected the compromise. The teachers get nothing.

The Teachers Union, through its present leadership, accepted the compromise

proposal. It has made no attempt to rally either the teachers in the schools, nor the organizations sympathetic to its point of view for a thorough reorganization, for democratic teacher control, for a real united front of teachers, for a united campaign of teachers, parents, labor, for a real fight for the restoration of the cuts. The Teachers Union has neither differentiated itself from the Joint Committee position, nor organized an independent campaign that would have brought mass response, great prestige for the Union, and restoration of 1932 salaries for the teachers.

Union members, demand action from the Teachers Union!

FOR DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE AND DISCUSSION IN THE COMING ELECTIONS

The *Progressive Group* believes that the membership should hear and discuss all points of view, and then decide. The *Administration* was undemocratic when it refused to arrange a membership meeting last year to discuss the issues before the Union in the election. The *Rank and File* shows its real attitude in schools which it controls. It refuses to organize symposiums for the presentation of opposing points of view.

We call upon the administration and the Rank and File to drop their anti-democratic procedure. We call for:

1. a membership meeting to discuss issues and points of view;
2. election statements of all viewpoints to be sent thru Union mail;
3. discussion articles in the "Union Teacher"—as two years ago;
4. symposiums in schools where all points of view can be presented.

In the interest of democracy and clarity, insist upon these steps!

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April 6, 1935

RANK AND FILE IN DEED AND ACTION

The Rank and File now talks of "building the AFL" after fighting it for years as a "company union" and doing incalculable harm as a result. Their talk about building the AFL, which they have been attacking and disrupting cannot be taken seriously before:

1. they liquidate the CTG and other teachers organizations which they control;
2. they admit their mistake, not for the sake of mere admission, but in order to begin the reeducation of their followers against the fallacy and harm of dual unionism;
3. they do away with the false attitude toward the AFT which the Rank and File leaders have inculcated for years;
4. they give up the theory of independent activity which is the seed of dual unionism; and
5. they begin to work as a constructive force in the Teachers Union.

Rank and File leaders, you talk of a conference for merging all organizations into the AFT. Be honest. There is no other teachers organization which Union members control. But *you* organized and control the Classroom Teachers Groups. You were wrong. The CTG was a failure. If you mean what you say, if the AFT is the one organization which teachers should join. Don't hide the facts, don't go through motions, liquidate the CTG.

Rank and File members, liquidate the CTG.

DRESSMAKERS ELECTION A PROGRESSIVE LANDSLIDE

Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is a prototype of the labor movement—and not such a small sample. The local contains over 30,000 members and 16,500 of them voted in the general elections held March 28.

The three tendencies in the American labor movement—reactionary, Rank and File, and Progressive—were on trial in this election. The Rank and File dressmakers are part of Rank and File movement in the AFL, with which the Rank and File in the Teachers Union is connected. The remnants of its dual union—the Dress Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial

Union—entered into an unprincipled alliance with the most discredited reactionary and racketeering forces in the union to defeat the Progressive administration led by Charles Zimmerman.

The Progressive Group, consisting of militant Socialists, members of the Communist Opposition (Lovestoneites), Anarchists and non-affiliate workers, dealt a smashing blow to this unholy alliance of the ultra-lefts and the reactionaries. The Progressive Group increased its majority from 51% two years ago to 71% this year. The tremendous turn out and victory for the Progressives was the result of one of the most intensive campaigns ever waged in a trade union. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets from both sides flooded the market. Membership meetings were held in every section. The endorsement of the Progressives by the democratic vote of the dressmakers is a brilliant tribute to their militant constructive policies.

The Dressmakers Union, under this Progressive leadership, has helped the teachers. It sent a spokesman to the Board of Education open hearings supporting the Teachers Union and the unappointed teachers in the fight for appointments. It endorsed a resolution and petition last year asking for full State aid. It actively supported the Vanderwoude appeal. It is supporting the campaign for lower registers. It was the first to criticise Wm. Green for his betrayal of the San Francisco general strike. It has been in the front of every progressive trade union move.

Build the Progressive movement in the Teachers Union.

Support the Progressive Group candidates in the coming election.

Attend the P. G. Meeting

Thursday, April 11, 8 P. M.

at Labor Temple, 242 E. 14 St.

Dr. LINVILLE. And I think I have another pamphlet I might mention at the same time, a statement by Mr. Browder, a rather brief statement. This pamphlet is a debate between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder which took place in Madison Square Garden November 27, 1935, a little later in the year after we made our separation. I thought I would bring it in just now to indicate that the official leadership of the Communist Party knew and recognized the situation in the Teachers' Union and presumably was in close touch with it. And so, Mr. Browder says in his debate with Norman Thomas, "But it is also true that the militant Socialists in the trade-unions found it possible and necessary to work with the Communists against the splitting policies of the reactionaries" (of course, we were called reactionaries) "in the trade-unions (the Teachers' Union, for example), against the reactionaries and racketeers (Nemser) whom the old guard"—that is the "old guard" of the Socialist Party which is referred to—"and against 'red baiting' generally."

That disclosed a fact I have not referred to before. At certain times there was cooperation between Communists and Socialists but that is rather exceptional. The Socialists came later to support themselves and to oppose the Communists at all times but they were competing with them not only in the union but many other organizations to take the control of this, that, or the other united front group. But at this particular time Mr. Browder challenged Mr. Thomas to cooperate in the Teachers' Union, Socialist and Communists, to take action as they had done elsewhere.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following the April 1933 meeting and the difficulties which arose there as a result of Communist Party activities when and how did another crisis come in your dealings with the Communists in the Teachers' Union?

Dr. LINVILLE. A crisis came in the spring of 1935. Some of us realized that it would be useless to continue attempting to get along with the Communist elements. They were getting stronger. They were getting more unyielding and more successful and better support by new members. The tendency was in their direction. In another year they probably would get control and we felt if we wished to save the movement which we had built up through many years of effort and sacrifice and on which an enormous amount of energy was expended and a considerable degree of support which we had obtained in friendliness on the part of the labor movement which was extremely friendly to us and helped us in every way and we felt we had so great an investment in that movement for our own satisfaction and the defense of the liberal movement generally with the Teachers' Union which, of course, was in a position to be of enormous influence for good in a general program of social betterment, we would have to do something to save the movement. We considered various alternatives. I might say one of the difficulties I referred to very briefly earlier was the difficulty of appealing to our liberal members to take a positive stand on those issues so connected with a very strong class sympathy.

You might call it a professional sympathy of teachers, group sympathy of teachers who held positions knowing there were a great many people who were perfectly willing to get rid of teachers suspected to be radical that if anything be done openly and we made any charges this element was Communist, I might say at that big meeting of 1933 we did not make any such public statement. This document I have referred to the committee did get into the press to a certain extent, but we did our best to keep the charge of Communist connection out of the public press, but, of course, it got in, and many of our liberal people were very loathe to take any step that would lead to drastic action, on the principle that things of that kind might result in the loss of position to these teachers with whom we did not agree, but, of course, with the guaranty to them to allow them the freedom to hold any views they wish, and the fact they possibly were not good American teachers or good teachers on any basis, it seemed more or less to be put into the background, because the emotions of all our members were considerably aroused, and we had a very difficult task of bringing our people to realize that unless they were willing to take a positive step to appeal to the labor movement to appeal to the national organization of the American Federation of Teachers we would not have a union in another year. At that time they were not willing to do it themselves but were willing, perhaps, to turn it over to officers of the American Federation of Teachers, or the labor movement, or somebody else, to escape the responsibility of doing something which was distasteful to their minds, or hesitation, which is rather common among liberal groups not fully realizing the nature of this menace of the Communist movement, we were able at our special meeting which we called in May of 1935—the special meeting of the executive board.—to bring the question before that body. And the proposition which was presented, by the way, by one of the most liberal of our—I mean to say the most hesitating of our members who was still liberal and wanted to do the right thing—he presented a resolution.

Well, we could not get along with the continuance of factions in the union, so he presented a resolution that called for the elimination of these factions as a condition of our continuance as a union. Well, that was presented and a vote was taken on whether we would consider that proposition to eliminate factions, and it was passed by a vote of 17 to 7, which indicated about the proportion at that time which existed between the Communists and their supporters and the liberals and their supporters. But the proposer of that motion realized, what is the use of presenting that motion of this kind? If you won't all agree you can't eliminate factions by passing a vote. There has got to be acceptance. So he said he considered it, why the members were supporting him; I remember one classic statement, very definite statement I recall from that argument; one of the leaders of the minority group said, "It is useless to consider the elimination of factions. There are trade-union tendencies (they usually refer to those factions and groups not as factions but as tendencies), these trade-union tendencies are natural in the trade-union movement, and the right of these groups to maintain themselves must be conceded," and ending with the statement that you could not succeed anywhere except through class struggle, that is, that is the only basis upon which success can be obtained. Then, although the group was willing to pass a resolution which called upon the officers of the American Federation of Teachers to conduct an investigation of our situation at New York, this resolution which reviews the situation generally and finally says, "Be it resolved that the said committee" (this committee of officers). "recommend to the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers proposals for preventing the development of similar factional situations in other teachers' unions."

(Following is a copy of resolution for investigation of factional activities within the Teachers Union.)

RESOLUTION FOR INVESTIGATION OF FACTIONAL ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE TEACHERS UNION

Adopted by the Executive Board May 28, 1935

Whereas, the Teachers Union of New York City for several years has endured antagonistic and destructive activities that are inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our affiliated labor bodies, activities that are promoted within the Union membership by one or more factional groups which have frequently refused to accept on a cooperative basis decisions on programs and policies arrived at by democratic procedure and adopted after full discussion by the Union, and

Whereas, these antagonistic and destructive activities have developed animosities and misunderstandings among the members of the Union as a whole to the extent that constructive work has become difficult and at times impossible, due to waste of time and energy on factional controversies, thus hampering vital educational and social reconstructive activities by the organization, and

Whereas, the publication by the factional groups of attacks on the Union of which they themselves are members has had the effect of discrediting the Union in the eyes of non-Union teachers, and often of the general public, and thus has hindered the program of organizing the teachers of New York and interfered with the effectiveness of Union proposals for bettering the conditions in the schools, and

Whereas, the policies and program of the factional groups have been found to originate in the political policies of certain outside political groups, so that as a result of outside control of our factional groups the Union finds itself involved in the constant risk of being exploited by the outside political groups which are well known to have antagonistic attitudes and policies toward the American Labor movement, and

Whereas, the risk of being captured and destroyed by these same factional groups involves the wrecking of an organization which it has taken nearly twenty years of devotion on the part of Union officers and loyal members to build up until it has achieved national recognition as one of the most courageous and progressive organizations of teachers in the country, therefore

Be It Resolved, that the Teachers Union of New York City call upon the officers of the American Federation of Teachers to appoint an investigating committee to come to New York City to study the situation, to hear testimony, and to make recommendations to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers for the solution of factional differences in the Teachers Union, and furthermore,

Be It Resolved, that the said committee recommend to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers proposals for preventing the development of similar factional situation in other teachers' unions.

Dr. LINVILLE. Officers consisting of the president of the American Federation of Teachers and the secretary and the legislative representative came to New York and conducted a 3-day investigation of the situation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was this following the meeting of May 1935, Doctor?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes; this followed that. It was in June 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who was president at that time?

Dr. LINVILLE. What is that?

Mr. VOORHIS. Who was president at that time?

Dr. LINVILLE. Mr. Raymond Lowry, of Toledo, Ohio, was president. Miss Florence Hanson and Miss Selma Borchard, of Washington, were the legislative representatives. The committee had a very strenuous time listening to the hearings. There were a great many witnesses present and on the basis of that hearing they made their report to the convention and at the convention which was held in Cleveland in August 1935 certain statements were presented by us to the executive council and to the delegates themselves and the situation was thoroughly discussed. But, as the matter was presented and the decision of the convention was, they voted, we asked that the charter of Local No. 5, that is, the Teachers' Union in New York, be revoked in order that another union be established in the New York area in order to carry on the purposes of the American Federation of Teachers and the Teachers' Union. Well, the vote on that resolution was 100 against the repeal and 79 in support of it. That meant to us, of course, that on whatever basis of misunderstanding or of understanding the American Federation of Teachers as then constituted as represented by the convention was against us, was against the proposition of revoking the charter of a union and the appeal was made by those who supported the majority decision there that these people who were apparently in the minority were being denied certain basic rights of academic freedom, and so on, and that the only solution of that question was for the majority to accept the situation and to endeavor to straighten it out the best way they could. At that time we felt and discovered afterward that certain conservative groups either through confusion or some other reason had actually joined with the extreme radicals and in that way built up a majority group against our appeal.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where were those conservative groups?

Dr. LINVILLE. One conservative group was located in Atlanta and one of the most conservative groups, we felt, which existed. This

Atlanta group continued a number of years in the convention to support the Communist element in the convention.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, is that geographically?

Dr. LINVILLE. Not altogether geographically. That was the conspicuous union. It was rather large, and consisted of eight or nine hundred members at that time. They were the most conspicuous group of the so-called conservative element. Cambridge, Mass., which voted with the minority group, caused us to lose the appeal, this in spite of the fact we set forth the situation, we felt, quite conclusively but apparently in a way that certainly was not successful. And due to the action of this group, the majority, a number of the locals which represented the majority of the members and a number of the delegates representing the majority of the membership of the American Federation of Teachers, left the convention on one of the last days of the convention in protest against this action on a number of other occasions which they felt was unfair and unwise, and this group, consisting, I might say, of the Washington Local, No. 8, the public school teachers' local here in Washington; Local 27, the colored teachers' union; the local in St. Paul; the local in Portland, Oreg.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; two or three locals in Illinois; and including the delegates; then our Local No. 5 of the New York Teachers' Union, which we represented, all left the convention, and out of that movement there came a plan to prefer charges against the American Federation of Teachers with the American Federation of Labor, to investigate the situation, and their nature in the American Federation of Teachers because it was our feeling then, and I might say we were in full and close touch with the labor officials.

Charges were preferred in a formal fashion and presented to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, as a result of which the American Federation of Labor introduced and passed a resolution the purpose of which was to bring about an investigation of the American Federation of Teachers. This resolution was published in the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor, and the resolution to investigate the American Federation of Teachers was passed and, with the authority of this resolution adopted, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, through President Green, appointed a committee in April 1936 to investigate the situation in the American Federation of Teachers. And I have here a report submitted to me by President Green. As one of those witnesses called, by virtue of the fact I was one of the witnesses at the investigation held for 2 days in April 1936 here in Washington, he makes a statement in this letter of transmittal:

That you will please find enclosed here copy of letter which I have addressed to Mr. George Davis, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers. I also enclose copy of the report submitted to the executive council by the special committee appointed to investigate the American Federation of Teachers under authority given by Resolution No. 154 of the Atlantic City, 1935, convention of the American Federation of Labor. You, as former president of Teachers' Local Union, No. 5, gave testimony before the special committee of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, it seemed but fitting and proper that you should be furnished with a copy of the letter I have addressed to Secretary-Treasurer Davis of the American Federation of Teachers and also copy of the committee's report.

(Following is a letter and report, referred to above.)

[Letterhead of American Federation of Labor]

When replying please refer to Resolution No. 154.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 20, 1936.

Dr. HENRY R. LINVILLE,

*Former President, Teachers' Local Union No. 5,**72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: You will please find enclosed herein copy of a letter which I have addressed to Mr. George Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers. I also enclose copy of the report submitted to the Executive Council by the special committee appointed to investigate the American Federation of Teachers under authority given by Resolution No. 154 of the Atlantic City, 1935, convention of the American Federation of Labor. You, as former president of Teachers' Local Union No. 5, gave testimony before the special committee of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, it seemed but fitting and proper that you should be furnished with a copy of the letter I have addressed to Secretary-Treasurer Davis of the American Federation of Teachers and also copy of the committee's report.

Fraternally yours,

WM. GREEN,

President, American Federation of Labor.

Enclosures.

Report of your Committee, appointed to hold a hearing on Resolution No. 154, which was presented at the Atlantic City Convention.

All parties were communicated with, and the Committee set the hearing to start Monday, April 27, at 10 a. m., in the Executive Council room of the A. F. of L. Building.

The hearing was opened and all parties heard, and allowed to present such documentary evidence as they desired. The hearing closed Tuesday, April 28, at 10 p. m.

The following were present in support of the charges in the Resolution:

Miss Mary Herrick, President, Chicago Federation of Women H. S. Teachers, Local 3.

Miss Lucie Allen, Financial Secretary, Local 3, Chicago. (For six years, National Vice-President.)

Miss Mary McGough, President, St. Paul Federation of Women Teachers. (Formerly authorized to represent Men Teachers, also.)

Miss Mary Dent, President, Washington Local 8.

Mrs. Mary Mason Jones, President, Washington Local 27.

Mrs. Elizabeth Draper, Vice-President, Washington Local 8.

Mrs. L. Smith, Secretary, Washington Local 27.

Dr. Henry R. Linville, for 20 years President of Local 5, New York, and for many years a member of the Standing Committee on Education of the A. F. of L.

Mr. Max Kline, for a number of years a member of the Executive Committee of Local 5.

There were read at the hearing a sworn statement in support of the Resolution, from Miss Mary Darling, representing Local 111 of the Teachers' Union of Portland, Oregon; and a sworn statement in support of the Resolution from Stanton E. Smith, C. C. Burgner, William P. Bales, and Nancy Lea Smith, all members of Local 246 of the American Federation of Teachers, Chattanooga, Tennessee, and delegates from that Local Union to the 1935 convention.

The following were present in answer to the charges:

Mr. Lowry, Int. President, Teachers' Union.

Mr. Davis, Int. Sec'y-Treas.

Mrs. Hanson, Past Nat'l Sec'y-Treas., Teachers' Union.

Mr. Hendley, President, Local 5, New York City.

Mrs. Bella Dodd, Local Union No. 5.

Miss Celia Lewis, Local Union No. 5.

Mrs. M. J. Grossman, President, Philadelphia Local Union.

The Committee, on opening the hearing, advised that it would hear those who presented the Resolution, on specific complaints and after each complaint had been presented would allow the defendants to answer same, and when the specific complaint was completely heard from both sides, the Committee would proceed with the next complaint.

The first complaint taken up was that delegates had been illegally seated at the 1935 Convention, and a general complaint filed as to the representation at

the Convention. The conclusion of your Committee on the above is that the laws of the International Union are quite indefinite, and the cause of a great deal of the present complaint. It was determined, as agreed by both sides present before the Committee, that the usual practice of the organization was to seat delegates whose local union had paid two months' per capita prior to the convening of the convention, and conclusive evidence was presented that at several of the last conventions delegates were seated whose locals had only been affiliated with the International Union one month prior to the holding of the convention, and had only paid one month's per capita; therefore clearly, under the intent of the law and the practice of the organization, these delegates were illegally seated, not having sufficient standing.

The next question was that at the 1935 convention, people were elected to office who, on account of insufficient standing, were not entitled to hold office; and the case was proved that there was one officer elected at that convention, who represented a local union seated at the convention that had only one month's affiliation and that had paid only one month's per capita prior to the holding of that convention; therefore, according to the interpretation of the law, the party elected was not eligible.

Your Committee, hearing the above complaints, urged upon both sides to amend the laws: first, to provide definitely in the laws how long a local union should be a member of the International to be entitled to send delegates to be seated in a convention; second, to provide in the laws the duties of their officers; (At the present time, there are no duties prescribed.) and third, to provide in the Constitution what officers should interpret the laws. (At present there is no provision or authority for anyone to interpret the laws, and every officer has assumed to interpret the laws without consulting the other officers, and the interpretations have been at variance, which has caused some of the confusion.) Fourth, the laws provide for proxy representation, which is a thoroughly unfair method, as one delegate may represent many local unions. For the best interests of the organization proxy representations should be eliminated.

Quite a complaint was registered as to new locals being chartered and given a large representation, which is unfair to existing local unions, and the complaint was registered that they had been unable to present amendments to their laws on this question and have them acted upon. This question has been taken care of since the convention, as the Executive Council has approved an amendment to their laws as to representation at the convention, which is now out on a referendum to the membership. What the amendment is, the Committee has not been advised.

There was, since the last convention, another referendum sent out by the Executive Council on the method of handling complicated questions that need investigation. The Council sent out an amendment providing that two members of the Teachers' Union should be appointed, and the American Federation of Labor requested to appoint one other person—a member of the Federation—and the three could hear a case and render a decision. We are advised that this amendment has been approved, and is now a part of the Constitution of the Teachers' International Union.

The next and most grievous question was the complaint against Local Union 5 of New York City of the Teachers' Union. There were charges and counter charges as to the control of that local union. The proponents of the Resolution charged that the local was communistically controlled; that there was a committee of the Rank and File, which was communistic; and a committee of the United Progressives—another branch of the Communists' organization—known as the Lovestonites. Counter charges were presented that the former administration was a faction, and was refusing to organize any except those friendly to that administration.

The officers of Local 5 requested the Executive Board of the International Union to revoke the charter of Local 5 and initiate a new charter which would exclude the Communists. At the recent 1935 convention, the Board was in session the major part of the convention period on this question and refused to comply with the request, which brought the request of the former officers of Local 5 before the Convention and the convention turned down the request.

The vote to revoke or suspend the charter was 79, and, it is claimed, represented 64.8% of the membership of the International Union. The vote not to revoke or suspend the charter was 100, which represented 35.2% of the membership of the International Union. In the complaint, it was charged before the Committee that the Executive Board of Local 5 was communistically controlled by the Rank and File committee. It was charged that local union paraded in 1935 with the Communists, and that no doubt they would parade again May 1, 1936, with the Communists.

The following facts were developed on this question: the present Executive Board of Local 5 is composed of 33 members, which include their elected officers—the President, Vice-Presidents and Secretary-Treasurer. On this Board there are 10 members who belong to the Rank and File Committee. Care is taken, in the appointment of all committees, to see that the Rank and File group, and the United Progressive group are represented fairly. The two main committees—namely, the Membership Committee and the Academic Freedom Committee—have co-chairmen, one chairman being taken from the Rank and File group, and the other from the United Progressives.

From the information presented, which was agreed to before the Committee, the majority of the committees compose the two above-named groups, and the minority is taken from what are termed the Independents. To the question as to who comprised the Independents, the answer was that they represent all the other political groups, with no attempt made to find out what political groups the others belonged to.

The conditions above mentioned brought about a division in Local Union 5 last October, following the convention of the International Union. On the International refusing to revoke the charter, a number of the officers of the local union resigned from office and withdrew from the organization. At that time the local had 2,300 members, and it is claimed that last October about 800 left the local, which left about 1,500 members. Some of the officers and about 500 of the membership who withdrew formed a Teachers' Guild. The Committee was advised that the formation was merely for the purpose of holding those who withdrew, into the semblance of organization. It was represented that since the division the organization has acquired a membership of 4,000, which would mean an increase of 2,500 members.

Your Committee is of the opinion that Local 5 is controlled by an active minority group, and we believe that during this year it will be possible to determine whether this minority group actually controls Local 5, for the following reasons:

It was stated that a nomination and an election of officers of the local union would be held this Fall; that their Executive Council would be composed of 34 members, on account of the increase of one Vice-President for a newly organized group; and that a tentative slate is being talked of at the present time providing that on the Council of 34 there should be 15 members of the Rank and File group, and 13 members of the United Progressives, leaving 6 positions for the Independents. Nominations, we were advised, would be made in open meeting, and elections by all members of the local, in good standing, who desired to vote. Therefore, if the results of the election show that the proposed slate is elected, representing 15 from the Rank and File group, 13 from the United Progressives, and 6 from the other political classifications of the membership, it would show that the increased membership of the local was clearly dominated by the two groups mentioned.

Your Committee advised all present, on both sides, that if they continued to allow any groups within the local to form and try to control the local union, it would be to the detriment of the local as in time it would wreck the local union.

Your Committee is of the opinion that if, when the elections of Local Union 5 are held the results should show that the Rank and File group and the United Progressive group were able to elect their slate, it would prove to other local unions of the International, who are now complaining of the situation, that Local Union 5 is communistically controlled, and this would mean, in our opinion, that many local unions of the International would resign from the International, which would seriously affect the life of the International Union.

(Signed) G. M. BUGNIAZET.
J. P. FREY.
THOS. E. BURKE.

Dr. LINVILLE. Now, essentially in the report of the committee which I lay before you there is a good deal dealing with the machinery and the conducting of our business in the American Federation of Teachers to which the committee objected. But the point bearing on this investigation follows:

The next and most grievous question was the complaint against Local Union 5 of New York City of the Teachers' Union. There were charges and counter charges as to the control of that local union. The proponents of the Resolution charged that the local was communistically controlled; that there was a committee of the Rank and File, which was communistic; and a committee of the

United Progressives, another branch of the Communists' organization—known as the Lovestonites. Counter charges were presented that the former administration was a faction and was refusing to organize any except those friendly to that administration.

The former officers of Local 5 requested the Executive Board of the International Union to revoke the charter of Local 5 and initiate a new charter which would exclude the Communists. At the recent 1935 convention the Council was in session the major part of the convention period on this question and refused to comply with the request, which brought the request of the former officers of Local 5 before the Convention and the convention turned down the request.

The vote to revoke or suspend the charter was 79, and, it is claimed, represented 64.8% of the membership of the International Union. The vote not to revoke or suspend the charter was 100, which represented 35.2% of the membership of the International Union. In the complaint, it was charged before the Committee that the Executive Board of Local 5 was communistically controlled by the Rank and File committee. It was charged that local union paraded in 1935 with the Communists, and that no doubt they would parade again May 1, 1936, with the Communists.

The following facts were developed on this question: the present Executive Board of Local 5 is composed of 33 members, which include their elected officers—the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Treasurer. On this Board there are 10 members who belong to the Rank and File Committee. Care is taken, in the appointment of all committees, to see that the Rank and File Group and the United Progressive group are represented fairly. The two main committees, namely, the Membership Committee and the Academic Freedom Committee, have co-chairmen, one chairman being taken from the Rank and File group and the other from the United Progressives.

Now, this was testimony that reflected conditions in the union that our group left, a group consisting of 800 members.

Mr. WHITLEY. After August 1935?

Dr. LINVILLE. After October 1, 1935. And this statement about the number of members relates to the number of members of that group in the executive board in 1936.

From the information presented, which was agreed to before the committee, the majority of the committees compose the two above-named groups, and the minority is taken from what are termed the independents. To the question as to who comprised the independents, the answer was that they represent all the other political groups, with no attempt made to find out what political groups the others belonged to.

The conditions above mentioned brought about a division in Local Union 5 last October, following the convention of the International Union. On the International refusing to revoke the charter, a number of the officers of the local union resigned from office and withdrew from the organization. At that time the local had 2,300 members, and it is claimed that last October about 800 left the local, which left about 1,500 members. Some of the officers and about 500 of the membership who withdrew formed a Teachers' Guild. The committee was advised that the formation was merely for the purpose of holding those who withdrew into the semblance of organization. It was represented that since the division the organization has acquired a membership of 4,000, which would mean an increase of 2,500 members.

Your committee is of the opinion that Local 5 is controlled by an active minority group, and we believe that during this year it will be possible to determine whether this minority group actually controls Local 5, for the following reasons—

Well, at that time that statement was slightly incorrect. They did represent a majority but the minority idea was carried over from the previous year.

It was stated that a nomination and an election of officers of the local union would be held this Fall; that their Executive Council would be composed of

34 members, on account of the increase of one Vice President for a newly organized group; and that a tentative slate is being talked of at the present time providing that on the Council of 34 there should be 15 members of the Rank and File group, and 13 members of the United Progressives, leaving 6 positions for the Independents. Nominations, we were advised, would be made in open meeting, and elections by all members of the local, in good standing, who desired to vote.

Now, this statement was made by the President, the person who was then president of Local 5, in answer to the question of "What proof have you?" a question presented by one member of the executive committee consisting of Mr. John P. Frey, of the Metal Workers' Union; Mr. George M. Bugniacet and Mr. Thomas Burke, of the Plumbers' Union. Those were well-known trade-union officers whom President Green had appointed to this committee. And one committeeman asked the president, the then president of Local 5 of the Teachers' Union of New York, "What proof you had that they were now conducting their proceedings democratically?" and he responded that the proof lay in the fact that they proposed a slate to be proposed in which there would be 15 members of the rank and file group and 13 members of the United Progressives and 6 members of the Independent group, but was unable to answer the question of how he knew that the membership divided itself on those lines since there had been, as they claim, an accession of several hundred members since the split of 1935 and there had been no election since that time. He had no answer to that, which indicated that their division of members was on a mystery basis. And as it turned out, the election as carried through did show there was exactly that proportion of United Front Stalinists and 15 Progressives and 13 of the rest, and the Independents 6.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, at the time of the 1935 split, approximately how many members left the union with you and Professor Dewey?

Dr. LINVILLE. Eight hundred left the union and something over 600 actually joined the new organization. What happened to the others we do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time, Doctor, did the Communist Party get complete dominance or control of the Teachers' Union?

Dr. LINVILLE. They had complete control. Yes; the two factions, of course, were in absolute control, and those members represented as independents were the only ones who did not belong to one of those two factions. The rank and file had the majority and they probably had a much higher majority than represented by the proportion of 15 to 13.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. I said a moment ago, did they at that time get absolute control of the Teachers' Union?

Dr. LINVILLE. Absolutely.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean the American Federation of Teachers.

Dr. LINVILLE. Oh, the American Federation of Teachers?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Dr. LINVILLE. I will have something to say about that in a moment.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. We will get to that.

Mr. STARNES. As to the Teachers' Union, you gave an unqualified answer that they did?

Dr. LINVILLE. They most certainly did. As I said awhile ago in my testimony, they had approximately one-third of the membership by

the time we left the union on October 1, 1935. Immediately after we retired then they began taking substitute teachers and other teachers who were doubtfully qualified to be members of the union. They had a greater growth in the Communist left group. They could prove a very large increase of membership. Of course, none of the group which represented our point of view. Well, there were some of our—I might say there were some of our group, perhaps various cases personal and otherwise, who remained in the Teachers' Union. They still are there but are a negligible number.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are figuring the New York City local now, aren't you, in your amount?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes. If I may complete this phase of the American Federation of Labor investigation. The letter was sent by President Green to the secretary of the American Federation of Teachers containing the following statement. I will turn this over to the stenographer also.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

When replying please refer to Resolution No. 154

JULY 17, 1936.

Mr. GEORGE DAVIS,

*Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Teachers,
Room 526, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your telegram was duly received. "By Resolution No. 154 of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the President and the Executive Council were directed to make an investigation of the charges publicly made that the American Federation of Teachers is now controlled by those openly hostile to the principles of the American Federation of Labor and that after ascertaining the facts, the President and the Executive Council were authorized and directed to take such action as the facts may warrant.

We appointed a committee to make the investigation. The members of the committee are:

Mr. John P. Frey, President, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

Mr. G. M. Bugniazet, Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Mr. Thomas E. Burke, Secretary-Treasurer, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.

This committee submitted its report to the meeting of the Executive Council held at headquarters, May 8-15, 1936. Copy of this report is enclosed herein. This report is based upon the facts, evidence and information presented to the committee and was submitted by the committee to the Executive Council for its information and consideration at the meeting held in Washington, May 8-15. After taking into account the report of the Committee, the Executive Council decided to recommend to the officers of the American Federation of Teachers that the charter of Teachers Local Union No. 5 of New York City be revoked and the local reorganized.

This recommendation of the Executive Council is based upon its conclusion that the facts, evidence and information clearly prove that Teachers Local No. 5 of New York City is dominated and controlled and its affairs administered by communists.

I know I express the hope of the Executive Council that the executive officers of the American Federation of Teachers will carry this recommendation into effect.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

GEORGE DAVIS,

Chicago, Ill. JL July 17, 1936

Dr. LINVILLE. This was a recommendation. It was not an order. The situation, of course, which perhaps suggested to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor was one of a jurisdic-

tional nature, that the American Federation of Labor does not interfere and makes a practice and in its constitution does not interfere with the responsibility of the international organization or controlling or disciplining its own locals. So this went out as a recommendation merely from the American Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Teachers although President Green and other officers were entirely familiar and in other years had indicated a very deep concern about the situation in the Teachers' Union of New York. To finish that phase of the matter, I may just introduce the decision, the reaction of the convention, the next convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Mr. VOORHIS. What year was that?

Dr. LINVILLE (continuing). Which was held in Philadelphia, in the City Hall of Philadelphia, in August 1936.

From the Proceedings of the 1936 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

This is a report taken from the American Teacher, organ of the American Federation of Teachers, and appears on page 27 of the September-October issue, 1936.

Session of Friday morning, August 21, 1936.

The recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor re New York Local 5 was first on the agenda. A resolution proposed by the Executive Council, American Federation of Teachers, was adopted by the convention after a roll-call vote. For the resolution, 266; opposed, 107. The resolution in essence reads:

"Whereas, there is nothing in the conduct and control of the New York local with which the American Federation of Teachers feels justified in interfering to the extent of revoking its charter: be it

"*Resolved*, That no action on the recommendation of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council be taken by this Convention relative to revocation of the charter of Local 5."

That was the official action, and the only official action taken at that convention on that matter. And I might say that the test of whether that meant that the Communists were in control of the American Federation of Teachers might be shown by the fact that the two whips, the party whips that brought about that result of a 5 to 2 vote on that resolution declining to accept the recommendation of the American Federation of Teachers, those two were persons, a leader of the New York local who was known as a Communist, his name is Isidore Begun. At the time he was dismissed by the board of education in New York City in June 1933 for riotous conduct in meetings of the board of education and he still held membership in the American Federation of Teachers. And the other party whip was a woman by the name of Mary Paula Grossman, leader of the Philadelphia local, who was classed as a fellow traveler, whether a Communist Party member or not, of course, we did not know.

Mr. VOORHIS. Has there been any attempt, so far as you know, to try to get into membership in the organization people who did not qualify as teachers?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean has there been such a case?

Dr. LINVILLE. There were certain persons. Even now, in 1935 I remember that a person who had never been a teacher, but was a minister in the South, and who had been active in labor controversies of one sort or another, his name I do not recall, was admitted to

membership in the American Federation of Teachers and took a prominent part and undoubtedly helped to bring about the result of the 1935 convention, in which we lost our appeal for the revoking of the charter. That was done, and then there were examples at that time that year and the year previous unknown to some of us perhaps and partly known to officers of the organization, it is true, not then classified as Communists, but were more or less compromising in their attitude toward the Communists, accepting certain locals on an unsound basis composed of teachers or persons who were doubtfully qualified as teachers. And one thing that led, I might say, to the decision of 1935 was the fact there were a great many small locals that under the procedure at that time, even though there were only 7 teachers in a local, it had two votes in the convention, and in others there might be as many as 100, and they would only have 2 votes themselves. But since that time the voting basis has been changed.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, Dr. Linville, you still believe, do you not, in the value of a professional organization of teachers affiliated with organized labor as much as you ever did before?

Dr. LINVILLE. I believe in it; yes; absolutely. We have held that position in the Teachers' League. We hold that position still.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is true, is it not, that there have been certain locals and certain groups within the American Federation of Teachers which have over a period of time carried on a running battle against Communist domination of the union?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I wonder if you would be willing, I think it would be only fair to name some of those local groups for us who have carried on that opposition and fight.

Dr. LINVILLE. The local groups that have consistently carried on their opposition to Communist control beginning in the eastern part of the country—a local in New Bedford, Mass., which has been very loyal supporter of the professional point of view for a Teachers' Union; local No. 8 of the public-school teachers here in Washington; local 27, the colored Teachers' Union; certain locals in Ohio, the identity of which I am not certain, because Ohio as a group came in about 1934 and 1935, and for a time seemed somewhat confused. Cleveland had locals definitely, I think, opposed to the point of view of Stalinist control. A local in St. Paul, Minn., has been consistently for us—with us. A local in Portland, Oreg., and, to a certain extent although not aggressively, the local in Chicago. The local in Chicago, by the way, has resulted in the amalgamation of several locals which they had there and now represents local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers. I would call them distinctly non Communists. In Chicago they have been having a lot of trouble with the Communists, and the Chicago local, while not, I might say, quite as aggressive as some of the other locals in this matter. Some of the others seem to feel that we have to do the best we can to get along with these Communists, but at the same time they are definitely non-Communist. Other locals scattered throughout the country—I possibly may identify some of those in a moment if I have not called your attention to them. Yes, I think I have a document here which does represent them and gives their names.

Mr. STARNES. Will you supply that for the record later?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes; I will supply that.

So there was, and this might be brought up as a little information perhaps about the standing of the Communist movement, at these various conventions from 1936 to 1939. In the 1936 convention in addition to taking this stand on the recommendation of the American Federation of Labor at that time, they definitely moved to cooperate with the American League Against War and Fascism, and that fact was reported to the New York local in a publication called the October 1936 issue of the New York Teacher, which is the organ of the Teachers Union of New York. They reported the information I gave you and the vote on this recommendation of the American Federation of Teachers, and the report of that convention also said:

In line with the policy of uniting our efforts with all progressive mass movements, it was urged upon the convention that we cooperate with the American League Against War and Fascism.

An involuntary gasp went up from the audience when a delegate from the Middle West, in arguing against such cooperation, cited France today as an example of the failure of the united front to stave off fascism. Still others who opposed cooperation gave as their reason the absence of a broad trade-union base in the league. However, the resolution advocating cooperation was passed by a large majority for the reason that the American League not only includes a large mass of the American people and reaches many sections of the middle class but is making a strong drive for enlarging its trade-union membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. What convention is that, Doctor?

Dr. LINVILLE. The convention of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that is the organization which later changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes; the organization changed its name at the Pittsburgh convention of November 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that is a further indication of the Communist control of the American Federation of Teachers?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes; the Communist line-up of the American Federation of Teachers.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Doctor, then I would like to ask you this: In the last convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Dr. Counts was elected president. There was an indication of a change in the situation. What do you think would be the things that might be done which would strengthen the forces within the organization which are trying to make of it a really professional organization of teachers to prevent Communist domination of it? What sort of things would be possible to help do that and what are some of the things you think would be harmful?

Dr. LINVILLE. Mr. Voorhis, I would answer that question by saying that it seems to me that the American Federation of Teachers which although it seemed to be in the majority in the election of Dr. Counts as president, I think is not actually in the majority. The progressive group, the liberal group is not in the majority. However, answering your question, it seems to me would lie in the direction of instituting a liberal group in challenging the presence of the Communist element in their own meetings. It seems to me to be promoting a false sense of security to continue the indulgence of this Communist element to the extent that the whole national movement may be dis-

credited possibly within a very short time. The more information that is disseminated about this the more American people will become concerned about it and unless the liberal element which still is very strong, it is not, in my opinion, I have given evidence on that, in the majority.

I think they did succeed in electing Dr. Counts 344 to 320. That is a rather narrow margin and in the background of the news about the Stalin-Hitler pact and in view of the fact that the liberal elements were determined to secure the election of Dr. Counts in view of certain pressures which indirectly were made, I think, by the labor movement, it is that the American Federation of Teachers now had an opportunity to elect a first-class leader as their president; that unless this were done they stood very small chance of continuing to exist as an organization. Well, that resulted in this rather narrow margin for Dr. Counts. It seems to me that the pressure, that the social pressure of increased knowledge about the situation in this very important national group will result in convincing the liberal elements still very strong. And I might say that it extends pretty generally all over the country in the classroom teacher group, whereas the Communist group is built up of definitely Communist leadership with the force of the W. P. A. unions which universally vote with the Communists and a certain number of liberals and conservatives still do not see why the Communist officers who are very active and aggressive should not to a certain extent be retained in the leadership. Now, it seems to me that it would be absolutely necessary that not only teachers but other persons to become better informed about what the Communist persons or Communists in a national organization really mean, the danger it is, not only to that organization but to the particular scope of interest that the organization represents—education, improving social conditions so far as teachers have to do with them. And with this impetus for a show-down with that Communist element more or less aggressively and openly carried on must be instituted instead of trying to get along with each other, instead of trying to overcome them by an increase of support which the liberal movement is trying to get. Now, we know perfectly well that whatever increase the liberals try to get the Communists are more active and so far as there is still available material in the American scene the Communists have a good chance of keeping up their support; in spite of the Stalin-Hitler pact the chances are they still have an abundant supply of material to build up their young men in the Teachers' Union.

There have been attempts to take hold of the situation to force the 2 greatest unions, the 2 very large unions, I would say of the situation, the New York City and the Philadelphia situation and you see there are 3 unions in New York, the present Local No. 5, which now claims a membership of between five and six thousand; the W. P. A. local, the number of which is more or less variable and uncertain, perhaps three or four thousand and the College Teachers' Union in New York, which claims a membership of about 1,000; altogether constituting a membership of nearly 10,000, which is nearly one-third of the entire national membership of the American Federation of Teachers, claiming and reporting at the last convention, 32,000.

So that that grouping, and the W. P. A. unions throughout the country and the Communist elements scattered here, there, and everywhere throughout the country, in California, Minnesota, and to a certain extent in other unions, even claiming rural teachers, is in a position to be a constant threat and it does seem to me that the trades-union movement, which, of course, has considerable responsibility in this matter, must take a hand in the situation and endeavor to put the obligation upon the teachers to clean house and to force a declaration upon the American Federation of Labor to bring to bear the pressure of the labor movement, which will compel the American Federation of Teachers to make an open declaration of war or opposition against the Communist movement for its destructive effect; for its anti-American point of view, on account of the fact that it is basically not loyal to this country in any way, but to another country, and for all of these reasons, the continuation of the Communist movement in the American Federation of Teachers is a menace to the organization itself; and that the organization has not come to that point. I am sure that Professor Counts is considerably influenced, and the support that he can get from the locals are still fighting strongly against the Communist majority. I say it is a majority, although the success in electing Dr. Counts might seem to indicate otherwise, but that has to be present and present strongly, in order to first discredit the Communist movement.

Now, I would say that merely attacking the Communist movement does not dispose of it. It is a movement that is deeply ingrained in a psychological attitude and a considerable amount of investment of long-continued existence of investments, intellectually, and emotionally, and socially, and that it is going to be very difficult to discredit the Communist movement and to show it up for what it really is, and the success of this movement, it seems to me, would depend largely upon the increase of understanding not only of teachers but of the people generally, of the liberals, who are inclined to take the point of view that because they are attacked they are the under dog, which is the attitude or position of the Communist and the position which they are proud to take and to assume.

Until that is done, it seems to me that the situation for the liberal teachers in the American Federation of Teachers is a very difficult one. For instance in the 1935 convention, I am assured from friends who are still in the movement, that every one of the candidates of those who campaigned for the vice presidency, members of the executive council, of which there are 16—15 vice presidents and 1 president constituting the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers—16 members—that there were several of those who stood as candidates for election at the Buffalo Convention last August of the American Federation of Teachers and every one of those who had actively opposed the Stalinists, with the exception of Dr. Counts, was defeated and his position was taken by a person supposed to be a Stalinist.

But, just how much Professor Counts can depend upon the members of the executive council elected, I think not even he is sure at the present time, but the belief is that the executive council is now majority Stalinist-controlled and are actual Stalinist or fellow travelers, and I might say that the proof that the membership or at

least the membership represented by those who go to conventions, as delegates, is seen in the 1938 convention. In the 1938 convention there was a resolution proposed calling for the release of Fred Beal, the Gastonia striker. I think he testified before this committee.

A proposition was made to demand the release of Fred Beal from prison, after he had escaped from this country to Russia and come back here again, returned to Russia and come back here again, faced arrest and actually was arrested and returned to prison, being involved in the murder of the chief of police in Gastonia, N. C.

Mr. STARNES. Can you understand and explain the quirk of the Communist nature that would send that man down there on the mission which led to his conviction, furnish his defense, furnish his appeal bond, give him a false passport and take him out of the country, and try to keep him beyond the reach of the law in this country, do all of those things in violation of the law and then criticize a committee for hearing the man's testimony here because he has been convicted? Can you understand or can you explain to the committee that quirk of the Communist nature? Or that quirk of procedure?

Dr. LINVILLE. Well, it is one of those quirks that seems to be explainable only on the basis of the adaptability of the Communist Party movement to adjust itself to any situation which faces them, being equal to compromise and to misrepresentation on the demand of the immediate situation. There is no principle of conduct and honor involved in that. As a matter of fact, we know that Mr. Beal was a member of the Communist Party himself and was a member of the executive committee of the Civil Liberties Union at the time that he jumped his bail and went to Russia. We knew perfectly well at that time he went to Russia because of the Communist Party's suggestion. We knew that on the executive committee, and although the committee was resentful of the fact that the man had jumped his bail and left them holding the bag, it was perfectly understood among the members of the committee; and we also understood that later on in 1938, I believe it was, he was arrested in Lawrence, Mass., and returned to jail at that time, but in the meantime he had come out and made certain unfavorable reports of the situation in Russia and had ceased to be a follower of the Communist movement and had become an opponent of it, and the fact that he was an opponent of it was sufficient justification for their change of attitude toward him.

So, when it came before the 1938 convention of the American Federation of Teachers, in a resolution before the teachers to demand his release, this demand was presented by those members of the convention who were not Communists. In fact, I think they solicited some members of the Lovestone group even, and perhaps it was a maneuver for the purpose of putting the Communists on the spot that they introduced that resolution. And, the Communists made their fight, and in the process of their arguments, they denounced Beal as a renegade who should be allowed to rot in jail; that no punishment was too vicious for him, and the test as I saw it, the test of the attitude of the 1938 convention of the American Federation of Teachers in defeating the motion to demand Beal's release from prison was that the convention at that time was Communistic-controlled, and I have discussed that with various members of the organization, and they would not deny it.

Then in the 1939 convention at Buffalo, which was last summer, a motion was introduced then to demand a pardon for Beal, and that motion was defeated, which again indicated and verified the opinion I had and was accepted as a statement of an actual fact that the convention was still controlled by the Communists.

MR. STARNES. Although prior to the time that he became, in their eyes, a renegade, they had announced to the world that he was an innocent man and was a victim of capitalistic oppression; is that true?

DR. LINVILLE. That was true. I remember the circumstances, and the evidence seemed to show anyway that in the confusion of the Gastonia strike, in the melee of the strike, the chief of police was killed, and that it might have been impossible to say who fired the shot; where the shots came from; although that was uncertain, there were a good many of them arrested and Beal was among those arrested and charged with the murder.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, during the period of this fight in the union, that is, the Teachers' Union, and the American Federation of Teachers, were there indications that the official Communist Party leadership was in close touch with and cooperating with the Communists in the union?

DR. LINVILLE. I think the answer to that question is in the reference I made a while ago to the debate between Earl Browder and Norman Thomas which I attended and that Browder claimed in this debate that the Socialists and the Communists have combined in the Teachers' Union, which indicated of course and was pretty good evidence as we saw it that the Communists—a rather unusual circumstance—that the Socialists and Communists should combine, but they did at that time and have at certain other times, but generally the Socialists and the Communists do not combine.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, has the New York Teachers' Union done anything about the affiliation with the American League for Peace and Democracy since the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed in August 1939?

DR. LINVILLE. I might say that the actual affiliation what I said about the action of the American Federation of Teachers in reference to the American League, indicated a cooperation and the wording did not say an actual affiliation but it did say cooperation, which perhaps might be the distinction there; but in 1938 the vote was taken. I think that is correct. Yes; in 1938 Local No. 5 of the Teachers' Union in New York actually took up the question of affiliation with the American League and they carried in "The New York Teacher" arguments pro and con with regard to the affiliation with the American League. There were pages of argument and discussions on the part of the pros and cons, and finally in March 1938 the vote was announced, and a referendum vote was taken of all of the members, and 1,955, according to the statement in "The New York Teacher" for March 1938, 1,955 voted for the affiliation and 732 against.

Now, this vote was a rather heavy vote for the minority in 1938.

I might say in preface to an answer to your question there, in 1938, in the annual election, the result of the election showed that 80 percent of the members voted with the Communist element; 80 percent of all of the membership, and they got out a very heavy vote. And the remaining 20 percent was composed of Lovestonites, Trot-

skyites, and those who were not any of these, and that the 20 percent was all there were of the opposition at that time. This was in 1939. The election there was a vote of 90 percent in support of the Stalinist group. And from that time the opposition had almost disappeared and it was represented by only 10 percent.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that Local No. 5 of New York?

Dr. LINVILLE. Local No. 5 of New York; yes.

Now, the college teachers—I remember this morning Dr. Hartmann said when he was testifying as I remember it, that an effort was made to secure the reaction of the college teachers on some fundamental question and the group that Dr. Hartmann represented was defeated by a 5 to 1 vote. There were 5 votes against 1, according to his statement, supporting his point of view.

As I stated a while ago, the W. P. A. locals uniformly supported the Communist Party's point of view.

So that as a prefatory remark to the answer to your question, it showed that the Stalinist group is not simply a majority group, although they call themselves the majority group. They dropped the name "Rank and File" and now officially claim, so far as the activities of the union are concerned, that they are the majority group. That is their technical name.

And the rest of the people were assembled under what they called the independents.

Once in a while the progressive group segregates itself and acts with the independents, but generally those are not the Stalinists, calling themselves the independents.

The arguments for the affiliation with the American League were very elaborately presented and apparently were convincing enough to produce a considerable majority to go with them, whatever their reason was for the rather large minority. That perhaps is not important here. But, after the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed, that changed the face of the situation considerably and the American League for Peace and Democracy itself has changed its position two or three times, as you probably know, and with the teachers—

Mr. WHITLEY. Trying to keep up with the party line?

Dr. LINVILLE. In an effort to keep in contact, and as I figure the thing out the only groups in the movement that have shifted their base from day to day and from time to time as the party line doctrine comes out of Moscow are the groups that are definitely Communist Party groups and the Young Communist League.

Now, so far as my observation has extended, there is not any of the united fronts that have taken the position of openly supporting the Stalin-Hitler pact. The American League did for a time, but they withdrew the statement and they finally issued a statement in which they said that, "We take a position neither for nor against the Stalin-Hitler pact."

Well, in a fashion that is the way the American League took to isolate itself from the allegation that it was communistically controlled.

In the Teachers' Union they had a similar problem to meet and they took action at their delegated assembly which was approved by their general meeting, and the following quotation from the New York Times of Tuesday, October 10, will indicate the points of view and their decision.

Charles J. Hendley, President of the Union, said the Union had "never been active in the League, merely paying its annual dues." He said that in the discussion of the resolution there had been no mention of the Browder testimony regarding the League.

The resolution primarily provided that the Union refrain from supporting "any of the various plans now being discussed for keeping us out of war" and left each member free to associate himself with any plan of his own choosing. Pursuant to this policy, withdrawal from the League was also voted in the same resolution, Mr. Hendley said.

Dale Zysmer, vice president of the Union, said the resolution had been added to the business of the meeting by the officers. It was in keeping with the policy of the Union of refraining from all outside activities and concentrating on school matters, he said, adding that the Union had withdrawn from participation in the last May Day parade.

And then—

The Union's announcement of the action follows:

"The delegate assembly of the Teachers voted on Friday evening, October 6, to disaffiliate the Union from the American League for Peace and Democracy. In the debate leading up to this action it was pointed out that a crucial situation faces the teachers of New York and that the necessity for teacher unity is greater than ever before."

Well, of course, that is the customary camouflage by which they cover most of their activities.

It so happens that the proceedings of the American League which I followed rather carefully shows that at the last meeting of the convention held in Washington there was an official representative present, Mrs. Glassman, of Philadelphia, representing the American Federation of Teachers, who took part in the discussions and took a collection for some enterprise or other as part of the activities of the American League's convention and then also in January 1938 the "New York Teacher," the official organ of the Teachers' Union in New York, there was a formal report from four delegates, some of them from Teachers' Union Local 5, others from College Teachers' Union, New York, reporting on the American League for Peace and Democracy, making a report on their participation in the convention that was at that time held in Pittsburgh, the convention at which the name was changed.

This important 2-page report came out showing that they had taken that action.

Now, the press misrepresented the facts. They had been in constant touch and had been considered as affiliated with the American League throughout the years or that it was affiliated, which is one of the by-products of the Communist methods of deception and misrepresentation.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, what is the present situation in New York, in the New York local Teachers' Union, and in the American Federation of Teachers?

DR. LINVILLE. Well, I would say that the present situation in the New York Teachers' Union is one in which they manifest very considerable activity. They have always been active and I think the fact of activity is accepted as proof, by a great many people, that they are sincere. They are unusually active now, taking up various causes of teachers that concern the teachers, such as salary—I mean State aid—cuts, the budget cut, which affects the teachers, and the administration of the schools. They have held mass meetings. They have sent delegations to the board of education, they have sent delegations to the

mayor of the city, and carried on activities with meetings with very large attendances and are constantly trying to reestablish their connections with the Central Trades and Labor Council. They lost the right to send delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council—local 5 lost the privilege of sending delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council—in New York City in March 1938 and have not since been permitted to send delegates.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did they lose that?

Dr. LINVILLE. The reason they lost that was that they undertook, at the suggestion of a known Communist leader, a man by the name of Winston, who was the leader of the Painters' Union, a leader of the Painters' Union and even a leader of the American Federation of Labor's unemployment insurance committee, a committee that the American Federation of Labor denounced as an outlaw and without authority. That man was a known Communist leader, and he induced the Teachers' Union to call a conference of the American Federation of Labor unions and the C. I. O. unions in New York City to iron out the differences and promote the feeling of unity in the labor movement.

Well, this was a movement that was entirely unauthorized and which the executive committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council resented as being one that exceeded the authority of the Teachers' Union and said that it was without the knowledge of the central body, and was one of several offenses that the central body objected to, and then after a hearing they suspended the delegates from attendance at the Central Trades and Labor Council and have prohibited them from attending ever since.

Well, I think it was this year, the early part of 1938, the W. P. A. union, because of its incessant communistic activities of a slightly different nature, was suspended and then the College Teachers' Union delegates were also denied admission to the Central Labor Council.

I would say that the labor body is in a position to know exactly and to know realistically what the communistically controlled unions are or what unions are that have Communist elements in them; what their activities mean and what their activities meant. And they are now, the union teachers, and I would say all three of the unions, are in a position more or less of being out of the labor circles and have been disciplined to the extent of being reproved and denounced publicly in the State Federation of Labor, but have not been expelled from that body.

So that as I understand the situation now Local 5 is in a position which is rather quite insecure from the point of view of labor authority and what may be done I am not in a position to state definitely—what the labor authorities may do in that situation—but as I see it, with reference to the question Mr. Voorhis asked awhile ago, the indication to my mind is that the labor authorities are in a state of intense dissatisfaction with the Teachers' Union set-up at present and may take a hand in the near future to discipline the group more than they have ever done before.

With reference to the American Federation of Teachers, I commented on that matter awhile ago, and I am convinced that the aggressive group which constitutes the Stalinist element is in a position to make no end of trouble and may make it difficult, perhaps impossible, to solve the situation in the national organization.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, would you say—I think you have already so stated—but just by way of restating it and for emphasis, that the New York local Teachers' Union and the American Federation of Teachers have been definitely Communist-controlled since the separation of yourself and your associates from the union in 1935?

DR. LINVILLE. They have been definitely controlled all of that time. There is not any question about that. They showed that in the 1936 convention in several resolutions and they showed that in a way, not so obvious, in the 1937 convention which met at Milwaukee in 1937. The discussion at the Milwaukee convention was largely concerned with affiliation with the C. I. O. They were very strong for the C. I. O. and at that time denounced their own national organization, the American Federation of Labor, and voted to take a referendum with reference to affiliation, changing their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor at the time when the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers decided it was advisable to take the referendum: but the referendum vote has never been taken. The meaning of that, we think, is that such a step separating from the American Federation of Labor might be disastrous to the teachers, and even the Communists knew that, because in New York State and in the city, and presumably in Philadelphia, the C. I. O. is not as strong as it is in Detroit and some of the other centers, and if they became affiliated with the C. I. O. they would lose their local affiliations in New York City and the State of New York, as well as the State federation affiliation and the benefits to be derived from those affiliations are greater than those to be derived from the C. I. O.

In 1938 and 1939—I have given the evidence I think, relating to that question of the nature of their situation.

MR. WHITLEY. Doctor, are you acquainted with the activities of the American Student Union?

DR. LINVILLE. I have made a study of the American Student Union. My study of that organization was motivated by the fact that educationally I have been very much concerned with the education of the youth, having been a high-school teacher for 23 years, at which time I resigned to enter this other work. And the social education of the youth seemed to me to be immensely important, but in 1935 I became aware that the National Student's Union was Communist-controlled at that time, and the Students' League for Industrial Democracy, which is a Socialist organization, were negotiating for an amalgamation and the possible organization of an association that would be neither Socialist, obviously, or Communist.

Negotiations were conducted, and the convention was held at Christmas week in 1935 in Columbus, Ohio. When the two groups came together and discussed their differences and the Communists proposed an amalgamation to be known as the American Student Union. At that time there were certain lines of attitude of the two groups that were very strong and uncompromising, but the proposal of the Communists was that they were very glad to amalgamate and proposed that the amalgamation be called the Students' League for Industrial Democracy, which was exactly the name of the Socialist organization. Well, the Socialists might have been supposed to be persuaded that that was a very good idea, they having more members; but they were very wary. They knew the Communist tech-

nique. One of the favorite tactics of the Communist movement is to play with the idea of being in the minority and capitalizing on that idea, and demanding privileges and opportunities, and free speech and rights of all sorts because they were in the minority and were likely to be opposed because they were in the minority.

So the Socialists, being aware of that tactic refused to amalgamate on that basis. So they had to agree on a different name. They agreed on the name of the American Student Union, and then the Socialists had a proposal for the Oxford pledge, which was to the effect that "We will not support the United States in any war in which it may engage."

That was called the Oxford pledge.

The Socialists supported that on a pacifist basis, I presume; generally thought to be on a pacifist basis, not being in favor of going into any war. The Communists were not in favor of it. They had at that time been developing a collective-security basis, which was a collective-security program in which the United States, France, Great Britain, and Russia could be combined as a so-called democratic front against Fascist cliques. That collective-security-basis program was developing, and so the Communists were loathe to agree to the Oxford pledge, but they did agree. They accepted it and the proceedings of the 1935 convention of the American Student Union showed harmony on that matter. They accepted the Oxford pledge, refusing to participate in any war in defense of the United States.

At that time the Communists were probably, as seemed altogether likely from the count made of the votes at the very beginning, they were in the minority, not very much, but somewhat in the minority, but there were a lot of Communist students who congregated at the convention and by the next year the Communists were actually in the majority and the Socialists were rapidly disappearing from control; but in the 1937 convention, convention of the American Students' Union, which was held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., the proposition came before them to revoke the Oxford pledge, and it was presented by a man by the name of Gil Green. Gil Green is president of the Young Communist League of America. He is a man who is not a student and who is not a young person at all—in his forties, perhaps—but he was a delegate to that convention representing the Young Communist League. He said we have waited 2 years to get rid of this Oxford pledge and the argument which was put up which was supported by Joe Lash, the executive secretary of the American Student Union, who in the meantime had changed from a Socialist to a Communist—the two of them together, with their supporters argued for the abolition of the Oxford pledge, which was revoked by a very large majority by the Vassar convention at Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in Christmas week, 1937, and since that time they have maintained that position on the Oxford pledge and have denied that they, the Communist group, had anything to do with it; but I would say that the attitude toward the Oxford pledge is the test of what they are and that although they, the Communists, were very active in support of this security program, that is largely on the scrapheap now. They are not for the Oxford pledge, they are not pacifists, and, of course, the pledge is really a pacifist pledge. So they were not void at any time.

At the present time, without any doubt, I think that they are Communist controlled.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know anything specifically or definitely that leads you to say that the officers of that organization are Communists? I mean, on what do you base that statement that the leaders are Communists?

Dr. LINVILLE. The test of whether they are Communists or not is rather difficult. You can test it, not by knowing whether they are on the Communist rolls or not, because you cannot know that, because you do not have access to the Communist lists.

Mr. VOORHIS. No.

Dr. LINVILLE. But, you know for instance from the proceedings of the American Federation of Teachers' convention and the national organ of the American Federation of Teachers, when they come out repeatedly in support of the American Student Union and the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. VOORHIS. I was asking at the moment about the leadership of the American Student Union.

Dr. LINVILLE. I know, and it is difficult to identify persons as actual Communists. The way that it is customarily done, I think, among those who are in close observation of these radical movements, is to examine the actions of the conventions. Take for instance the action of their convention on the issues of the Spanish War. They came out with resolutions supporting the Loyalist cause which was then coming to be known not as the democratic cause, but as the Communist-supported cause. They passed resolutions indicating their pride with reference to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and so on.

By that and other actions indicating that they were a Communist front organization——

Mr. VOORHIS. Let me ask——

Mr. MASON. May I ask right along your same line?

Mr. VOORHIS. Go ahead.

Mr. MASON. You made a statement awhile ago that the leaders of the Student Union had changed from Socialists to Communists in the last year or so?

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Now, upon what do you base that statement?

Dr. LINVILLE. I base the statement upon the fact that he was a member of the Students' League for Industrial Democracy, which was a socialistic group.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Dr. LINVILLE. And was known and described as a Socialist in Socialist circles.

Mr. VOORHIS. Previous to that?

Dr. LINVILLE. As appeared in their magazine at that time. That was previous to 1935. And then later on he was similarly classified especially by the radical magazines, and by the press, possibly, and by examining the critical views of the various radical organizations of how they classify the different personalities in the radical movement. So that he came to be classified by those radical magazines, Socialist magazines, Trotsky magazines, and others; and by being apparently recognized and commended by the Daily Worker and others; being praised by the Daily Worker.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words accepted as a Communist?

Dr. LINVILLE. And accepted as a Communist and commended by the Daily Worker and praised for his rejection of the Oxford pledge by the Communist organ, which definitely proves it, if anything proves that he changed his political alliance and political affiliations.

Mr. STARNES. The strongest group you have is by the line which the organization adopts, and every Communist front organization in this country adopts that same old line, plan, so-called, demanding that an instant embargo be placed on Italy and Germany.

Dr. LINVILLE. And Japan.

Mr. STARNES. And Japan, and that Soviet Russia's form or policy of collective security should be adhered to by this country.

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And since that time, praising the Stalin-Hitler pact, and so on.

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Linville, what do you know about the local groups of the American Student Union? What I have in mind is this. Do you believe that the Communist control of that organization extends to all of the small local groups in the various schools and colleges?

Dr. LINVILLE. It may not, possibly. I happen to know the boy who was president of the Harvard local who became president of the American Student Union for a year.

There is one thing one must understand about the Communist movement and that is its cleverness to conceal its own powers frequently. I have reason to think that this particular person who was around in his twenties, was not a Communist; possibly not even a fellow traveler. In fact, the president of the Teachers' Union was a Socialist, but he was elected by the Communists. It was definitely known that he was a member of the Socialist Party. This boy may not have been a member of any radical group, but he was a very prepossessing youngster and had a good presentation on the stage, and coming from Harvard University, he would be presumed to have considerable standing and carry their organization through. He was elected. I would say that it is very doubtful that he was even a fellow traveler, but the Communists frequently make use of other kinds of people for their window dressing, and it is quite probable that in certain of the colleges away from New York and Philadelphia or away from the big radical centers that they would be composed of students who are looking for adventure or some form of excitement; for a new line, new ideas, being more or less fed up on the old discussions and would do a thing like that.

Mr. VOORHIS. At any rate they would not be Communists in the sense that they are consciously acting as agents of the Soviet Union.

Dr. LINVILLE. I think it is rather improbable that they would be.

Now, I attended the last convention of the American Students' Union in New York and came away with the impression that here was a group of a thousand boys and girls who were unusually well-equipped, intellectually, to handle and conduct themselves in a prepossessing and convincing way before a large body of their fellows, and gave the impression, and I said to my associates, gave the impression of being a thoroughly well worth while group of students, and it was only when certain actions were taken that certain phrases,

certain ideas came out in the clash of argument, in the heat of discussion, that you knew, and it would take an expert to know what they were discussing, what it meant. For instance this man Lash, whom I heard speak, is a rather strong aggressive young fellow of whom the members are apparently quite proud, it was known and of course we all knew who observed the situation that he was a Communist and defending the Communist line absolutely; but on a great deal that was said on the basis of the immediate needs of the students—in fact he prepared a report on the needs of the American students today, which was very able, and he very ably stated the actual needs of the students, about which few people could find fault, but that was the camouflage of the situation, and one of the misfortunes of it is the fact that there were people there who thought that they belonged to an organization which is different from what they thought it was. That was the evil I felt existed there.

Mr. STARNES. Anything further, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. No, sir; no further questions.

Mr. STARNES. Doctor, you have had an opportunity to observe the work of the Communist Party among the student body, that is, what they are like and what technique they use.

Dr. LINVILLE. Among the student bodies?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Dr. LINVILLE. Well, I have not been in the student bodies. My only personal contact with student bodies was at this convention I spoke of, Christmas, 1938.

Mr. STARNES. And your information has been largely along the same line Dr. Hartmann's was, that is, with reference to work of the Communists among organizations or unions of teachers and professors.

Dr. LINVILLE. Yes. There I have had very definite connections.

Mr. STARNES. Well, we thank you, if that concludes your statement.

Dr. LINVILLE. Thank you.

Mr. STARNES. It is probably a matter of interest to you to know that the committee which is conducting these hearings—all three of us—are former teachers ourselves and we have listened with a great deal of interest to the testimony today.

The committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 4:15 p. m., the committee adjourned to meet at 10 a. m. the following morning, Tuesday, November 28, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment, the Honorable Joe Starnes, presiding.

Present: Representatives Starnes, chairman of the subcommittee, Mason, and Voorhis.

Present also: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

Mr. STARNES. The witness the committee was to hear today was unable to make his train connection and will be here tomorrow. Therefore it will be necessary to continue the hearing until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon at 10:45 a. m. the subcommittee adjourned to 10 a. m., Wednesday, November 29, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment, the Honorable Joe Starnes presiding.

Present: Representatives Starnes, chairman of the subcommittee, Mason, and Voorhis.

Present also: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearing. Who do you have, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ryan.

FURTHER STATEMENT OF WILLIAM G. RYAN

Mr. WHITLEY. For the record, Mr. Ryan, will you state at this time your full name and address?

Mr. RYAN. William G. Ryan, 543 Ninth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you appeared here previously you testified with reference to your experience over a period of years as an active member of the Communist Party, and with reference to your enlisting or being recruited into the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and going to Spain.

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that correct?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In connection with your activities in Milwaukee, prior to your departure for Spain, and in connection with your contact with various persons there who were active in enlisting men to go to Spain, were you acquainted with Mrs. Meta Berger in Milwaukee?

Mr. RYAN. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify Mrs. Berger for the committee?

Mr. RYAN. Mrs. Berger is the widow of the Socialist Congressman Victor Berger, who became a Fellow Traveler, connected with the party, although I don't believe an actual Communist Party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mrs. Berger presently active in party circles in Milwaukee?

Mr. RYAN. I don't believe she has been active for the past few months she has been in Milwaukee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Her activity in the past was as a member or as a sympathizer of the Fellow Travelers?

Mr. RYAN. I think as a strong sympathizer.

Mr. WHITLEY. But she was to your personal knowledge active in party circles?

Mr. RYAN. She was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify for the committee Dr. S. N. Franklin of Milwaukee?

Mr. RYAN. Dr. Franklin is the doctor who examined all the recruits who went to Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is his position insofar as the Communist Party is concerned?

Mr. RYAN. I think he is a member of the Communist Party, although I cannot be positive of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You base that upon your own activities and knowledge as a party member?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify for the committee John Secat?

Mr. RYAN. John Secat was in charge of the recruiting, through the American Society for Technical Aid. He is a functionary in the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Milwaukee?

Mr. RYAN. In Milwaukee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify for the committee Mrs. Thomas Duncan of Milwaukee?

Mr. RYAN. Mrs. Thomas Duncan is the wife of Philip La Follette's secretary; that is, he was at one time Gov. Philip La Follette's secretary. She is a sympathizer of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it at her home that a meeting was held in celebration the night before you and your group embarked for Spain?

Mr. RYAN. I believe it was.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you said before that Donald Thayer, a student of the University of Wisconsin, accompanied you on your trip to Spain.

Mr. RYAN. He did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify him?

Mr. RYAN. He was placed in charge of the group which went to New York, from Milwaukee, and later on to Spain. He is now the head of the student's organization at Wisconsin University.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is still a student at the university?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; he is a sophomore there.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I believe he was a Communist Party member. I am sure he is one.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Josephine Nordstrand of Milwaukee, are you acquainted with her?

Mr. RYAN. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify her for the committee?

Mr. RYAN. She was the Secretary for the American Society for Technical Aid. She is a member of the Communist Party. She told me so. She has been very active in party work. On my return I was invited to attend a unit meeting at which she was speaking,

which is sufficient proof of her membership in the Communist Party, as closed unit meetings are not open to outsiders.

Mr. STARNES. And this was a closed meeting which you attended, which she addressed?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; I didn't attend the meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ryan, when you testified previously I believe you had gotten to the point where you had arrived in Spain and had received very limited training and were ready to be sent up to the front. Will you continue from there with the recitation of your experiences?

Mr. RYAN. As I remember, I was testifying as to the methods used by the party in gaining control in Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that is correct.

Mr. RYAN. The first step the party took was to emasculate the unions, destroy the power of the two large unions, to gain control of the government and the army. They did this by using the international brigades to disarm the people, by withholding arms from anti-Communist units, anarchist and socialist units, by chicanery and political blackmail. That is, they threatened to withhold supplies; Russia threatened to withhold supplies from Spain unless certain conditions were met. So that they gradually consolidated their power, until eventually they inaugurated the commissar system, one commissar for each officer from sergeant on up, the commissar having the power to countermand the orders of an officer at any time, even on the field of battle, and to have the officer removed and shot, as frequently happened. There were four commanders of the Abraham Lincoln, Fifteenth Brigade, three whom were shot as Fascists, one Frenchman, two Russians, and a German.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is three out of four that were in command at what time?

Mr. RYAN. From the time I went there until I left.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean of four commanders of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who were at one time or another in command of it while you were there——

Mr. RYAN. Three were shot as Fascists.

Mr. VOORHIS. They were shot?

Mr. RYAN. That is right; two Russians, a German, and a Frenchman.

Mr. VOORHIS. And who finally was in command?

Mr. RYAN. A Russian, finally, who escaped to France and left his brigade to shift for himself, up in the mountains.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long were you in Spain, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. I was gone 17 months, a year in Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you get out of Spain? Did you have any difficulty?

Mr. RYAN. Quite a bit of difficulty.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you have heretofore testified that your passport was taken up and never returned to you.

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which, apparently, according to your testimony was the general practice and custom?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr WHITLEY. Will you explain how you got out of Spain and returned to the United States?

Mr. RYAN. There is a little bit of difficulty about that. My erst-while friends say I deserted; I say I escaped. I had a short leave to see my wife at Denia. The leave was canceled after a few days and I started to go back to the front. At Valencia I missed connections with the train, or the train had not arrived. I was told I had to wait another day. I decided I would spend that day in looking up an old friend of mine who had been in France with me, who had some sort of an office job in Valencia. I endeavored to find his address and was sent to headquarters—the street I don't remember at the moment—where I interviewed an Italian captain on our side. As soon as I saw him, he said, "Internationale, Ah!" He called guards and had me thrown into prison along with a number of other internationals.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the approximate date of that occurrence?

Mr. RYAN. It was in April 1938. I wanted to get out of that cell—this is a very long story. I managed to get out of the cell and decided I would get out of it all. Some of the fellows thought some of us were to be shot in the morning, that we were suspected of being Trotskyites, and so on. I managed to get to an English boat, and with the assistance of the English sailors I escaped and got to England.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then you returned from England to the United States?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Upon your return did you publicly and openly break with and denounce the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was after having been an active member for how many years?

Mr. RYAN. Since July 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. Almost 10 years?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify for the committee these organizations, if you can, from your own experience and activities as an active Communist Party member, I believe in various parts of the United States, the West and Middle West—

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Will you describe for the record just what that organization was and who controlled and dominated it?

Mr. RYAN. That organization is and always has been an adjunct of the Communist Party. It has always been under the control of the Communist Party. It was organized and brought into being by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. For what specific purpose?

Mr. RYAN. The specific purpose—it began as an organization of the veterans coming back from Spain. I think its primary purpose is rather a collecting racket, in which it was very successful.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. Are you talking about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. RYAN. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you mean? Can you explain just what you mean by "being an adjunct of the Communist Party"?

Mr. RYAN. I mean it was organized by the Communist Party; that is, under the control of the Communist Party. All of its policies are completely dominated by the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean, can you tell us what people are now in control?

Mr. RYAN. There are unquestionably a number of people in the organization who are not Communists, some of whom are unaware of the fact that it is a Communist organization. For example, there is Col. Theodore Roosevelt on the board of directors. I feel sure that he is not aware that it is a Communist organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. I feel sure of the same thing. And no doubt that is true of many other people as well. What I am trying to get at is. By what method do they exercise the control that exists?

Mr. RYAN. The official positions are largely in the hands of party members, although I can't give you names.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know who the secretary is?

Mr. RYAN. No; I don't. I have been in their offices, and I know that practically the entire staff in the offices in New York is composed of members of the party who were in Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the American League for Peace and Democracy? Did you come in contact with that organization while you were an active member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; of course.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify that organization for us?

Mr. RYAN. The American League for Peace and Democracy had its beginning in 1922 at the Amsterdam Congress Against Fascism.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean 1932?

Mr. WHITLEY. 1932.

Mr. RYAN. Yes; 1932. I beg your pardon. Shortly after that the League Against War and Fascism was organized here at the instigation of the party. It is and has been since that time completely in the control of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that generally known and understood in party circles?

Mr. RYAN. I think it is utterly ridiculous to doubt it. Certainly no one in party circles doubts it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you identify the North American Committee for the Aid of Spanish Democracy, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. That is another organization, the history of which is about the same. It was brought into being by the party and is in control of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is its purpose?

Mr. RYAN. Its purpose was to broaden the sympathetic front and to collect funds.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, again, your knowledge of that organization is as a result of your membership in the party?

Mr. RYAN. That is right; and in Spain I saw it in operation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with an organization known as the American Negro Congress?

Mr. RYAN. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were acquainted with it while you were an active Communist Party member?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify that organization for us?

Mr. RYAN. Well, the answer is the same. It was created by the party and is controlled by the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. And for what specific purpose?

Mr. RYAN. The same purposes: to extend the influence of the party to the Negro people and strengthen the front organization of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. One of their united-front organizations?

Mr. RYAN. To widen its base.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the International Workers Order?

Mr. RYAN. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify that?

Mr. RYAN. The International Workers Order is somewhat different from the other organizations mentioned. I don't believe it is in complete control of the party, although the party is able to exercise a great deal of influence there. Max Bedacht is a member of the Central organization, and a member of the Central committee which handles the insurance, and so forth. While Communists are able to exert a disproportionate influence there, I don't believe they have complete control.

Mr. WHITLEY. But it is a channel or medium, through which——

Mr. RYAN. It is looked upon as a front organization, although not in the complete sense of the word.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you familiar with an organization known as the International Labor Defense?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify that organization for the committee?

Mr. RYAN. It is a bit more than a front organization. It is the defense arm of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know that as a result of your 10 years' activity with the party?

Mr. RYAN. I have been a functionary of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have been a functionary of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. While a member of the party?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were also a member of the I. L. D.?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And worked in the I. L. D.?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that work carried on under instructions from the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Of course.

Mr. WHITLEY. You carried on your work in the I. L. D. in accordance with instructions from the party?

Mr. RYAN. All the activities of the I. L. D. are predicated on instructions from the party and in complete conformity with its policies on any given question.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify that organization for the committee?

Mr. RYAN. That is a front organization, controlled and brought into being by the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. For what specific purpose?

Mr. RYAN. For the specific purpose of widening, particularly, the cultural base, and extending influence in intellectual groups, and so on; sympathetic to the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. The American Student Union, headed by Mr. Joseph Lash. Did you come in contact with that organization while you were an active party member?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify that organization for the committee?

Mr. RYAN. The American Student Union is controlled completely by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. For what purpose is it used?

Mr. RYAN. A very important purpose; for extending the influence of the party in universities and colleges.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the educational field?

Mr. RYAN. In the educational field.

Mr. WHITLEY. The American Youth Congress; did you come in contact with that organization?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what it is, as a result of your years of activity in the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. It is a front organization designed to extend the influence of the party to the youth of the Nation.

Mr. WHITLEY. To supplement the work of the American Student Union?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. In the case of the American Student Union, do you believe that all local groups of the American Student Union are dominated by Communists?

Mr. RYAN. It is possible that some groups may not be completely dominated, but I believe that they are in general.

Mr. VOORHIS. What would you say about the young people that might join up in a certain school? Wouldn't it be true that at least a certain proportion of them would join up without any knowledge whatsoever of any control by the Communist Party or anybody else, and they might not for a long time be conscious of it?

Mr. RYAN. I would say that is not only true, but I would say that the majority of those who do join join for purely idealistic reasons. They are concerned with social inequalities and injustice and they wish to find a solution for them. They are concerned with the problems of the day.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then as to the American Youth Congress, there are undoubtedly a great many organizations that have affiliated with the American Youth Congress that are not even sympathetic to communism; aren't there?

Mr. RYAN. That is quite true.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you explain just a little bit more what degree of control you think the Communist Party exerts at the present time over that organization?

Mr. RYAN. Well, at this moment I couldn't say to what exact degree. I think the control is extensive, however.

Mr. VOORHIS. And would be exercised in what way?

Mr. RYAN. Well, it is exercised in the way that party members who are skilled intriguers and politicians gain important positions in the organization and they are able to influence, often subtly, the policies of the organization; they are able to kill—to get out of the way—measures which would obstruct their progress toward control.

Mr. STARNES. A succinct answer to the question would be, the way they exercise control is to cause these respective bodies to follow the Communist Party line in the United States?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Not by asking them to do that.

Mr. STARNES. Certainly not.

Mr. RYAN. No; of course not. By influencing them in a subtle fashion.

Mr. STARNES. Taking advantage of this "savior sucker" complex of the American people.

Mr. MASON. When did you last have direct contact with the American Youth Congress, so that you can speak up until that particular time, as having direct knowledge of the control of the American Youth Congress by the Communists? In answer to Mr. Voorhis' question you said you cannot tell as to just now. How long ago is it that you can tell?

Mr. RYAN. I haven't had any direct contact with the American Youth Congress for a long time.

Mr. MASON. What is a long time?

Mr. RYAN. Long before going to Spain.

Mr. MASON. Then you would say 3 years?

Mr. RYAN. Yes. However, I am familiar with these matters, because all Communist Party members are familiar with the organizations which they control.

Mr. MASON. You had direct contact up until you went to Spain?

Mr. RYAN. I have met members of the organization and talked to them, although I, myself, never worked in the American Youth Congress.

Mr. MASON. And it is a well-known fact, and they told you about it, that they do control the American Youth Congress?

Mr. RYAN. It is a generally accepted fact, all Communist members know it.

Mr. VOORHIS. It appears from various things that the Communist Party line is changing insofar as the application of their activity is concerned. Heretofore the line has been one that has been known as cooperation.

Mr. RYAN. Popular front line.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right. Now it appears it is going to change back to the old revolutionary tactics. If that happens, assuming it has happened, or will in a short time, what will be the effect upon the possibility of continuous work such as you have indicated is being done in these various organizations being carried on as successfully as it may have been in the past?

Mr. RYAN. Unquestionably the method will change greatly.

Mr. VOORHIS. Might it not be more difficult?

Mr. RYAN. It will be a great deal more difficult, of course.

Mr. VOORHIS. There isn't as much likelihood of successful penetration and complete control by these various methods you have outlined.

Mr. RYAN. In fact, it will be almost impossible to penetrate organizations as was the case during the period of the "popular front." The line of the party will probably become ultraleft. It will go much to the left, and you will see organizations, and mass demonstrations and attempts to stir up civil strife.

Mr. VOORHIS. The attitude of Mr. Browder in the talk he made in Boston was rather significant, it seems to me.

Mr. RYAN. Of course, Mr. Browder says any orders he gets from Moscow he throws in the wastebasket. He may do that, but he memorizes the orders before he does.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Ryan, in further reference to these organizations you have identified as Communist Party front organizations, you of course do not mean, by so identifying them, that all of the members, or even a majority of the members in these organizations are Communist Party members or sympathizers, do you?

Mr. RYAN. Not at all. In fact, the majority in no case in any of the organizations I have mentioned are Communists, or even complete sympathizers. They are merely sympathetic with some of the idealistic and humanitarian aims of communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the ideals which the organization proposes to promote?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, publicly and outwardly proposes to promote?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in every instance the Communist Party exercises its control through a very small minority of the membership.

Mr. RYAN. A small minority.

Mr. WHITLEY. There may be some exceptions to that, of course, but that is the general proposition?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; that is it, generally.

Mr. WHITLEY. While you were in Spain, did any members or officials of the Communist Party in the United States come to Spain?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; Mr. Browder, Mr. Bedacht.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is Max Bedacht, the secretary of the I. W. O.?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; Mr. Joseph Lash was there.

Mr. WHITLEY. The head of the American Student Union?

Mr. RYAN. At that time he was not a Communist Party member, however.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time he was not?

Mr. RYAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe what the purpose of these visits were on the part of the officials of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. RYAN. Ostensibly their purpose was to give pep talks to the men, but they probably had other purposes, too. That is, keeping in contact with the movement in Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you hear any of the talks or come in contact with any of these persons while they were over there?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; I came in contact with Mr. Bedacht, and Mr. Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the English Communist Party. He has now been reduced to the ranks. He occupied a corresponding position in the English party to Mr. Browder's position here. And Anna Louise Strong, the editor of the Moscow News for a long time, and still is, I believe.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you come in contact with Mr. Joseph Lash while he was over there?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; Mr. Joseph Lash, as a matter of fact, had a bunk next to mine in barracks.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a member of the brigade?

Mr. RYAN. Well, there is a little story attached to that. He was and he wasn't. Mr. Lash, when he came there with the socialists, it is my opinion, saw it was good policy to become a Communist. At least he became very sympathetic to the party there. I remember Mr. Lash because of the fact that he was unable to march in step or to carry a tune, despite the fact that he liked to sing, and also because of the fact that of the 10 shots he fired out of a rifle, he didn't manage to hit the target with one of them. Mr. Lash was very anxious to get to the front. A few days before we went to the front Anna Louise Strong came there and a reception to the party was held, and Mr. Lash had to go to the International Students' Congress in Paris, and all the officials, commissars, and Anna Louise Strong and Mr. Lash spoke at that affair. Mr. Lash felt very badly because——

Mr. STARNES. At what affair?

Mr. RYAN. The affair given in his honor because he was going back as a representative of the International Brigade.

Mr. STARNES. This affair was in Spain?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; he was going back as a representative of the International Brigade, as well as the American Student Union, and, of course, he was worried that the battalion might get to the front while he was gone and he wouldn't be with it. I rather felt Mr. Lash might not come back, but he surprised me in that respect. He did come back with some other students, a young Frenchman, a Finn, and I believe a young German, expatriates. He got into a uniform right away, went down to the barracks and ate, and made a speech. Incidentally, he makes very good speeches. Shortly after that we went to the front, but Mr. Lash wasn't there. The next I heard of him he was making speeches back here as a veteran of the International Brigade.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a veteran?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. But he wasn't a very good soldier because he couldn't sing a tune or shoot with any effect?

Mr. RYAN. That is right. I may say that when he came back from Paris he came very close to the party. His position was identical with that of the party. And it was after his return to America, it is my opinion, he joined the party. But that, of course, is speculation.

Mr. STARNES. Speculation we are not interested in, of course.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any other matters in mind that haven't been brought out by the questions asked?

Mr. RYAN. No; I haven't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who financed and sponsored the Abraham Lincoln Brigade parades we had here in Washington and in New York City along, I believe, in 1937, if I recall correctly?

Mr. RYAN. Those parades were held at the instigation of the party, and a great deal of funds was collected from people who were sympathetic to Spain and to the democratic cause there. A great deal of funds were collected, and plenty of money came in.

Mr. STARNES. To help spread the idea in this country that there was ever any democracy in Spain?

Mr. RYAN. I don't know, but it was very well spread, and very thickly spread, too.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not the Communist Party was responsible for that?

Mr. RYAN. Of course they were.

Mr. STARNES. The various front agencies?

Mr. RYAN. Of course they were.

Mr. STARNES. That is the answer?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Wasn't it proved that a great many people in the United States were making the rather difficult choice between what they considered the Fascist movement on the one hand and a movement which they gradually came to understand was the Communist movement, which at first they didn't understand?

Mr. RYAN. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. It was a difficult choice, wasn't it?

Mr. RYAN. Yes. It is also a fact that in the beginning there was a different situation. There were six different cabinets in Spain, which the people were not acquainted with—

Mr. WHITLEY. You brought that out in your previous testimony.

Mr. STARNES. And that illustrates the fact that the people of the United States can serve democracy better by making it work at home rather than taking sides in some foreign situation.

Mr. RYAN. I have reached that opinion.

Mr. VOORHIS. I agree in that, Mr. Chairman.

You said a little while back that the Soviet Government had threatened to withhold supplies from Spain unless certain changes were made in the control. I wonder if you could go into that a little more, and give any evidence of that, or anything that would sort of bolster that statement.

Mr. RYAN. Well, Caballero, the ex-Premier of Spain, has written several articles on the subject; Luis Araguistain, who was Ambassador to France, has also written articles on the subject. They were men who were in a position to know what was going on, what was taking place, people whose integrity and ability cannot be questioned. There are numerous articles on the matter. Caballero has an article in the Socialist Review, I believe, November of last year.

Mr. VOORHIS. And in these articles this statement would be substantiated?

Mr. RYAN. In detail.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see any other Americans over there who came and paid you visits or made speeches in sympathy with the

so-called Spanish democratic cause over there, other than Mr. Lash and these men you have mentioned?

Mr. RYAN. Well, Mr. Louis Fisher, the correspondent was there, and there were others, but I don't call to mind prominent ones right now, names that would be well known.

Mr. STARNES. Was there anybody in the political life of America over there who expressed any attitude either way?

Mr. RYAN. There were Congressmen over there. Congressman Bernard, and, I believe, O'Connell, but I didn't see them.

Mr. STARNES. You didn't see or hear them?

Mr. RYAN. I went to the front, and these gentlemen did not come very close to the front.

Mr. WHITLEY. One other question by way of verification. A moment ago I asked you if it was true that all these front organizations contained a majority of members who were not party members, or even sympathizers, but they were controlled by a small, highly organized minority, and you said that was the case.

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that also true of International Labor Defense, which you state was a little more than just a front organization?

Mr. RYAN. No; that is not true of International Labor Defense.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is not true of that organization?

Mr. RYAN. No; that is not true of that organization. I feel the majority of the members are party members.

Mr. STARNES. Because it is the legal arm of defense?

Mr. RYAN. It is the legal arm.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what you meant when you said it was more than a front organization?

Mr. RYAN. That is what I meant.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is almost an integral part of the party?

Mr. RYAN. It is, except it operates in a special field.

Mr. STARNES. You feel, based on your experience as a member of the party, and your observation over a long period of years, that it has been most effective in taking advantage of certain weaknesses in the American psychology; this question of organization or over organization, and this question of trying to save somebody, this Christian spirit we have in America. You think the party has capitalized on those properties to the fullest extent?

Mr. RYAN. The party leaders are excellent psychologists. Not only with the American people, but it applies to other peoples as well.

Mr. STARNES. But it has seemed to me that the American people, due to the vast number of organizations we have set up in this country—and it is an amusing thing to me, and an interesting commentary on our life, that they even get good folks to set up an organization, and get a lot of good Americans in there, and then they come in and try to clean it up.

Mr. RYAN. The policy is always one of "rule or ruin." If the party can't rule an organization, they ruin it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your statement with reference to the International Labor Defense comes down to the point at which you broke with the party. You had personal knowledge of what it was and how it operated up until 1938 anyway, is that correct?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I wanted to bring that down as far as you could of your own personal knowledge of the party membership.

Mr. RYAN. I became convinced that the party was not the medium through which any worth while social changes could be achieved. And I believe that now.

Mr. STARNES. And I believe, further to verify the statements you have made, you stated that you were a functionary in some of these united-front organizations?

Mr. RYAN. That is right. A minor functionary.

Mr. STARNES. And thoroughly familiar with the policies and tactics pursued by the organizations?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; I am thoroughly familiar.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you for your cooperation; that is all.

Whom do you have next?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Ryan.

STATEMENT OF MRS. WILLIAM G. RYAN, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

(Mrs. Ryan was sworn by the chairman of the subcommittee before testifying.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Your name is Mrs. Alva Novac Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your address?

Mrs. RYAN. 543 North Ninth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are the wife of Mr. William G. Ryan, who just testified?

Mrs. RYAN. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mrs. RYAN. In Hungary, 1901, August 28.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you come to the United States?

Mrs. RYAN. In 1921, August 21.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are a citizen of the United States?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you naturalized?

Mrs. RYAN. In 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what year?

Mrs. RYAN. In 1929; I think in July.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were your final papers taken out?

Mrs. RYAN. In Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I have been, and I have the party book right here.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have your party book?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first join the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. In 1929, July 8, in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that at the same time your husband joined?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this [indicating] is your first book?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I have several others.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, this book is captioned "Workers' (Communist) Party of America, American Section of the Communist International." Previous testimony has been to the effect that at that

time the party in this country was known as the Workers Communist Party. The book is issued to Mrs. Alva Ryan; date admitted, July 8, 1929; and it is signed by—

Mrs. RYAN. Al Scharp.

Mr. WHITLEY. S-c-h-a-r-p?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. District organizer, district 13, city of Los Angeles. Membership card.

Mrs. Ryan, how long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, I just fell out of it. I gave up being a Communist after I got back from Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't formally resign?

Mrs. RYAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just ceased your activity in the party?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; that's it.

Mr. WHITLEY. At what place in the United States during the almost 10 years you were an active member did you live, and were you active in the party, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. In Los Angeles, Calif., and Syracuse.

Mr. WHITLEY. New York?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; in Syracuse, N. Y., and in Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in Chicago?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I did considerable traveling at that time. My husband was a salesman, and wherever there was a party I always joined it, but these are the only three cities in which we have been actually active.

Mr. WHITLEY. But during that period you were an active member always?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Ryan, did you become interested in the Spanish situation?

Mrs. RYAN. Very much so.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first become interested in that situation, and explain to the committee what you did as a result of that interest?

Mrs. RYAN. As soon as the Spanish war broke out. They said fascism on the one side was always good and the other side was always bad, and we decided, at the same time my husband did, we made up our minds to go over there, and I would have been willing to do anything just to go there and to help the Spanish people, which I believed was a just struggle.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through what organization or anybody else in Milwaukee did you make your arrangements to go to Spain?

Mrs. RYAN. Through the Technical Aid—I have forgotten the full name.

Mr. WHITLEY. The North American Committee for Technical Aid to Spain?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; Technical Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. They had such a long name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that a Communist organization?

Mrs. RYAN. It was a front organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was just operating for the purpose of recruiting persons to go to Spain?

Mrs. RYAN. Volunteers to Spain, just for the time being.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through whom in that organization did you make your arrangements?

Mrs. RYAN. Through John Secat and Josephine Nordstrand.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is S-e-c-a-t?

Mrs. RYAN. Secat; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Josephine Nordstrand?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are they Communist Party members?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. To your own knowledge?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; they are.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just what were the arrangements they made for you to go over, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, first I was supposed to go over with my husband.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were supposed to go with him?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; over the Pyrenees, and I was actually willing to go out in the trenches.

Mr. WHITLEY. You felt that strong about it?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. Then we were asked, of course, for references. We gave that lawyer's name in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Lawyer in Chicago, you mean?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; the same one that gave references for my husband.

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't recall his name at the moment.

Mrs. RYAN. Benthall.

Mr. WHITLEY. Benthall?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; and they also asked us what party members did we know in Milwaukee, and we were not active in Milwaukee at that time, because my husband was traveling and I was working at the time. They asked us if we knew Mrs. Berger. We didn't know her at the time. So they just investigated and asked for references, and I suppose they got in touch with Mr. Benthall, and we was accepted.

Mr. WHITLEY. Had you known and worked with Mr. Benthall as a party member in Chicago?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; my husband.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your husband had?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the references they wanted from Communist Party members?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was by way of checking up on your connections?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; that's it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who else did you see or come in contact with in Milwaukee while you were making your arrangements to go over?

Mrs. RYAN. Al Rakowsky.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was he?

Mrs. RYAN. From the Young Communist League; and he had a little bit of trouble with his parents, getting their consent for a passport. But evidently his father was more sympathetic to Spain than his mother was, because the way he told the story, he went away without his mother's knowledge. And then there was Donald Thayer.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the University of Wisconsin student?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. Then we were given a party—there were some more, but they didn't show up.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many were in the group you were going with?

Mrs. RYAN. That is all, the four of us.

Mr. WHITLEY. You and your husband—

Mrs. RYAN. And Rakowsky—

Mr. WHITLEY. And Donald Thayer.

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; and Thayer was put in charge of us.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he a Communist Party member?

Mrs. RYAN. I believe so, because he couldn't have been in charge of the group unless he was a Communist Party member.

Mr. WHITLEY. What arrangements were made for your passport? Did you get that yourself?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I did get that; but they filled it out in the office there. Mr. Secat helped me with that.

Mr. WHITLEY. What office was that?

Mrs. RYAN. The Technical Aid, in the Manhattan Building.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who paid for your passport?

Mrs. RYAN. Mrs. Nordstrand gave me the money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Josephine Nordstrand?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. And, incidentally, there were four pictures taken: two used for the passport and the other two were turned in to the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of that, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, they sent one ahead to New York, and when I went in to the Communist headquarters I saw one lying on the table.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was to identify you when you came in?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. And the other, I don't know what they did with that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say that all the arrangements with reference to recruiting you and getting you from Milwaukee to Spain were handled by the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. They certainly were.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mentioned the fact that a party was given for this group before you left Milwaukee. Who gave that party?

Mrs. RYAN. It was in Mrs. Margaret Duncan's home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Margaret Duncan?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. There was present Mrs. Meta Berger, and Dr. Bender, a dentist in Milwaukee, and Margaret Thayer—not Margaret, I don't know her other name. And several other people—I can't remember what their names were. Some people from the university also.

Mr. VOORHIS. In that case, Mrs. Ryan, do you feel that those people that were there might well, many of them have been people simply interested in what they thought was the cause of Spain in a general way? By that I mean, being at that party, it doesn't necessarily follow that those people were all Communists?

Mrs. RYAN. That is correct. But, you see, there was always a stooge to lead them on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Dennis present at that party?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is Mr. Dennis?

Mrs. RYAN. He is a Communist Party member. He wrote that little leaflet that Mrs. Meta Berger wrote for the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. WHITLEY. He wrote that for her?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; he wrote that for her. I heard that from party members in Milwaukee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he presently Communist Party organizer in Milwaukee?

Mrs. RYAN. I couldn't tell you that.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean he wrote that book, and they got her to let them put her name to it?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; she put her name to it. I have the leaflet here.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you get from Milwaukee to New York?

Mrs. RYAN. We went by bus.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you leave Milwaukee? Do you recall the date?

Mrs. RYAN. In the morning. It was April 12, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year?

Mrs. RYAN. It was 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. April 12?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not positive of that; that is approximate?

Mrs. RYAN. I am not positive of the date.

Mr. WHITLEY. You went from Milwaukee to New York on a bus?

Mrs. RYAN. On a bus; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The four of you?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who paid the bus fare to New York?

Mrs. RYAN. Mr. Secat and Mrs. Nordstrand saw us off from the station and wished us good luck in the fight for democracy, and all that. Then Mr. Thayer was put in charge of us and we went to New York. And he wouldn't tell us nothing what his instructions were, what to do in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go on the same bus with your husband?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And someone paid your bus fare?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. Well, there was Mr. Secat and Mrs. Nordstrand, both went to the bus station there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you go on your arrival in New York?

Mrs. RYAN. We went, in fact, to several places. In one place he asked for Bill, and another he asked for Jack, but we wound up at the headquarters of the Young Communists League.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you just followed Mr. Thayer?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. He wouldn't tell us anything.

Mr. WHITLEY. Incidentally, did you secure your passport in your own name?

Mrs. RYAN. In my maiden name.

Mr. WHITLEY. In your maiden name?

Mrs. RYAN. They suggested that. They said it was better to be separated. They said we might be able to talk to each other on the boat.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't use the name of Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. No; I used the name Alva Novac.

Mr. STARNES. Why didn't they want you to talk to each other on the boat?

Mrs. RYAN. There was such a mystery attached to it. Probably later we can bring that out.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you had finally arrived in New York, and at the headquarters of the Young Communists League, tell us what happened immediately after that, by way of arrangements, and contacts, and who you saw and what happened.

Mrs. RYAN. Well, Donald told us they allowed us \$1 a day to eat on. We went to the Coolidge Hotel and they paid our hotel. We had nothing to do with that. Then we were there only a few days. Then they told me they weren't allowing any more to cross the Pyrenees, because most of them dropped out. They couldn't stand the hardships.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, they weren't going to allow you to go across the Pyrenees as they had originally planned?

Mrs. RYAN. So my husband left on the *Manhattan* and I stayed behind. It was very hard, because I gave all my clothes away and I had nothing in New York, and they gave me a dollar a day to get by on, the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did they keep you in New York after your husband had left?

Mrs. RYAN. He left on the 19th of April and I left on the 19th of May. About 4 weeks, a little over.

Mr. WHITLEY. A month later?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What transpired during that 4-week period while you were in New York? Were you still trying to get them to agree to send you over?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; but they told me to go to the medical bureau, and I had considerable trouble with the medical bureau.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the medical bureau—

Mrs. RYAN (interposing). Of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were trying to get that organization to let you go over?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what capacity were you trying to get over?

Mrs. RYAN. Anything to help the Spanish people. Finally one of the doctors—I had a considerable time there that I didn't know whether I was going at all—he asked me whether I could manage a Spanish kitchen. I said, "Sure, of course I can." They hired me out as a practical nurse and cook. That is what they put on my passport.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mrs. RYAN. Then my passport had to be changed—it had to be turned in, because mine was "worker for traveler." So my passport was turned in and I received a later passport direct to Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. You received another passport?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What name was that passport in?

Mrs. RYAN. The same name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who secured that passport for you?

Mrs. RYAN. I took it down there to that office.

Mr. WHITLEY. The passport office?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; but they paid the money. They had to pay another \$10 for it; 10 or 9, I don't know which.

Mr. WHITLEY. By "they," you mean whom?

Mrs. RYAN. The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Mr. Benedict gave me the money. He was a party member in the medical bureau that took care of the personnel that was going to Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say he was a party member, Mrs. Ryan. How do you know that?

Mrs. RYAN. I know that from the other party members I spoke to.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know that, in other words, because it was generally known in party circles?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were a party member at that time?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. But he fell out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see any of the officials of the Communist Party while you were in New York, or receive any instructions from them before you left New York?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; just the day before we were leaving, we each received little slips, and Mr. Benedict pushed that in our hand to read "when nobody sees you."

Mr. WHITLEY. They were private or secret instructions?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. It stood on there that the party members be on the ninth floor Daily Worker Building at 4 p. m. We went up there at 4 o'clock. We didn't go in all at one time. They didn't give me instructions to that effect, but I saw all the rest of them did like that so I followed suit, because I passed one of the nurses that was going to Spain and she wouldn't recognize me, and after that she said, "You should know better than to talk to me in front of the building. People might see us coming together in this Daily Worker Building." So the 14 of us collected in the little hall. They call it the ninth floor. Whether it is the ninth floor or not, I can't say. There was a green door there, and we were looked at there and kept waiting. They didn't all show up, all the 14, because Mrs. Ruth Epstein that was in charge of us—

Mr. WHITLEY. Ruth Epstein?

Mrs. RYAN. Epstein; yes. She belonged to the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and she has been in Russia, and she was put in charge of us, and she complained of the fact that the party members did not all show up to meet Mr. Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, all of them did not show up?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. It was so funny; it was so mysterious; going through those doors, and the signals and the peep holes. I saw one of the pictures again. They was checking up on us.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were identifying you with the photographs that had been sent them from Milwaukee?

Mrs. RYAN. That is right; so finally we were taken through a good many doors, and signals are exchanged and I saw Mr. Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was the day before you sailed?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you sailed on the 19th?

Mrs. RYAN. May 19, on the *Normandy*.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right, go ahead.

Mrs. RYAN. Then Mr. Browder made us sit down and he told us, "Of course, this talk about democracy, you know that isn't so. That is really the Communist Party that is in power in Spain;" and he asked us, when we got on the boat that we should not use any Communist language—you know, such as the party members are most likely to use, but just to pretend we are anti-Fascist; and that there are in our group people that are anti-Fascist and that we must kind of play up to those people, because we are needing them for the time.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was talking about the members of the group going with you who were not Communist Party members?

Mrs. RYAN. That is right. Just honest anti-Fascists.

Mr. WHITLEY. He wanted you to persuade them——

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; to try to get them into the party. He said, "Of course, we have to be patient with these people, but when the time comes we shall take care of them." So he told us we must absolutely submit to discipline and not ask any questions, but just follow the leader and take instructions, and don't question them, but trust the party completely. And then, you know, he shook hands with us and wished us good luck and that was the end of it. And when we went out, it was again the same mysterious thing, going out through all those doors, and those bells they had there, and I know they were using passwords, because I heard them whispering there to each other.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go out all together?

Mrs. RYAN. All together, yes; but we scattered when we left the building.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then the following day, after receiving those final instructions from Mr. Browder, you took the boat, the *Normandy*?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. But on the same evening they put on a play for us, near Times Square, for the unit that was leaving for Spain, and we were sitting up there, and a Communist came out on the stage and he made an appeal for funds and the audience applauded the brave men and women that are going over to fight for democracy.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many were in your group, that went over?

Mrs. RYAN. Twenty-three.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how many of that group were members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. Fourteen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Fourteen of the twenty-three?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You sailed the following day?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the *Normandy*?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you land?

Mrs. RYAN. We landed in Le Havre. I want to bring out that point about the mystery. We were just followed up all the time and under surveillance all the time. For instance, there was Mr. Lash, Joe Lash, on the boat, and Dave Doran.

Mr. WHITLEY. Dave who?

Mrs. RYAN. Doran. He's dead now. There were about 86 recruits also.

Mr. WHITLEY. In addition to the group you were part of?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. And I somehow found it out and I went back to those fellows. Why not? And I was called up twice on the carpet for that.

Mr. WHITLEY. For even speaking to them?

Mrs. RYAN. For even speaking to those fellows. I wasn't allowed to have any contact with anybody. Just among ourselves; "and be as reserved as you possibly can." And it was a hard thing for me to keep my communism inside me, because I never denied I was one.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were enthusiastic about it?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; and I couldn't see why I should deny it and make a secret of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you, all the way through, just follow the leader of your group, without knowing just where you were going, or what was going to happen? Was that the case?

Mrs. RYAN. I knew I was going to Spain. But you couldn't ask any questions. They told you you were going here, and "put your uniforms on," and we were going there. We didn't know where we were going. When we got over there it was again the same thing, a play, and making an appeal for funds, and we went out through the audience and collected funds in Paris.

Mr. WHITLEY. You landed in Le Havre and went to Paris?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you go on your arrival in Paris?

Mrs. RYAN. To the Hotel Montholon de Lafayette. I have the bill here. Here is another one; De La Paix.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any contact with Communist Party officials in France?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I did. But I can't tell you his name; that bearded fellow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Marcel Fachin?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his position in the party?

Mrs. RYAN. He was a big official in the Communist Party. There were other officials there, but I really didn't pay any attention to their names.

Mr. WHITLEY. What arrangements were made there for getting you into Spain?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, he just got a visa for us, to enter and return. That was given to us. Then we went to Siberus, a border town, and on the train we got instructions that we should not be alone. And, in fact, they even denied us to go alone to the lavatory. They said the place was infested with Fascists and they were going to blow the train up, and all that.

Mr. WHITLEY. And all this trip, all the way through, was very secretive?

Mrs. RYAN. Very.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were not supposed to know where you were going, or why you were going?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. For instance, in Siberus, I was writing a letter while waiting for the train; and I said to one of the girls, "It is so hard for me to write in Rumanian, because I didn't speak the language for so long," and there was a man sitting at the table, and he said, "You speak Rumanian?" I said, "Yes." We got talking.

He was a member of the nonintervention committee from Czechoslovakia, so we got into a nice conversation. He was a very nice man to talk to. And these people nearly had a fit. They walked around there and whispered, "Fascist! Fascist!" in back of him. I just got a kick out of it. I said, "Gee, how scared you are." And there was no reason for it, because there was no harm in what we were talking about. Then he asked if he could write a few greetings in this letter to my sister. I said, "Sure." I asked what his function was. He said he had a big salary and he said, "My function is to keep my eyes shut, because the trucks were just full of goods going into Spain." When I got up I saw those trucks, a whole string of them, all the time. He didn't discuss politics. He said he was a Christian Socialist. He didn't think that was right, this interference that the Communist Party was carrying on in Spain.

MR. WHITLEY. Where was the first point you went to in Spain, Mrs. Ryan?

MRS. RYAN. Portbou.

MR. WHITLEY. Did you go from France into Spain by train or by boat?

MRS. RYAN. From France into Spain by boat, just a few minutes across. But I wanted to bring out—then I mailed that letter, and here comes one all out of breath and says, "Where did you mail that letter to? Let me see that letter." I said, "There is nothing. I wrote that letter to my sister." She said, "Why, now: you're going to get it for this. We are going to write a report in to the party that you are an anarchist, an irresponsible comrade, and that you are not taking to discipline. So I just mailed the letter. It was absolutely harmless, and yet she was so scared. I don't know of what. Then we went to Portbou—"

MR. WHITLEY. Did you start your service there?

MRS. RYAN. No.

MR. WHITLEY. Where did you go from there?

MRS. RYAN. From Portbou to Valencia.

MR. WHITLEY. Was your whole group still together?

MRS. RYAN. No; some stayed behind to see that the freight was coming in from France, to receive the freight on this end.

MR. WHITLEY. Where did you go from Portbou?

MRS. RYAN. From Portbou, by boat to Valencia.

MR. WHITLEY. What duties did you perform while you were over there?

MRS. RYAN. I had several of them. First, for disciplinary measures I was made to wash dishes.

MR. WHITLEY. Was that because you had written the letter to your sister?

MRS. RYAN. Yes; because I wrote the letter and didn't show it, and my whole conduct on the trip, for talking to people. Then they put me in charge of the kitchen at Vallecás, and of the dining room. I couldn't stand it in Vallecás. I just couldn't stand the immoral conditions. I was not willing to submit myself to this new moral rule that the Communist Party has put down for us women party members, so I asked for a transfer. So I got a transfer to La Cueva, and I worked there in the diet kitchen with about 15 or 20 patients. It varied. Then for the delegates in the English group I was also the official inter-

preter in La Cueva, and there was, of course, all kinds of what they call cultural work.

Mr. WHITLEY. During this entire time you were there, were you in contact with the Communist Party, and were they active?

Mrs. RYAN. Oh, well. I was in contact with the commissars.

Mr. WHITLEY. The commissars?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who did you receive your instructions from?

Mrs. RYAN. All the commissars. For instance, I did the so-called cultural work on a wall board, which was all cutting out pictures from various papers and arranging them so that you put a meaning in them, a revolutionary meaning, and I couldn't paste those pictures up on the wall board until the commissar had censored them. Once I remember, I made a grave error. I collected pictures of Caballero and he wanted to see them, and I said, "No; this is a surprise, because this will make the wall board beautiful." So I put it up on the wall board and I was a Trotskyite and a counter revolutionary and I almost got myself into trouble.

Mr. VOORHIS. What position did Caballero have at that time?

Mrs. RYAN. He had resigned; he was a Trotskyite.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean at the time you put this on the wall. Had he resigned already?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; he was resigned.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any documentary evidence with reference to your activities over there, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, I have one—not one. I have in fact, several. This is from the hospital in Dania.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is the hospital—

Mrs. RYAN. In Dania. I worked also in Dania for a while. "This certifies that Comrade Alva Novac is in our hospital, in the diet kitchen." They asked them to give me all the cooperation I asked for.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is dated January 17, 1938?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it has an official seal and signature on it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Of what?

Mr. WHITLEY. What is this seal?

Mrs. RYAN. That is just the brigade seal, the International Brigade in Dania. This [indicating] is also Dania.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is this?

Mrs. RYAN. This is in French. "The undersigned is in the diet kitchen." They wouldn't give me any food, and there were times, for instance, when I just had coffee and bread to give the patients, and I had to support that kitchen out of my own money and out of collections I made off the soldiers there, and then one time I asked for eggs and they finally gave me some money for eggs and they asked me back for it.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is dated January 30, 1938, at Dania, with a seal, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. RYAN. And here is my salvo conducto.

Mr. WHITLEY. I understand that. That is the American Hospital No. 1.

Mrs. RYAN. This is a salvo conducto. You couldn't go any place without this, in Spain. And you have to have the signature of the political commissar on here. I have one here among my papers that didn't have a signature, and when I got about 6 miles on my way to my destination I was turned back because it had no signature on it. And here is also a letter——

Mr. WHITLEY. This is dated August 22, 1938, and has the seal of the American hospital on the document.

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. Here is a letter from Dr. Max Hodan, also in Dania. He was a German psychologist and he served some time in Germany in prison after the Reichstag fire.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just explain the contents of that letter.

Mrs. RYAN. Dr. Hodan asked me that I should take over and do some work with the cultural commissar in Dania. Then here is another salvo conducto.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is a passport, or a permission which permitted you to travel from one point to another?

Mrs. RYAN. Nobody could travel without that.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you secured that from the political commissar?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; in the hospital; and here is another one in La Cueva, a place that I mentioned. And here is the hotel bill where I stayed. This was on our way back.

Mr. WHITLEY. On your way back, coming through Paris?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; we stayed at the same place.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is dated May 4, 1938.

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. I was arrested in Paris.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were you arrested for in Paris?

Mrs. RYAN. They didn't give me any money and I didn't eat for three days at the time I came out, and I took the wrong train. So I had to pay 26 francs for taking the wrong train for the extra travel. But I didn't have the money so they arrested me. When I showed them the passport they finally let me go.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Ryan, did you have any difficulty in getting out of Spain? How did you manage that?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, I did have a little bit of difficulty at the border, before I left Barcelona. They took my picture again—two pictures that I can't give any account for, except one I knew would go to Russia, and also my fingerprints, and those fingerprints and the picture were supposed to be at the border after the OGPU had checked up. Those pictures didn't get there, but I did succeed in getting out of there. I knew a guard there; that is, he recognized me from the time I was in Valleycas, and it was just accidentally that I got away with a few papers. It happened I had an American flashlight and he took a fancy to that, and when I saw that he was putting these papers on the side and looking at the flashlight, I said, "Take the flashlight."

Mr. WHITLEY. You let the border guard take the flashlight, and you took the papers?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you leave Spain?

Mrs. RYAN. I was in Paris on May 1.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1938?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mentioned a moment ago you asked to be transferred from one place over there because of the Communist moral code with reference to its women members.

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was that code, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, I guess I can tell it; they are all grown up people here. They gave us four packs of the prophylactics at the medical bureau. The doctor said it was to care for our emotional life, that we were going away from our sweethearts and husbands.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that before you left New York?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; and when we got over there it was nothing else than giving the boys a good time to keep up their morale.

Mr. WHITLEY. You refer to that as the party code of morals?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you tell us about the tax stamps on the hotel bills in Spain, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I have it here.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of a tax was that?

Mrs. RYAN. That was a munitions tax.

Mr. WHITLEY. A munitions tax?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was that tax imposed by?

Mrs. RYAN. Who?

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was it collected by?

Mrs. RYAN. The Communist Party. That was a Communist Party stamp and it was the commissar who gave it out. For instance, you draw your pay. You are getting your pay and here is the commissar. They raised us up from 6 pesetas to 10 pesetas. There were so many so-called volunteer contributions, and if you didn't give, it was just too bad for you. And another thing was these stamps we had to buy. That went to the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who did you buy those stamps from?

Mrs. RYAN. From the political commissar.

Mr. WHITLEY. From the political commissar?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Communist Party was collecting taxes in loyalist Spain?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. It was very hard, these taxes, because this tax was really imposed on the rank and file. For instance, for a Spanish worker in the needle trade it was 4 pesetas a day, and no cigarettes or food or nothing. And the commissar received 40 pesetas a day and all his clothes, all his food, and his cigarettes, all he could use.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you find a democratic condition in Spain, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Oh, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. You went over there to defend Spanish democracy. Did you find that there was a real democracy operating there?

Mrs. RYAN. No, sir; there was not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any class distinction?

Mrs. RYAN. Very much. Very much class distinction. I would call it a political distinction.

Mr. WHITLEY. Political distinction?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did that operate?

Mrs. RYAN. The first time I came in contact with that, I believe that under the popular front all the Latin organizations were united against one thing, but that we all had a right to express our opinion. So one day a commissar—this was in La Cueva—he tells me, he says, “Go over there and find out that man’s politics.” I said, “Oh, isn’t he a Communist?” He said, “No.” I said, “I make one out of him.” So I went over there and the man told me he was a Trotskyite, and he told me some things about Spain that I eventually found out myself to be so, about the bureaucracy, and so on; and I worked with him, trying to bring him over to the party line. And I went and told this to the commissar. That was the end of it. Then there was another fellow, a German. He tells me, “Go and find what his politics are.” I asked him. I said, “Are you a Socialist?” He said, “No; I am not a Socialist.” I asked him whether he was a Communist. He said, “No. What do you think, I am going to go out 6 days a week with the hammer and the sickle, and the swastika on the seventh day?” He said, “No; I am not a Socialist.”

I went and told that also to the commissar. I didn’t see that there was any harm in it.

Mr. WHITLEY. What happened when you told the commissar that?

Mrs. RYAN. I didn’t know for a while what happened, except this, the two men were taken away, and they all patted me on the back and said I was a good comrade, in German. I heard that so often, I said, “Why am I such a good comrade?” I said, “All the people are working together around here.” Then they told me, “You know you got this fellow, you turned him in.”

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean something happened to them after you told?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. He said, “Why you told on him?” I said, “Told on who?” He said, “This fellow that was here that had a cast on his leg,” and he imitated how he walked before the firing squad, and how he cried and begged for his life.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were executed?

Mrs. RYAN. They were executed; both of them were executed.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you innocently had been the cause of it?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That made them think you were a very loyal comrade?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What were they executed for?

Mrs. RYAN. They executed all people they could get hold of that they thought might be dangerous in case they left Spain. They were all executed.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would think they would have needed them, if for no other reason than to fight.

Mrs. RYAN. I don’t think they wanted to win that war at all. It just served a good purpose here in the United States. The Communist Party permeated into our liberal organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why don’t you think they wanted to win?

Mrs. RYAN. Wasn’t Russia selling oil to Mussolini, and Mussolini was shipping it to Franco? It didn’t look like it, if they were supporting both sides.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is not what I mean. What reason would they have had for not wanting to win?

Mrs. RYAN. I tell you I don't know, but that is the way it appeared to me—to us, that they just didn't care, and all the high ideals they taught and that we went over there to defend just wasn't there. We were much puzzled about it, as you yourself or anybody else that watched the Spanish situation was.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you went over there to defend what wasn't there?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; that is right.

Mr. STARNES. The so-called Spanish democracy.

Mrs. RYAN. That's right. This matter didn't end with the OGPU. I saw lots of officials coming up. They offered me a job, I should carry a little note book in my pocket and put down everything everybody said. I said, "My God! I am working 14 and 16 hours a day now, and I am not going to stand there with a pencil and put down what the fellows are talking about.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that so you could report them?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. I told them that couldn't be of importance what they were saying. They said, "We shall decide that; the political commissar will decide whether it is of importance or not." Then there was a fellow by the name of Ernesto who took the job. I am told he was going in after I am receiving letters through the mail and he would take them out of my drawer. At night time he would sneak in, and that went right on. Three people couldn't stand in a group without Ernesto being right there. I know Ernesto was giving the reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. And anyone who disagreed with their policies disappeared; is that it?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, they were sent to the front there and put in such a spot on the front that there is no chance for them to get back. I heard that from some of the fellows that escaped, telling the story. And they knew. I came across, for instance, great big men, not sissies, lying on the ground with their faces buried in the ground, crying. You know men don't let their spirits get as low as that. They just haunted those people; they didn't know what was going to happen to them in the next minute.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you left there, you told us how you got across the border and went back to Paris. Did you return to the United States immediately or not, Mrs. Ryan?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; but we were delayed a little bit on account of a strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you come back with some of the same group you went over with?

Mrs. RYAN. No; we came back with other people, but I saw Bob Minor on the boat, and his wife. I saw Mr. Minor in Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his business in Spain, do you know?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, he had a lot to say. It is hard to say just what position he occupied. I can't tell that. I know that after I knew my husband was on his way out—

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't leave there until after you knew he had escaped?

Mrs. RYAN. Oh, yes; I did. I knew after they came for me, and I made a very quick getaway.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see any officials of the Communist Party while you were there?

Mrs. RYAN. I saw Max Bedacht, Phil Bard——

Mr. WHITLEY. Phil Bard?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; he was the founder of this Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade. I helped them before I went to Spain. I made some collections for them. And Congressman Bernard. I saw them in our official paper and propaganda sheet that was circulated around there. Then what is this German writer's name that committed suicide? Ernest Thaler. Ernest Thaler was a very very sad man.

He was very much opposed to the political commissariat in Spain and in my opinion the man just committed suicide because he was desperate, like a good many other people did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what the mission of these various officials of the Communist Party of the United States was in Spain? What their missions were while over there?

Mrs. RYAN. They always brought a bunch of other people with them from various labor unions to try to win them over, and then they would go back and carry the propaganda back into American labor unions. We had from the sailors, the National Maritime Union, several officials. I can't tell their names.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. Joseph Lash was in Spain while you were there?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I went over with him on the boat, and he was also in Valleycas. He was accompanied by Anna Louise Strong. There was most likely a rivalry between them, because Dave got a job as political commissar.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who got a job?

Mrs. RYAN. Dave Doran. He was a Socialist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was a Socialist?

Mrs. RYAN. Joe Lash, at that time, and they surrounded them with Communists in order to win the men over.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether they succeeded or not?

Mrs. RYAN. Well, I believe they did. He advocated the party line all the time, and he is head of the Student Union. He couldn't be anything else.

Mr. WHITLEY. On your return to this country—when did you return? Do you recall the date?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes, May 19.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1938?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you returned to this country did you give up your activities in the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. Oh, yes, sir. It would have been indeed very much against my consciousness had I gone out for the Communist Party after what I saw in Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see; yes. Now, as an active member of the Communist Party for a period of 10 years, can you identify some of these organizations for me, as they were known in Communist Party circles?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes, sir; I was there when it was organized, before I went to Spain. It was organized in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that known in the Communist Party circles as a front Communist Party organization?

Mrs. RYAN. Certainly it was; there is no dispute of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. The North American Committee for the Aid of Spanish Democracy?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes, sir; that is also a front organization of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were in contact with that organization?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes, sir; I was; I made many collections for them before I went to Spain.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was known in Communist Party circles as a front organization?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the organization known as the International Workers Order?

Mrs. RYAN. No; not very much so; just what I came in touch with them, for instance, when I carried a message of some kind from the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. You carried messages from this organization to the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; but I am not acquainted with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it considered in Communist Party circles to be, at least, under the influence of the party?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is so considered?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And how about the International Labor Defense, Mrs. Ryan; do you know that organization?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I know it well.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been a member of that organization?

Mrs. RYAN. No; I have not, but as a party member I could attend their meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. You could attend their meetings as a party member?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes. I remember one incident back in 1938 when they had a conference with the Red Aid, and the report was that if any rank-and-filer gets arrested the I. L. D. will not pull us out any more, but we have to learn to defend ourselves in court, and if we are good revolutionists that we should not mind to go a year or two in jail for the Communist Party movement, and I remember that this was the report that they brought back, and it was so that even, myself, I did not know it had anything to do with the international.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say they brought that back from the delegates to the International Red Aid in Moscow?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the I. L. D. in this country known as an affiliate of the International Red Aid?

Mrs. RYAN. In Communist Party circles it is, but I do not believe outside people know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. But it is known as such in Communist Party circles?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the organization known as the Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mrs. RYAN. Mrs. Meta Berger was the direct contact I had, and also with ones that have been in Spain and have belonged to this organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that organization known in Communist Party circles as a front or Communist Party organization?

Mrs. RYAN. I guess it is a front organization; it is just to say and spread good things about the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Are you acquainted with the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what way?

Mrs. RYAN. I have also made collections for them at different times.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say you have made collections for them?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; that was my work in the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a party member part of your work was to make collections for the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; whenever something came up for action and also for the collections for Ikor. This Ikor was an organization. They put aside in Russia a territory as large as France to colonize the Jews that are persecuted in Fascist countries. They collected so much money for that organization, and they did take money, but they have not admitted one Jew, however, from outside the country.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where is that territory located?

Mrs. RYAN. It is some place up in Siberia.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was that the one about which Dr. Dubrosky testified?

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Dubrosky testified with reference to that organization. The American League for Peace and Democracy is known in official Communist Party circles as a front organization.

Mrs. RYAN. Yes, sir; it is, certainly.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no question about that?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; there is no question about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You as a Communist Party member have worked for it, for the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the policy in those front organizations, Mrs. Ryan? Do they let outsiders who are not members of the party know what the organization really is?

Mrs. RYAN. If it is a likely prospect, if they think it is all right for them to let them know, they do let them know.

Mr. WHITLEY. But do the majority of the members of those front organizations really know what they are, or are they just innocent victims of the organization?

Mrs. RYAN. There is no way of me knowing that, but I know the officials and those actually who occupy the official positions that they, most of them, know, except those who sponsor those meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. What I want to get at, Mrs. Ryan, is this: Are the majority of the members of those organizations Communist Party members?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; they are.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or sympathizers?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean the majority of the rank and file members of those organizations; in other words, an organization with, say, several hundreds or thousands of members.

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fact that the majority of those members do not realize that the organization is controlled by the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. That is true; that the majority do not realize this.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it is a case of the Communist Party controlling them through the minority?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; that is it. That is their policy throughout, that is true in the labor organizations and in all of those front organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted as a party member with the American Student Union?

Mrs. RYAN. No, sir; except what I saw, a little bit of it in Milwaukee, but I know they broke it up in Milwaukee. It does not exist any more in Milwaukee.

Mr. WHITLEY. It does not?

Mrs. RYAN. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know whether or not that is a Communist Party front organization?

Mrs. RYAN. In the present one I understand that it is not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the American Youth Congress, or do you know anything about it?

Mrs. RYAN. I know very little about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not know much about it?

Mrs. RYAN. No, sir, except that it is a front organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is known as a front organization of the Communist Party?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Communist Party circles?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any questions, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. No, I do not believe so.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any questions of the witness, Mr. Mason?

Mr. MASON. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is there anything further, Mrs. Ryan, that you desire to state?

Mrs. RYAN. I just want to say that it was a terrible disappointment after I came back to go to the people that helped me to go to Spain and tell them what is going on in Spain. They just did not want to hear me, and they just told me I must have fallen under the Trotskyite influence. I went to Mrs. Duncan and to Mrs. Thayer when it was fresh in my mind, and I really could not sleep over the matter, because I knew what was happening.

Mr. MASON. They would not believe you?

Mrs. RYAN. No; they would not believe me, and when they did, some of them said this is a transition period, and we have to expect that. I told them about the commissars got to eat, and what the rank and file got to eat, and they said that is necessary to revolutionize, and all of that. In a small town like Milwaukee, they said I had two illegitimate children. They just crucified my character because of whispering campaigns, but I believe most of that has already been straightened out. Whatever was said about Spain reports have come in, and the people know that they have been told the truth, and it has not been a lie. They were just wishful thinkers so that they chose to

say it is not so. I am still willing to help to better the world the same as I think it needs it, but not through the Communist Party.

MR. VOORHIS. In other words, you are just as devoted as you ever were to the cause of humanity and the problems of the people that affect the world, but you do not believe that is the way to do it?

MRS. RYAN. Yes.

MR. STARNES. In other words, the Communist Party is not the proper means of bringing about those desired reforms?

MRS. RYAN. No, sir; it is not.

MR. STARNES. And you tell your story in a genuine effort to aid humanity, but do you think now that communism in practice is not what it is in theory?

MRS. RYAN. No, indeed, it is not, or even an approximation of it, even though they can juggle with facts back and forth and theorize about it, but when it is put into force it is an entirely different thing. For instance, here they say eliminate Masons and liquidate all of the organizations that we have. Well, you cannot liquidate people without killing them. If you kill people and you cheapen human life, there is something else that it gives rise to, and then something else, and you cannot settle any difficulty through killing, and killing indefinitely, and going on killing.

MR. STARNES. You did not find the freedom of speech or of conscience practiced and exercised there or elsewhere that you find here?

MRS. RYAN. Indeed not, Mr. Chairman, and there was no religious freedom. There should be a distinction made between the clergy and religion, but, you see, the people were absolutely denied worship. For instance, we had a few Masons that came over there, and they were all killed; without exception, everybody was killed.

MR. STARNES. In other words, when they did not follow the party line or party tactics; instead of using reason or persuasion, they used force and resorted to murder in order to eliminate opposition?

MRS. RYAN. Yes, Mr. Chairman; and there was another thing as to how this thing worked out. For instance, in the industries, you see they organized firing squads out of the labor unions, and they killed off the boss as well as the landowners, and they killed off the foremen, because the foremen, most likely, were a little better off than the rest of the workers, and so they killed them off, and they said, "The factory and the land are yours." Well, the peasants slept for a couple of weeks in those nice soft beds, and then they took them again. Then the peasant got to work and saw that he could cultivate that land to his advantage, but what happened was that after the crops became ripe everything was taken away from him; nothing was left for him. God help that Spaniard who dared to go out into the night and was caught carrying away a tomato off of the vine. The same thing happened in industries when they killed off those foremen; there were no men to take their places, but they did have the accessories. You know that industry could not go on without them.

MR. STARNES. In other words, they tried to operate business on hot air, and it would not work?

MRS. RYAN. Yes; on speeches.

MR. STARNES. And when they took away the lands from the owners and gave them to the peasants, then they made the peasants work the lands and took away from them whatever they grew?

MRS. RYAN. Yes.

MR. STARNES. And they only got whatever the political commissars decreed that they should have?

MRS. RYAN. Yes. There was no shortage of food during my entire stay in Spain. Caballero abolished the officers' mess and made them all equal, made one mess. For instance, I got two lambs, and there were 250 people in the hospital that had to be fed. There were 50 in the officers' mess. They would take one lamb, and that would leave me with one lamb for 150 or 200 people. So there was no equality on that account.

MR. VOORHIS. Caballero was a Socialist?

MRS. RYAN. Yes; he was.

MR. VOORHIS. He was formerly Premier of Spain?

MRS. RYAN. Yes; and he was very well liked; but no one dared call themselves pro-Caballero after the Communist Party came into power.

MR. WHITLEY. Do you know what happened to the enormous amounts of money that were collected here in this country through the North American Committee in Aid of Spanish Democracy and other organizations? What became of that money? Was it actually sent over there, or were supplies bought with that money sent over there?

MRS. RYAN. No; very little. Very few of those supplies reached us. Whatever did arrive in Spain was almost all used up in the officers' mess, and the same thing was also true of the cigarettes. Our ration was one package of cigarettes every 10 days, and the commissars smoked all the time. It was also the same way with food. For instance, those delegations that came there from various countries—whenever they came our orders were to give them the best we had. When I did that I had to take it away from the men to feed these delegates in order that they would go back home and make a good propaganda for us.

MR. STARNES. In other words, you took it away from your patients to take care of the delegates who visited you?

MRS. RYAN. Yes; even after they had been cut down to a small ration. Even out of that I had to feed the delegations.

I wish to mention Dr. Franklin. Dr. Franklin is the man who examined me before I went over to Spain.

MR. WHITLEY. He is a doctor in Milwaukee?

MRS. RYAN. Yes; that is right, on Wisconsin Avenue in Milwaukee. He examined us and I heard in Albacete that there was a doctor there, and I found out that it was Dr. Franklin. Dr. Franklin came for one reason only, as he explained, and that was to take his boy back who ran away from home. He said he was going to New York, but the Communist Party got him to Spain. He came over there for one purpose only, and that was to get his boy out. He told me, "I will expose these fellows after I go back." Dr. Franklin was there, and he had a legal passport, and he got his boy out, and then after he came back he made speeches for the Communist Party as a result.

MR. WHITLEY. He came back and made speeches which caused other American boys to go there?

MRS. RYAN. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. After he had examined any number or a large number of American men and women in Milwaukee and given them a physical o. k. to go over there?

MRS. RYAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was all right for them to go over there?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes, sir, in Milwaukee; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. He examined all of them?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes; he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was with his approval that they went over there?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. But when his own son went, that was a different proposition?

Mrs. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there anything else, gentlemen?

Mr. STARNES. The committee will recess until 1:30.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The hearing was resumed at 1:30 p. m., pursuant to the taking of a recess, Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings. Whom will you have, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Michael Howsowick.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL HOWSOWICK, MUSKEGON HEIGHTS, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Michael Howsowick.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell your last name?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. H-o-w-s-o-w-i-c-k, Howsowick.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present address?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. 1321 Mason Boulevard, Muskegon Heights, Mich.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. March 3, 1913.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I have been a member of the Communist Party from August 1934 to August 1938.

Mr. STARNES. From 1934 or 1924?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. No; from 1934, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WHITLEY. From 1934 to 1938?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is this [indicating] one of your membership books in the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; that is my last one, the one for 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. The one for 1938?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is membership book number 74571 issued in the name of Michael William Howsowick, State Michigan, District 7, County Muskegon, City Muskegon, and it is signed by William Weinstein, with the Communist Party seal. This book shows a number of

Communist Party of the U.S.A.

1938
Membership
Book

No. 74571

Name *Michael Wm. Howsowick*

State *Mich.* District *1*

County *Wayne* City *Detroit*

Section *M* Unit *1*

This book was issued on *Jan 1 1938*

INITIATION
STAMP
No. *74571*
Signature of State or District Organizer and Party Seal

No Party Membership Book is valid unless it has the Party Seal stamped thereon issued by the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A.

Schedule of Monthly Dues Payments for 1938

WEEKLY EARNINGS		MONTHLY EARNINGS		Dues Stamps to be Issued		
From	To	From	To	MONTHLY DUES	Reg- ular	Addi- tional
10.00	10.50	Up to	\$ 47.00	\$.10	\$.10	
11.00	11.50	67.00	113.00	.50	.50	
12.00	12.50	114.00	140.00	1.00	1.00	
13.00	13.50	140.00	170.00	1.50	1.50	.50
14.00	14.50	170.00	190.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
15.00	15.50	190.00	200.00	2.50	2.50	1.50
16.00	16.50	200.00	210.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
17.00	17.50	210.00	220.00	3.50	3.50	2.50
18.00	18.50	220.00	230.00	4.00	4.00	3.00
19.00	19.50	230.00	240.00	4.50	4.50	3.50
20.00	20.50	240.00	250.00	5.00	5.00	4.00
21.00	21.50	250.00	260.00	5.50	5.50	4.50
22.00	22.50	260.00	270.00	6.00	6.00	5.00
23.00	23.50	270.00	280.00	6.50	6.50	5.50
24.00	24.50	280.00	290.00	7.00	7.00	6.00
25.00	25.50	290.00	300.00	7.50	7.50	6.50

26.00	26.50	300.00	310.00	8.00	8.00	7.00
27.00	27.50	310.00	320.00	8.50	8.50	7.50
28.00	28.50	320.00	330.00	9.00	9.00	8.00
29.00	29.50	330.00	340.00	9.50	9.50	8.50
30.00	30.50	340.00	350.00	10.00	10.00	9.00
31.00	31.50	350.00	360.00	10.50	10.50	9.50
32.00	32.50	360.00	370.00	11.00	11.00	10.00
33.00	33.50	370.00	380.00	11.50	11.50	10.50
34.00	34.50	380.00	390.00	12.00	12.00	11.00
35.00	35.50	390.00	400.00	12.50	12.50	11.50

Note: Monthly earnings are figured on the basis of four and one-third times the weekly wages.

As an expression of our INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY with the Communist Parties of other countries that need our aid, every member is to pay once every four months (April, August, December) an amount equal to one month's dues, based on the average of the previous four months' dues. (Add the four dues amounts, and divide by four, paying to the nearest ten cents average.) For this International Solidarity stamps shall be issued.

Transfers

GRANTED FROM:

State..... District.....

County..... City.....

Section..... Unit.....

Date.....

[SEAL]
Signature of Organizer

GRANTED FROM:

State..... District.....

County..... City.....

Section..... Unit.....

Date.....

[SEAL]
Signature of Organizer

MEMBERSHIP

ATTENDANCE AND ACTIVITY: The rules of the Party provide that Party members attend the meetings of their Party organization regularly, participate in its activities, pay their dues regularly, and carry out the decisions of the Party.

DUES: Each member pays dues monthly based on the monthly earnings (figured on the basis of 4 and one-third times the weekly wages). The dues are collected for by dues stamps issued by the Central Committee. Dues should be paid on the following basis: Housewives unemployed and all members earning up to \$17.00 a month, pay 10 cents a month.

All members earning from \$17.10 to \$112.00 inclusive per month, pay 10 cents a month.

All members earning from \$112.10 to \$150.00 inclusive per month, pay 15 cents a month.

Members earning \$150.10 and over per month, pay in addition to the regular \$150 dues, additional dues at the rate of 10 cents for each \$10.00 (or fraction) over.

The dues are proportioned as follows: 10% to the units, 10% to the sections, 15% to the districts, 35% to the center.

10% to the center for a special national trade union fund.

Members who are two months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members who

are four months in arrears are stricken from the Party rolls.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY: This is a special fund contributed to by every member as an act of our international solidarity with the Communist Parties of other countries that need our financial aid. Every member is to pay every four months an amount equal to one month's dues, based on the average of the previous four months' dues.

ASSESSMENTS: All local or district assessments or collections are prohibited as are special assessments of the Central Committee. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or the Central Committee. No member is considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

TRANSFERS: Members who move from one place to another or have to go from one unit to another must obtain a transfer from their unit. No member shall be a dues payer in a new unit without a properly filed out transfer card. Before processing transfers, members shall be in good standing and pay up all other financial obligations to their unit.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE: No member has a right to take a leave of absence without a decision of his unit. An extended leave of absence upon the recommendation of the unit, is acted upon by the higher committees of the Party. Before a leave of absence is given, the member shall pay up dues, etc., up to and including the end of the leave of absence period.

1938 Membership Dues

January	February	March	April
DUES	DUES	DUES	DUES
10c	10c	10c	10c

1938 Membership Dues

International Solidarity	May	June	October
DUES	DUES	DUES	DUES
10c	10c	10c	10c

notations, and on one of the inside pages it bears the notation, "Leave of Absence, July 5, 1938." What are those initials?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I can't remember who it is, but that is when I dropped out.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is when you ceased to be active?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Make that a part of the record, please.

Mr. STARNES. You offer that for the record?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I do.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

(The membership book referred to being the 1938 membership book, No. 74571, of Michael William Howsowick was marked "Howsowick, Exhibit 1, November 29, 1939," and made a part of this record.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, why are you appearing here as a witness?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, when I joined the party in 1934, in the first place, I joined with the understanding and with the idea of helping the American people, and if it took a revolution to do it, that is the thing that would have to be done. However, through all of the period, as everything moved forward up to 1938, I got tired of being up against intricate, combined words, tied up and engrossed in double meaning, to cover up objectives, still thinking of the revolution, in essence, but not so saying. So, I decided it was time for me to fold up, and I actually dropped out and decided to do no further work, especially before the democratic campaign in 1938 in Michigan.

Mr. WHITLEY. Under what circumstances did you join the party in the first place, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, that was through, as a result of my activities in high school, I always took an active part in activities in high school, and I wanted to be a leader and I was always interested in doing things for other people, and I took a little satisfaction in fighting their battles, and having them rely on me for their geometry and trigonometry, and they did rely on me, knowing that if I did not have it they would be sunk, and I was glad to do it for them. After I got out of high school in 1932 things were pretty tough. There was unemployment, and things were moving pretty rapidly. I asked the people, and they said, "Well, Mac, what do you think?" I did not know what to think. I said something ought to be done. They said, "You are the guy who can help." They actually concentrated on me for 5 months. After much rebuttal and debating they finally convinced me that I should join the Communist Party, and that by overthrowing the Government I could free the workers from the exploitation of the capitalist class. That was in 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who actually recruited you in the name of the party, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. A fellow by the name of Darrell Harpster recruited me into the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, were you active in the unemployed movement in Muskegon, Mich., either prior to or after joining the Communist Party?

Mr. Howsowick. Yes, I was. I organized the first W. P. A. strike in the Middle West, organized it in Muskegon in November 1935, and some time later on I was instrumental in getting a charter from the American Federation of Labor for the Hodcarriers Union, Local No. 865.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is in Muskegon?

Mr. Howsowick. Yes; in Muskegon.

Mr. WHITLEY. During the time you were a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Howsowick, were you active in or did you take part in the American Youth Congress in Michigan?

Mr. Howsowick. Yes; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you describe your activities in the American Youth Congress work?

Mr. Howsowick. Well, to completely understand my activities in the American Youth Congress, and particularly my enrollment in the Second American Youth Congress, everything relates on to this fact, that I had been a graduate of the Communist Party full-time training school. That was in 1935, and it was held from July 15 to August 15, 1935, and the lessons that we were taught, and that were used by the instructors are all here. The promotion for me in my work with the American Youth Congress movement, or the role that I had to play in the American Youth Congress in Detroit was also a distinction given to me by the party for the role played in the youth party conferences in Muskegon with the cooperation of influential members of the first American Youth Congress, namely, Waldo McNutt and Arthur Clifford.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the work which you subsequently carried on in the American Youth Congress was the result of your activities in the youth work in Muskegon?

Mr. Howsowick. That is right, and then the activity carried into the Second Youth Congress, and this distinction was carried on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you describe in detail the nature of the work you performed for the American Youth Congress?

Mr. Howsowick. To begin with I had not been very active in the party, but I was a young fellow and I was anxious, and I could convince older people. After all, it was a novelty to have a young fellow speaking on trade-union problems and I was interested. It was decided that my work was to be entirely with the American Youth work. I did not care about it at that time, but party discipline is party discipline, and I had to do it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you preferred to work with adults rather than youths?

Mr. Howsowick. No: the Youth-Adult Congress held in Muskegon in the early part of 1935 was primarily a youth movement of Muskegon, sponsored by civic organizations and youth organizations of Muskegon, but the party decided that I had to go in there and make arrangements immediately and work before the conference took place to get a vote of affiliation, to get a vote of endorsement and to get delegates from that conference to be held for the Second American Youth Congress to be held later in Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were designated by the party to work in this Youth and Adult Congress in Muskegon in order to work up certain support to be used in the following American Youth Congress which was to be held in Detroit?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Arthur Clifford the first chairman of the Michigan Youth Congress wrote a pamphlet on the Second American Youth Congress and one on the preliminary sessions of the Young Communists League which was held in Detroit. Prior to the holding of the Youth-Adult Congress it was decided that Clifford was to work with me in trying to get as much of our program before the Youth-Adult Congress to be held in Muskegon as possible. That was to influence discussion among the groups, and to sell pamphlets which were written by Clifford, and when the conference came I had everything all ready to step up, and that the young Communist members from Detroit would come in and help me out on caucuses or aid in the discussion groups and the vote for affiliation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that program successful in the Muskegon Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Out of 300 delegates that attended for the 3-day session when the final vote came for affiliation we got licked by 84 votes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, the vote as to whether you should affiliate with the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; we got licked by 84 votes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, you mentioned Mr. Clifford several times. Will you identify him for the record?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The way that I can identify him is that I personally know he has been in Muskegon when secretary of the Y. M. C. A., and he has also been in the Y. C. L. conferences with me, and he has written a pamphlet which I cannot get hold of. I have been trying to go to the Congressional Library to get it, but I still cannot get hold of it, and the personal copy autographed for me at that time, I have given that away. I can identify him also through the fact that just prior to the Youth Congress in Detroit he was also in the caucus meeting of the Y. C. L. with me.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Clifford is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. He was a member of the Young Communists local and a graduate of Ann Arbor University.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you join the Young Communist League?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. No; I just worked with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were not actually a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were just working in the Young Communist League for the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continue with your discussion of your knowledge of the American Youth conferences following this conference which was held in Muskegon.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. After we failed there, we could not afford to stop, so through the party we made arrangements—I had contacts with Serrill Gerber. He was there making a tour. I think he was from the California National Students Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

Mr. Howsowick. He was making a tour and I had to make arrangements for him to see that I built up support to try to change the decision of the Youth-Adult Conference, to have them go in there right away and vote and have them come in in a body. So, the day came for him to appear at Muskegon. In his place Mr. Waldo McNutt came in. I told Mr. McNutt about the situation, and that the best thing to do was to arrange a meeting for you at the labor temple. I had made arrangements, and had invited the members of the press, I had invited the influential members to appear and to attend the meeting. It was up to me. However, he was not satisfied with what I had done. He said I had not done enough. I said, "O. K., I will go you one better." I arranged to secure radio time on station WKBC, 15 minutes time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. McNutt speak?

Mr. Howsowick. Yes; an impromptu speech. They did not know who I was at the time, and it was just a new station, and the programs were not very full, and anything would go on the air, and I took advantage of it. So, I secured that time for him in the evening, and half an hour later we held the meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the date of that meeting, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. Howsowick. I do not recall the date, but the write-up of it is in the Muskegon Chronicle.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately what was the date of it?

Mr. Howsowick. I believe it was during the last week in May.

Mr. WHITLEY. May of 1935?

Mr. Howsowick. 1935; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

Mr. Howsowick. So, the meeting was held, and Mr. Waldo McNutt made the head speech.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify Waldo McNutt for the record, please?

Mr. Howsowick. His picture is in the July 4 issue of the Daily Worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is?

Mr. Howsowick. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have that here?

Mr. Howsowick. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just tell the committee, first, what his official connections are.

Mr. Howsowick. He was first chairman of the First Youth Congress. He was also chairman of the Second Youth Congress. That is Waldo McNutt [indicating] in the July 4 issue of the Daily Worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was chairman of the first two congresses of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. Howsowick. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right; go ahead with your discussion, Mr. Howsowick.

Mr. Howsowick. I talked to Waldo McNutt. He felt that I had not done enough, and we could not get any representation to the Youth Conference from Detroit. So, he says when I get back to New York I will send you a letter to be seated as a delegate on Muskegon Trades Labor Council, if you can make arrangements. So, I talked to some

of the members of the Muskegon Trades Labor Council, while I told him—I told him I could use it for two purposes, one as representation on the American Youth Congress, and the other thing it might be a wedge for the Trades Labor Council for my Communist Party work. That was done.

An official credential asking me to be seated with the Muskegon Trades Labor Council is on record with the council.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, after your first effort on behalf of the Communist Party to get official representation from the Muskegon group to the American Youth Conference which was to be held in Detroit, the Second Youth Congress, then credentials were issued to you as a delegate from the trade-union group in Muskegon; is that correct?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes. I used that as a basis to represent Muskegon.

Mr. WHITLEY. All of that activity, Mr. Howsowick, was carried on with the approval and knowledge and under the direction of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why were they so anxious to have you represent some group in Muskegon as delegate to the coming American Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. For one thing, we were going to bore in from top to bottom.

Mr. WHITLEY. They wanted to have their delegates there so that they could control it?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; that is why it was decided to be held in the Middle West, after the First American Youth Congress, because it was in the middle of the country.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Second Youth Congress was held in Detroit because of that geographical location?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes, sir; that is right. Since I was from Muskegon and the trade-union movement, as far as party work was concerned, the party did not have much influence. I was just coming up. It was about time to start us. I have a report here of Nat Ganley who was my instructor in the party training school on trade communism. He issued a report in the District Plenum, June 15 and 16, 1935, dealing with the youth problem in the American Youth Congress which was to be held in Detroit, and the summary of the whole report was the discussions that took place in 2 days, amounted to this: I had my job through the credentials of the Central Trades Labor Council. This was the program we followed out, and this is what happened:

For the Youth Congress the party must—

See that delegates are elected from all organizations in which we have influence.

Must raise the question in the trade-unions.

Must help to distribute the literature in the shops.

Must sell the pamphlet on the Youth Congress.

Must fight to get Cass Tech.

Must get rooms for housing delegates.

Must help to raise finances.

Must distribute all literature of the campaign.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was a report issued by Nat Ganley, who was one of your instructors in the Communist Party training school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was for the coming Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. To make plans for the Communist Party to control that Congress: was that the idea?

Mr. HOWSOWICK (reading):

(a) Get the unions to the Congress. Use the endorsement of the Detroit Federation of Labor to take it into all the central bodies of the A. F. L.

My credentials of the A. F. L. were just that.

(b) Carry the program from the top leaders of the Y. M. C. A.s, etc., down to the membership, and actually win them for the Congress program. (c) Since the Y. P. S. L. top leaders are lining up with the reactionaries against the Y. C. L. within the conference, we must make special efforts to win over the Y. P. S. L. membership for the united front. (d) The Y. C. L. should carry on its independent activities for the Congress, issuing of leaflets, etc., and systematically recruit youth into the Y. C. L.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that program as outlined by Mr. Ganley prior to the Second American Youth Congress in Detroit followed?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. It was followed in detail.

Mr. WHITLEY. What part did you play, or what was the extent of your participation in the Second American Youth Congress as delegate from the Central Trades and Labor Council of Muskegon?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, naturally, for one thing, we contended, the Communists, and the Young Communist League, decided upon a program of action against that that was going to be proposed by the young Socialists. In more or less detail we drafted a declaration of rights.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the declaration of rights that was adopted by that Second Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The declaration of rights was organized and discussed by the party before it was ever adopted by the American Youth Congress movement. The declaration of rights happens to be issued by the party as can be shown by the fact that the cartoon appearing in the July 4 issue of the Daily Worker was drawn up a couple of days before it was issued, showing three men standing over the declaration of American Youth Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the bill of rights which was adopted by that Congress was planned and prepared and drawn up in the Communist Party or Young Communist League caucus?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say the Daily Worker carried a cartoon showing the acceptance of that bill of rights before it was actually accepted?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Before the conference even took place.

Mr. WHITLEY. What date was that?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. July 4. The article is entitled "Thus both the boys and the girls flock to Detroit." This happens to be an article written by Howard Rushmore.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the cartoon shows a group of four people around a table and the declaration of rights of the American Youth Congress displayed. The caption of that cartoon is "Peace, freedom, and progress."

Do you know the exact date on which that declaration of rights was actually adopted by the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I think it was finally adopted the last day of the congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was adopted the last day of the congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What day was that?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. On the 6th.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was actually adopted July 6, 1935?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the article with reference to its adoption and the cartoon concerning its adoption appeared in the Daily Worker in New York before it was actually adopted, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Of course, that might be in the nature of a prophecy, Mr. Counsel, in view of the fact that the declaration of rights was not written out in connection with that cartoon, was it?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is not written out.

Mr. MASON. It is a cartoon just indicating three or four men preparing a declaration of rights. It might have been a prophecy as to what was going to happen.

Mr. WHITLEY. That could be interpreted as a prophecy.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Mr. Chairman, as far as party work is concerned, there is nothing like things being prophetic into the future so much as to make it happen your way. From the time I got into that Youth Congress work all of us had a clear-cut conception of what was going to happen before we started the movement.

Mr. MASON. You think that this cartoon or prophecy was based upon a program that had already been prepared, and that this was their way of announcing what was going to happen?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, that shows the influence of the Communist party upon that congress. There was a program which they had adopted in advance and it was eventually carried out, is that correct?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Howsowick, as a Communist Party member, as a so-called delegate of the Central Trades Labor Council of the city of Muskegon you were free to act and as a member of that congress: your credentials were accepted by the congress, were they?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you took part in the Communist Party caucus or fraction meetings which worked out the program and the policies to be followed and the program to be put through?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that program as first outlined in the document which you read a few minutes ago, and which was prepared before the congress, was that program successful as part of the Communist Party plan?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. After the congress was all over we, all of us Communists, went back home elated, and said, "We gave those young Socialists a real licking on the program." In other words, it was finally adopted.

Mr. WHITLEY. With respect to that program as finally adopted at that conference did it give the Communist Party entire control of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; complete control.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were given complete control?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; we were given complete control.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who are some of the leaders of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Marion Gilpin, she was very active, a young Communist League member, and there was Arthur Clifford.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who you have already identified as a Communist Party member?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes. As far as Waldo McNutt is concerned, I do not know whether he held a membership card in the party or not. This is a fact I remember, the fact that he examined me, asked me if I understood the party line.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, he wanted to know if you understood the Communist line properly at that time?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes. I resented it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was any official Communist Party representative in charge of the Communist Party conference at the Second American Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Gil Green walked in and out of the caucus just once in awhile.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, who was Gil Green?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. He is chairman of the Young Communist League.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. He walked in and out of the caucus once in awhile, but party whip was the district counsel of the Young Communist League of Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was that?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. At that time it was Roberts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Roberts?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. R-o-b-e-r-t-s, Roberts?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you have already stated that the Communist Party or the Young Communist League meetings had been held in preparation for that meeting of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say, Mr. Howsowick, that the majority of the delegates attending that second conference of the American Youth Congress are Communist Party members?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The majority is not necessary to get the control of an organization, to have a majority be party members is not necessary.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the majority were not, in this, party members?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or would you say that they were even sympathizers?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. No; I would not say that they were sympathizers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they realize that the Communist Party was carrying on this campaign to seize control of the organization?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They were not supposed to know. That is not the way I worked, or the way anybody else worked for the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was very carefully kept from them?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just how is that minority control exercised over the non-Communists by the Communist members in an organization, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. For one thing, there are two sides to everything. You present the side you want them to see, and the other side that you look at, but they both go hand in hand. We say we are giving you a minimum program. We are fighting for this, and we are fighting for that. We make the most noise, and we talk the loudest, and we know parliamentary procedure, and then we say, "such and such a representative in our party speaks for such and such an organization." He is speaking for a lot of people. If you do not line up for a certain issue along the lines he is following you are going to go against the opinion of the majority, because this man is speaking for thousands or hundreds of thousands of people. He may be one of our people. A delegate who does not make up his mind how to vote, or who is not a Communist, will vote with the majority. He can be influenced.

Mr. WHITLEY. Subsequent to this second American Youth Congress in Detroit, did you continue your activity in the youth field, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. After my activity in the American Youth Congress I had done enough, and I had shown some ability, and the district committee of the Communist Party of Michigan decided that I was to take the full-time training school, which was held beginning July 15.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1935?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right, to August 15, 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the decision of the Communist Party to send you to that training school to some extent, at least, influenced by the effective work which you had done for the party during the American Youth Congress just held?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. It was my ability to coordinate activities between myself, Waldo McNutt, and Arthur Clifford, in Y. C. L. work.

Mr. MASON. Where was that school?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; where was the school held, and will you describe the type of training you received there?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The school was held at the Finnish picnic grounds, which was owned by a Finnish fraternal organization. It is 55 or 60 miles outside of Detroit. It has a cafeteria, barracks, a lake, and a steam bath.

Mr. STARNES. Who conducted the school, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The party.

Mr. STARNES. Who were some of the instructors?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Some of the instructors were John Anderson, Nat Ganley, William Weinstone, James Williams, and Gertrude Hasler.

Mr. STARNES. What type of instruction did they give?

Mr. WHITLEY. The lessons of the school are entirely in the records here.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have a complete set of those lessons?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; in those records.

Mr. WHITLEY. In these records?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes. There are references for reading matter and everything else. They cover trade-union work, youth work, Negro work, strike strategy, political economy, structure of the party, and structure of the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did the training school last, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. About 5 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Five weeks?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, how many students were in the group with which you attended school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. About 25 students.

Mr. WHITLEY. Twenty-five students?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How are those students selected for training in the Communist Party school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They were selected upon the basis of their influence in the strategic positions in the industry. Most of the students, and hardly any of them were over 30 years of age, were from the auto industry.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Muskegon was represented for the simple reason that my job later on was to get busy in the auto industry in Muskegon which afterward I really did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who paid the expenses of this 5-week training course which you attended?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, the district committee sends the quota to different language organizations, the I. W. O. and other organizations, to raise money for the party. They figure out that it costs them about \$60 per student for the whole training period. They get the money in that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. All of the students were members of the Communist Party and all the instructors were also Communist Party members or officials?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What sort of strike strategy did they teach at the school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The strike strategy was taught by Nat Ganley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Nat Ganley, I believe you stated was the Communist Party member who worked out the program to be followed during the American Youth Conferences?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes. Lesson No. 1 deals with, "What is a union?" No. 2 deals with the present situation, and our policy in building unions in the auto industry. The third lesson is, "Building the unions through struggle." The next is, "Features of strike strategy and tactics." Then they use as an example the General Motors Toledo strike: (a) "Preparing the fight."

"(1) Local took the initiative; did not wait for orders from Dillon and Green to strike.

"(2) Strike was prepared through intensive agitation centering around

"(3) During the period local carried on mass recruiting into union from Chevy plant."

The next is shortcomings in preparing the strike. The next is, "Time element in calling strike." Then the next is, "Conclusions on time element."

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you identify these photostatic copies of the original lessons you received at this school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Not only that, but my handwriting is on those.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have your original notes and your handwriting on those?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are all of these lessons that were given to you?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Those are all of the lessons.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to put those in the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, they will be identified and offered as exhibits to his testimony and in support of his statement that this school was conducted and the type of course and study given.

(The documents were identified and marked "Howsowick Exhibits.")

Was any instruction given in sit-down strikes during your attendance at the school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That was before the sit-down strikes. That was in 1935. The beginning of sit-downs came later.

Mr. STARNES. In 1937?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend more than one school, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. No; that was enough.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the students during that course or that period of training participate actually in strikes?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They said what is the use of learning if you cannot practice what you learn. Every day different students would have assignments to go to little hamlets and towns and to organize street-corner meetings, and distribute leaflets, giving a program, and they would see how well you did it. If you did not succeed you came back the next day and reported on it, and the whole class would judge it and point out your shortcomings. At that time also quite a strike was in progress against the high cost of living, led by Emily Zook. The students daily had that as work, because the technique applied there was tied up under the international of the trade-union strategy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, to what trade-union positions were school graduates appointed through the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. We all went under aliases. I went under the name in the training school of Miles Babbitt.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the use of that alias in the training school at the suggestion of the party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That was very imperative.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it was required by the party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; it was required by the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the reason for that?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. For the simple reason that the students were coming in and getting well acquainted with each other, and the technique of the party members was to avoid that. They liked to ask how did you get into the party, where are you from, and everything else about yourself, and what you did before, and that was to avoid that so that we would not discuss where we came from or what we had been doing, or how we happened to get into the party. That was a precautionary measure against the fact that that picnic ground on Sundays was being used by people who were not Communists, and because of the fact that people might come in on Sunday and talk with the students and ask them lots of questions. That was the procedure followed in order to avoid that.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, this whole educational program, or at least, at the school you attended, was very secretive?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. It was very secretive. The last week somebody raised the alarm that police were going to raid us. So we moved in on 10 hours' notice to the basement of the Communist Party headquarters in Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. You moved the school in?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of positions were school graduates delegated to by the party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Charles Granger went under the name of Flanagan, and is today connected with the Autolite Workers Organization Committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was in the same school with you?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right. Sopha Granger was secretary later to Weinstone, and later secretary to John Anderson, president of local 156.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you identify Weinstone, please?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. William W. Weinstone was district organizer of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, after that careful training, did the Communist Party try to place graduates in strategic positions in other organizations?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They expected through their training they would be able to get them into strategic positions with their cooperation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Finnish branch of the International Workers Order play any part in the training school which you attended?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They permitted the use of the grounds, and raised some money for the students. All our expenses were paid, and we were given 50 cents a week allowance, smokes, 10 hours a day, 6 days a week.

Mr. WHITLEY. All your expenses were paid?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That included, of course, your living expenses during that period?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right; three meals a day.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Soviet Union play any part in your studies? In other words, did your course of instruction include any training on the Soviet Union?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. We tried to pattern the whole pattern of our life in the school along that pattern. I was in the William Z. Foster

group. Another group was the Browder group, and another was the Ernest Thaelman group. We were supposed to have competition among ourselves, and there were different things we had to do. One group one week would have to take care of the barracks, and another the cafeteria and the question of applying of all rules and regulations, and the question of being able to help one who was not so well developed, help him along to understand better, the question of developing a fine Bolshevik.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following your graduation from that school what tasks or duties were assigned to you by the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I came back to Muskegon and told them here I am, I am all educated.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, you told the Communist Party that?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; I am all educated and I am raring to go. First they made me section counsel in western Michigan. So, I hammered on a machine. I said the first thing we do, we have not any influence in the trade-unions. I have little other important work on the Yonth Congress movement. The best thing we can do is to tackle the W. P. A. workers. The W. P. A. had just been recently instituted. I think it was appropriated for by Congress sometime in July or May. The unemployed councils were fading away, and so the next thing to do was to get busy on the W. P. A. We organized a strike. At that time we had \$13, and we got an increase of \$9 a month.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what group was that strike organized?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The W. P. A. workers of Muskegon County.

Mr. WHITLEY. You got an increase in pay and what other considerations?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Then we had the question of controlling that local. So, we applied for a charter for the Hodcarriers Union. We only got a charter membership to pay for 15 people. They wanted too much money a month. We figured we could increase the treasury upwards if we took most of that ourselves. We issued cards only to fully paid-up membership on the books for 15, but still that money that came from the fraternal members, the local, would belong to the 15 members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there any violence or disorder during the strike you just referred to?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The first day we had a little trouble. They were reluctant to drop their shovels and their wheelbarrows. So, we saved them that embarrassment by taking the choice out of the boys by taking them away from them. As a result of that 10 John Doe warrants were issued, but none of them were served because the people could not be identified.

Mr. WHITLEY. What part did the Communist Party play in that strike? Were you representing the Communist Party in organizing and helping to carry out that strike?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I got around that by the fact that my father was a W. P. A. worker. I claimed he was an illiterate, and I was representing him by proxy. On the question of negotiation I was spokesman. When they refused to recognize me as their spokesman, the administrator of the W. P. A., I had it right in front of the bargaining committee of 50, I did not want to take any chance on a less number than that, and I let them decide whether I was going to represent

them, and they decided in favor of me representing them. Then they let me handle it. The only reason I got in was the fact that I did represent my father by proxy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever discuss with any of the Communist Party leaders, Mr. Howsowick, the strategic importance of your organization of Muskegon in the party scheme of things, or in the labor movement?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Coming out of the district training school you are about as full-fledged a Communist as they make them. Your union organization is the most important, predominant key situation in the organization, trade revolution. The job was to organize Muskegon. If a revolution is ever going to be fought it will be fought with the unions. Muskegon is a harbor and it is a port city. I do not know whether it rates in industry as the fifth or the sixth in the United States, but it has about 63 industries, both heavy and light industries. It is very strategic in view of the fact that it is on the opposite side of Michigan from Detroit. Any time anybody had to retreat from Detroit they could retreat to Muskegon, and any time anybody had to retreat from Muskegon they could retreat to Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever discuss that proposition with any of the party's officials or leaders in the State?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. With whom did you discuss it specifically?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. William Weinstone.

Mr. WHITLEY. The district organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. This union for which you secured a charter was the Hodcarriers Union, I believe?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that charter with the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were any strikes later organized or carried out by that union?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, after it was a union I told the rest of the party members, "Now, you take care of it, I have something else to do as organizer." So I got into the Moulders' Union, No. 182.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Moulders' Union?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; the Moulders' Union. I attended two meetings, and the third meeting I got myself nominated to be considered at the following meeting to be delegate at the Central Trades Labor Council representing that local, and everything would have been carried out successfully if the strike situation had not come up, but the workers were talking strike, and I helped it out. Then I was identified as a Communist by Marks, who was the fifth vice president, and who today is third vice president; he called me aside.

Mr. STARNES. The third vice president of what union?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The International Moulders' Union.

Mr. STARNES. The International Moulders' Union?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; he said, "Your jig is up. You are an inter-party man. I think you better just drop out." Here I was already considered as a delegate to the Trades Labor Council, and the strike

situation on hand, and here I had to backwash. So Weinstone wrote back, "Deny everything; let them prove it." I just would not go on.

MR. WHITLEY. Had you been taught in training school how to conceal your identity as a member and how to deny it?

MR. HOWSOWICK. Yes. The way is to have someone defend you, to speak for you. Let them say: "If he stands for more wages and more hours, and better conditions—if that makes him a Communist, I am one, too." In that respect you can influence the members to say, "All right," and go along with you.

MR. WHITLEY. That is the practice, to accuse anyone who opposes him as a "red baiter"?

MR. HOWSOWICK. That is right. So, Marks handed me back my \$3, and I handed the book back to him.

MR. WHITLEY. Were you ever in Ludington, Mich.?

MR. HOWSOWICK. Yes; I conducted a strike there in January 1936.

MR. WHITLEY. Would you describe the details of that activity?

MR. HOWSOWICK. Once you get started you have to capitalize on everything that comes up. For one thing, I had been publicity director for the W. P. A. strike. The next thing was to go to Ludington, and I organized the W. P. A. workers on the basis of the publicity and everything that happened in Muskegon. We lost that one.

MR. WHITLEY. You lost that strike?

MR. HOWSOWICK. Yes; we lost that strike.

MR. WHITLEY. How about the march on the jail; did that take place in Ludington?

MR. HOWSOWICK. One of the so-called comrades was picked up by the police, on the charge of alimony, from Muskegon.

MR. WHITLEY. He was picked up in Muskegon?

MR. HOWSOWICK. Yes. We did not want to weaken the morale of the strike. We did not want anything to be exposed that I was a Communist. We tried to force his release by having a big mass march on the jail. I organized the march on the jail as best I could, organized 75 or 80 people, but I could not get any release. I talked it over with the fellow that was arrested. "Pat," I said, "you might as well go back; I can handle it." That night in the county courthouse of Mason County I conducted a mass meeting, and I conducted the rest of the strike activities the next 4 days without the other fellow.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, will you describe briefly for the committee the situation in the automobile industry during March 1937?

MR. HOWSOWICK. Well, the Ludington strike was in January 1936, and that fizzled out. So, the next thing I had to do was to get myself a job in the dry-cleaning industry, and I started to help organizing the Farm-Labor Party.

MR. WHITLEY. Where was that, in Muskegon?

MR. HOWSOWICK. Yes; in Muskegon. I helped organize the Farm-Labor Party there and ran as a candidate for the State legislature in the Second District in November 1936, on the Farm-Labor ticket, but that did not go very far. So, in 1937 the sit-down in Flint had broken out. I had not taken any part in that, and then one John North—

Mr. WHITLEY. John North?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; John North.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you identify him for the committee, please?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. John North was a Communist Party member at that time. He was representing Grand Rapids and was securing recruits. He came to me and he says, "How about going up through your territory to find recruits for Spain?" I said, "What do you mean?" He says, "Well, we are sending men across." I said, "Well, I want to be cut in." He said: "All right; there is a chance for you to go; come on with me." So, I got to work on February 28, 1937, and I took John North through my territory and contacted a couple of people there that promised to go to Spain, and with that information I went back with John North to Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that activity by way of actively going out and recruiting men to go to Spain a part of the Communist Party activity?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were carrying that out as part of the Communist Party's activity, with the party approval?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right. So, when I came into Detroit I went to the office of William Weinstone and said, "Well, I am going to go across." He said, "You cannot desert the party in Muskegon." I said: "I am not deserting it. I want to go and fight for—we have our own expression against these Fascists, and used in Spain. He said, "Your heart is bad." I had a bad heart during district training school. He said, "You cannot go." So, I got a doctor's permit from a doctor in Detroit saying that I could go to Spain, but I could not do active trench work; I could do stretcher bearing and communications or transportation.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I showed that to William Weinstone, and he got it and tore it up, and he says, "You are staying here." He says, "There is a lot of work going to break loose the coming week here, and you are going to be needed here." So, I stayed there, and then the strike broke out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you take part in any of those sit-down strikes?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I was publicity director of the De Soto division of the Chrysler strike.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were publicity director in that strike?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, what part did the Communist Party play in the sit-down strikes, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, it is a long story, longer story than it appears to be, but briefly—

Mr. WHITLEY. Just present the salient features.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I can say we directed the affair. We directed the affair, and it was at that time a factional fight within the U. A. W. took place which even culminated in Homer Martin being out of the U. A. W., C. I. O.

My activities at that time, as a member of that strike committee, De Soto division, was made possible through Francis Walker.

Mr. WHITLEY. Francis Walker?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Francis Walker, section organizer on the West Side of Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. And that strike was in this section, so Nina Barkley, a Young Communist League member—she had been employed in the De Soto. She was running the strike committee, De Soto. They did not have enough people on. So Walker says—well, finally, he says, “We have got to get busy.” So, through Nina Barkley, he told the strike committee that I was O. K. and I could go down and just go into the union, and I went down there and got myself a union button, and I just made myself at home with the strike committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were a member of the strike committee, although you had never been active?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I did not even belong to it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were put in there by the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through their connections?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right. Now, Mr. Howsowick, what advantages can the party claim for the sit-down strikes?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, for one thing, you were not subject to exposure and cold in the spring. It was cold. You could not be broken up as easily by the police. They cannot serve injunctions on anybody inside. You have got the gates on the outside locked. Another thing, nobody can actually see how many you have in there; and if you won't let anybody in or out, and you can convince people that there are tremendous numbers in there, certain people are going to be afraid to take chances on you; and if you line the cars diagonally up around the gates, by the time they ever get into the plant they will have to destroy a lot of cars, and they won't be responsible for the destruction of the property. Somebody else will be. At the same time, you have got bottles lined up on top of the shop so that you can fight it out.

And that was the advantage. The organization belied it, and by that method could create greater influence, in view of the number you had at hand, otherwise than striking on the outside.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the leading advocate of the sit-down strike insofar as the Communist Party was concerned?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The leading advocate of the sit-downs?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. The party was the leading advocate?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The party, Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a whole?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. As a whole.

Mr. WHITLEY. What part did Weinstone and Markoff play in those strikes, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, the strikes were sit-downs, and since then one or two of them popped up. They would pop up like mushrooms. You could not have enough people to go around. And we knew that the labor organizers, labor officials, needed all of the help that they could get, and that gave us a chance to move around. We volunteered our services, and they asked no questions.

Mr. WHITLEY. By “we,” you mean the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And—

Mr. HOWSOWICK (interposing). So then we conducted a school during the sit-downs, especially on sit-down technique and the importance of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who conducted the school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Markoff.

Mr. WHITLEY. Markoff?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. He conducted it at 14 East Forest.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the Communist Party school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. It was the Communist Party school.

Mr. WHITLEY. On sit-down-strikes technique?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right; because lots of people who took part during the sit-downs could not understand the party program. Everything was in such a hub-bub that they could not get a clear conception of the issues. New people recruited during the sit-downs were specially invited to attend this school. Markoff conducted that. The significance of the sit-downs, sit-down strikes, usually, as I said before, was a dress rehearsal for the revolution; the sit-downs were a little bit closer than that. I mean, they come a little bit closer to getting possession of the plant. For instance, I had the keen sensation and satisfaction of sitting at the mahogany tables of the De Soto division. I do not think I will ever be as near a business executive again as I was at that time. Large desks, cabinets, mahogany chairs upholstered in different parts. It is all right. But I do not think I will ever come as close to that again, unless the revolution happens.

Mr. STARNES. Where was that last school conducted, Mr. Witness?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. 14 East Forest Street; that is, that was on the sit-downs. Markoff, of New York, conducted it.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Markoff is a Communist Party member?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, how long did that school last?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That school lasted for about 2 weeks.

Mr. STARNES. About how many students did you have, if you know?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Oh, gosh, it was really crowded. It was conducted in two shifts, one in the morning and one at night.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend any of the classes?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I attended the classes.

Mr. STARNES. You attended the classes?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, can you give us just a rough estimate about the number who took that course; would you say that it was 50, 100, 200, or 250, or 1,000?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I should say about 200.

Mr. STARNES. About 200 took the course?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And who financed the school?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Who financed the school?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The party.

Mr. STARNES. The party financed the school.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. About how much did it cost per member, do you recall, for the 2 weeks' course?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I believe—I think the registration fee was \$1.

Mr. STARNES. And the school almost exclusively devoted itself, or exclusively devoted itself, to this sit-down technique?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And the significance of the sit-down strike?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The significance of the sit-down.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the school was sponsored, and the teaching of the sit-down technique was sponsored, by the party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. They took complete possession, of course, or practically complete possession, in that area during that period of time out there?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Complete possession of what?

Mr. STARNES. Of the conducting of the sit-down strikes; the party took control?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not they planned and executed those sit-down strikes in that area—

Mr. HOWSOWICK (interposing). I beg your pardon.

Mr. STARNES. Did they plan or execute those sit-down strikes in the Detroit area there in 1937?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The party leaders in the unions, knowing enough about it, realized that that was the party program; that when it was necessary, when it was timed right, the sit-down was the only thing. The whole thing that came up was the labor question, and it resulted in factional fights, and there was a conception, as given by Weinstone that if the General Motors was organized and a contract gotten there when there was no organization to begin with, certainly we should demand much more from an organization like Chrysler, which had 95 percent membership.

Mr. STARNES. I see. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Howsowick, did any of the ranking, national officers of the Communist Party come to Detroit during the sit-down strikes?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Oh, Margaret Coll came. I chauffeured Mother Bloor around. I do not remember whether I met Bill Gebert at that time or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he there prior to that time or not?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I cannot say whether he was there before the strike or after. I remember he was in there.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Communist Party of the United States was interested in that situation sufficiently to send in some of their best organizers and ranking officials.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Margaret Coll came in for the specific purpose and business of the strike, to help conduct the strike and work among the women. The menfolks are influenced by the attitude of the women, and we had to be sure that all organizations in there had the women back of them and that pressure would not be instituted among them, upon the men, and in that regard; that is the woman's field.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Howsowick, what was the attitude of the party in connection with the sit-down strike with reference to the negotiations for settlement?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, Weinstone in one particular meeting, also at 14 East Forest—that was a party meeting also—was trying to shove Murphy to the left. One thing, the party had already created the

impression that there was a tremendous number of men in the plant. Nobody was permitted to leave the plant. The wives of many of the men in the plant were having babies—children were being born. Some of them could get released and some of them could not. But those who were released were followed. They were followed by, and three men, or two men, were assigned to follow them to see that they did not talk with anyone.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that so that no one would find out how few men were in the plant?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. In the plant; yes. And we felt sure of success if Murphy had—

Mr. WHITLEY. You are referring to Governor Murphy?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes; Governor Murphy. We were sure that if we could create the impression that there were tremendous numbers in the plant that Murphy would not take a chance, and he was acting in the middle position at that time—middle of the road. He was fair; that is, he would not dare take a chance on evicting them. And so, but—the party still continued to push him further to the left if possible. And so Weinstone one time later on at that meeting says: "Well, it is the best we can do. We have got to consolidate things right away," because Murphy was a fence-sitter de luxe; and that was the official view of the party on Murphy, that he was a fence-sitter de luxe, and that all efforts to move him to the left had failed, and also all efforts to move him to the right had failed, and so negotiations could only be conducted on purely the matters at hand.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the attitude of Governor Murphy was that he was fair or was sitting in judgment. I mean, he was not to be influenced for the left or the right. That was the attitude that the party took toward him?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. They tried to influence him, but could not. Is that what you mean to say, Mr. Witness?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They tried to by mass demonstrations and by the influence of numbers, they tried to push him to the left.

Mr. STARNES. But they failed?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They failed.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the attitude of the Communist Party with reference to the National Labor Relations Board at the time of those strikes, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, during the sit-downs, a lot of new unions were being formed. The A. F. of L. was raising the cry that the C. I. O. was raiding their unions. So the thing, the technique, was, when you were sure that the thing was going to go to the C. I. O. to give the A. F. of L. boys a chance first to talk with the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. By the A. F. of L. boys you mean the Communist Party members in the A. F. of L.?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. No; the A. F. of L. organizers were given a chance to come in and talk with the membership. Let them give their reasons why they should not join. In fact, the C. I. O. organizers advised the memberships, like the cigar workers, for instance, to join the A. F. of L., and we wanted them to join the C. I. O. Frank Ingram was a Communist Party man who had a lot to do with

that, and the cigar workers' influence to join the C. I. O. He wrote letters to me about my activities in Muskegon, and later on he became a field representative under Adolph Germer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you at one time in charge of the Communist Party unit at the Ford automobile plant at River Rouge?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, that was during the sit-downs, when I got put in with Francis Walker, a section organizer, and he made me an organizational secretary, and a national organizational secretary covers a lot of units. Some of those units were composed of young people. We had shop units working in Ford's. I had a street unit just outside of Detroit, and helped to conduct the unit at Delray. Delray is a Hungarian section of Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what are some of the activities of the unit you were in charge of in that Ford plant?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Their job was to organize and recruit members for the U. A. W., the United Automobile Workers.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mentioned a few moments ago some activities with reference to recruiting men for or as volunteers for Spain. Were any of your efforts along that line successful, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. A fellow by the name of—I just can't recall his name. I will have it later for the record. It will come back to me. He made up a passport. He had a passport, but he would not go. It was awfully hard to get people to go to Spain. Art Smith, from Manistee was divorced, and disgusted with his wife and his home life. He did not care whether he died or not, or committed suicide, so I says, "How about going to Spain?" He says, "Sure." And in turn he had 200 hours' flying time at the Tri-City College, Indiana, and he made a good prospect: but he did promise to go, and they took him over and got the money for him, and passport, but he decided that he would not go, so he did not go.

But Fred Fields, who is the present organizer of the Communist Party at Grand Rapids, went to Spain and has come back. I secured speaking time for him in the Muskegon Trades and Labor Council after he came back, 5 minutes. I also got speaking time for him in the C. I. O. council, Muskegon, for 5 minutes. That was last year. But, he came back and the things I was involved with was the fact that I signed an affidavit for one man who went across. He was an alien. He came in here illegally. The aliens who come in here illegally, if they want to go back, the usual procedure is just to apply for a visa. He applied for a passport, because if he tried to get a visa he would have to show that he was here illegally and to cover that up he had an application for a passport and in order to apply for a passport he had to be an American citizen. So, as to his being an American citizen, I signed an affidavit to that effect. He adopted the name of an individual who was dead and he claimed he was the individual, and living, and got a copy of his birth certificate, and that was in Philadelphia. And, he got the birth certificate from Philadelphia in that fellow's name, and got a passport on that basis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that done with the knowledge and approval of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I signed that in the Communist Party headquarters. Phil Raymond—

Mr. WHITLEY. Communist headquarters where?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. 5969 Fourteenth Street, Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Detroit?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. And Phil Raymond, the present State organizer of the Communist Party in Michigan, he had the work, all of the recruiting work for the Communist Party and it came under his knowledge. In fact, he asked me about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. As an active party member at that time, it was well-known to you, was it not, that the Communist Party was organizing, or was promoting and encouraging and carrying on the recruiting of volunteers to go to Spain?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Really, it was very secretive. In fact, Fred Fields was across in Spain before I knew it. I mean, they would not tell me about it until after he was across, and they knew that I was active. I had known Fred Fields as a party man all of the time, and they would not even tell me until after he had been across. It was all right to start sending fellows across. I started also helping to recruit in January, and kept it up in February and March, and the press did not get wind of it until about that time in March.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long were you engaged actually in recruiting activities?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, that was a side-time job. That was a side-line activity.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that pretty much the case with all of the active Communist Party members, that is, they all had other work?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. When we could find a prospect, we thought it was well to have someone go. I also know that that fellow—Phil Raymond—approached prominent trade unionists in Muskegon, who had had military experience, particularly as war veterans, and asked them to go and they refused.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Howsowick, in this training school, Communist Party training school, which you attended, did the instructors in that school whom you stated were there, were they all Communist Party members and officials, and did they teach the students that as American citizens their loyalty, first loyalty, was to the United States?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Loyalty to the United States?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, as a Communist, to my mind, I was taught that the working class has no country, to this extent, that they are all controlled by the capitalists, and that we have got to overthrow the capitalists, and there is only one workers' republic, and that is the Soviet Union, and you had to defend it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had to defend the Soviet Union regardless; is that it?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right. At that time, I mean.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was your teaching in that institution, in that course, instruction, such that it even advocated defending the Soviet Union in the event the interests of the Soviet Union and the interests of the United States clashed?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. You have to defend the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that is the one and only fatherland or native land of the members of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. There is not any native land of the Communist Party. It is supposed to be the native land as an example of an ideal

that American workers eventually should have, and you have got to defend the Soviet Union, see that it is not destroyed, because you would not have no example to follow.

Mr. WHITLEY. That means at any and all costs, and regardless of the situation?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean, there were no qualifications in that teaching?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. They did not teach that if the Soviet Union and the United States should get into a war on different sides, that you should stand by the United States as a United States citizen, did they?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, we did not discuss that fully, but it was understood if we did our own business here as an organization, such a problem would take care of itself. Our job was to organize the unions, and when the time came it would all depend on the circumstances as to whether we could actually control, and we could only act correctly as the situation demanded, and defend the Soviet Union. If such a thing ever happened, why, it might result in almost anything. It might be stoppage or refusing to ship American men or shipping of boys across, or maybe anything. The thing is, any measure that will help the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. Regardless of what it is?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Regardless of what it is. That is, that thing had to be done, and that was only logical.

Mr. WHITLEY. Even if that meant espionage and the stoppage of activities in this country? I mean, did they teach that you should go that far?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. They did not teach us that, but expected that we would carry out their requests or demands made upon us as party members in that respect. I mean, if they said that thing, we would follow. We did not discuss the matter. They did the thinking for the party members.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they teach you in that training school that the Communist Party was just another American political party whose primary concern was with the best interests of the United States?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Nothing in those lessons indicated that. That is the new situation since that time; but during 1935 there was nothing like that in those lessons.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was not in the lessons?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. No; nothing like that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the organization known as the American Student Union?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I am not hardly acquainted with it at all, but I do know the party has discussed it, and it was the special interest to our people. I mean our Communists, who have some influence through the Congress movement. Otherwise, personally, myself, I had nothing to do with it. The less I had to do with youth, the better I liked it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You worked with adults?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I would rather work with adults.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it known to you, or did you know whether or not the general Communist Party accepted it as a Communist Party front organization?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. The Second Youth Congress?

Mr. WHITLEY. No; the American Student Union.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Why, there is such a—I mean, I can't hardly explain it.

You recognize a thing for what it is. If I mentioned a thing in the party, and we spoke favorably of it, we would all get the understanding that it was our baby. I mean then we would support that thing; it was all right; there was nothing to worry about. We speak about, just like we do here, of the rudder of the ship. That is the important thing. The ship can't move without the rudder. The rudder is not everything, but you cannot move it without a rudder, and the rudder is the important part. We did not care about the rest.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not care about it, as long as you could steer it?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is right. The ship could be expanded.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were willing to be a small part of it as long as you could steer it?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. As long as we could be the rudder.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you get the impression from the conversations you heard in the party that the American Student Union was considered to be controlled by the Communist Party or steered by it?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. During the American Youth Congress I talked with Waldo McNutt and Arthur Clifford of the Student Union and we had an understanding that they were all right; that is, that they were quite o. k.

Mr. WHITLEY. That they were all right in party circles meant that you were sure of their organization?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That we were sure of them in our organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any further questions?

Mr. STARNES. No; I have none.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have anything else in particular that you have not covered, Mr. Howsowick?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, the only thing is I have got to say, volunteer this information, is that I have been a Communist; yes. As I said, I joined to overthrow the capitalist system. Today they say they are not, and a few other things.

As I said before, I was tired of being a mastery of intrigue behind works and slogans. In 1938 the slogan came, "Communists' Twentieth Century Americanism." Personally I am quitting the Communists. Personally I am saying that the issue is "Communists versus Twentieth Century Americanism."

I also have a copy of my transfer, when I was leaving Detroit in May, after the sit-down, William Weinstone and Bill McKie—I do not know what his official capacity is. He is a party man. But, he issued me a release, transferring me from Local No. 174, so that I could get into Muskegon and be accepted in Muskegon union local, and I would carry on party work there, and this is in his own hand writing, Bill McKie's transfer and receipt for dues payment, which I did not have to pay, and which was rejected by the Continental Union, Muskegon, 113.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, those are your credentials or transfer?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is that?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Local Union No. 174. I would like to introduce this as an exhibit into the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. All right. It will be returned to you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just one further question, Mr. Howsowick. Did you ever officially break with or resign from the party, or did you just get a leave of absence?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I just dropped out.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just dropped out?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Was told I had nothing to do. And, this fellow Raymond came in and here is what he tried to do. He said that I was telling tales out of school. The fact is that there were a lot of people in Muskegon asking me about certain things and I was telling them what the situation was as I understood it, and they got wind of it, and said that I was telling tales out of school and I told them that I was not. Anyway he tried to give me the impression that I should go into Detroit with him and he would get me a job working as an organizer for the I. W. O. He said that it had not been arranged yet but that the I. W. O. was considering putting on full-time organizers eventually and I know what the technique was to get me into Detroit. I had used that technique on somebody else before one time myself, so I didn't go. I mean, when you get into Detroit; I mean, if I would go into Detroit, why, anything could happen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever, to your knowledge at least, been formally or informally expelled from the party?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I have not been expelled from the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. So far as you know, you are still a member?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. I mean, I could be considered as a member.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just inactive?

Mr. HOWSOWICK. Well, the constitution says if you do not pay your dues for so long you are automatically dropped. So, it is one of these things. I dropped out, and if they wanted to consider that, or they could drop me, one or the two. I have never been expelled; never given anything out of the way, and so far as I am concerned, I have been one of the good Communists in the country; one of the good Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all, Mr. Howsowick.

Mr. HOWSOWICK. That is O. K.

Mr. WHITLEY. Thank you very much.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 2:58 p. m., the committee took a recess until 10 a. m. of the following morning, Thursday, November 30, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee reconvened, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a.m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes, presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings. Mr. Whitley, whom do you have for a witness this morning?

Mr. WHITLEY. Dr. Smith.

Mr. STARNES. Will you be sworn, Dr. Smith?

LEON P. SMITH, DEAN OF STUDENTS, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The witness was first duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Dr. Smith, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. SMITH. Leon P. Smith.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what is your present address?

Mr. SMITH. University of Chicago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born, Dr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. La Grange, Ga.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when were you born?

Mr. SMITH. June 16, 1899.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, what is your present position at the University of Chicago?

Mr. SMITH. I am the dean of the students in the college. As such I am the first assistant dean of students in the university.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your former position?

Mr. SMITH. Assistant dean of students in charge of student organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long ave you been active in the educational field. Doctor?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I graduated in 1919 and started teaching then.

Mr. WHITLEY. In 1919?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, during the time you have been at the University of Chicago and particularly during the time that you were the assistant dean in charge of student organizations and activities, did you have an opportunity to observe and come in close contact

with the various organizations that were active on the campus at the university?

MR. SMITH. Yes; the vast majority of those which were at all active other than the departmental or special interest groups, of a scholarly nature.

MR. WHITLEY. Just what was your function as the dean in charge of student activities and organizations?

MR. SMITH. Perhaps I could best answer that by telling you something in the way we handle these organizations. Under university regulations any group of 10 or more students whose purposes are legal and consistent with orderly recognized standards of good taste, to quote the regulations, may be recognized.

Now, for meetings, for announcements for bringing in outside speakers; for unusual budgetary expenses, they must clear their plans with the assistant dean of students.

MR. WHITLEY. During the period that you occupied that position at the university, what was the extent of that period, Doctor?

MR. SMITH. Three years.

MR. WHITLEY. Three years.

MR. SMITH. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Did you come in contact with any groups or organizations whose activities could be classified as subversive or un-American in any way or opposed to the best interests of the United States?

MR. SMITH. I am afraid that there is a certain bias or personal opinion in the answer. That is the interpretation of the words "subversive" and "un-American," but in my personal opinion, the answer would be yes, certain groups were subversive and un-American.

MR. WHITLEY. Will you, Doctor, identify the groups on the campus at the University of Chicago which could be so classified, in your opinion?

MR. SMITH. In my opinion—first, of course, the Communist Club, a small organization, but existing.

The American Student Union. Over the period of 3 years a number of paper organizations, organized by these groups in order to secure greater representation in all campus matters, on all campus committees of one sort or another. Their names varied this year, "Science and Society" is a frankly Marxian discussion group.

MR. WHITLEY. Now, the Communist Club: Will you describe for the committee the nature of that club and the size of it, and the extent of its activities, on the campus, Doctor?

MR. SMITH. The Communist Club was first organized, I am ashamed to say, during my regime, during the presidential campaign as the "Browder for President Club," paralleling the "Roosevelt for President Club," and the other presidential clubs.

At that time they mustered about 10 members in the student body, the required minimum. As soon as the election was over, they changed their name to the Communist Club, and have been in existence since that time. They have never listed more than the required minimum of students, except once, when they wished to have conflicting meeting of student groups on a regular night each week, and I then ruled that they should have at least 10 members for each meeting, or we would not give them a room. They raised their number then to 18, and secured 2 conflicting meetings. They have been perfectly frank in saying they did not list their entire membership, and in answer to my

questions they say that they are afraid that their folks will come into disfavor if all of the boards, vocational guidance boards and placement organizations, learn their names; that it will hinder them from securing employment, either while they are in school or after they have left school.

Secondly, they sometimes frankly admit they are not too anxious for the general public to list them personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what type of activities does that club engage in on the campus, Doctor?

Mr. SMITH. Well, propagandistic, in general, would cover it. The dissemination of information about the principles of the Communist Party and a study of the principles of Marx as represented by Styles.

Mr. WHITLEY. And do you know whether it is a prerequisite for membership in the Communist Club that a member be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. It is my impression that it is not.

Mr. WHITLEY. That it is not?

Mr. SMITH. But relatively few of these students are actual members of the Young Communist League. In my hazy knowledge I understand that they are doing a certain amount of service to qualify themselves for membership in the organization, larger organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, incidentally, has the Young Communist League, as such, been active on the campus of the university?

Mr. SMITH. The Young Communist Club is not recognized on the campus. At one time the Communist Club requested that it be recognized as an affiliate of the Young Communist League, and I denied that petition.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you relate to the committee, Doctor, the activities of the American Student Union on the campus of the university, and the nature and extent of its activities?

Mr. SMITH. That is a sort of a large order. The American Student Union is a somewhat more numerous organization, listing this year, I believe, about 200 students who have at some time in the past signed some membership papers stating that they agreed with at least one policy of the American Student Union and were interested in working in some one of its various constituent committees, I believe is their word, such as the, oh, the theater group; the discussion groups on labor; the discussion groups on social problems; discussion groups on race relations. They have any number of these groups. They also have a social group. I doubt seriously if they ever come together as an organization there throughout the entire year.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, their activities are directed more into these various groups?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do they sponsor those groups, Doctor?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. They sponsor those groups?

Mr. SMITH. Most of these groups are not recognized other than constituent groups of the American Student Union. Last year they adopted the tactics of requesting recognition for each individual group which, of course, increased their representation on the all-campus peace council, all-campus business congress, or anything of the sort, frankly stating that that was their purpose.

Mr. WHITLEY. To your knowledge, how long has the American Student Union been active on the campus of the University of Chicago, Doctor?

Mr. SMITH. It was active when I came there. It was recognized by Mr. Scott, my predecessor, just about the date of its founding. I have a hazy recollection as to its history. The National Student League, I think was the forerunner of it, and I think has been recognized for some time. I should explain that it was there when I came there.

I was away at Washington and Lee for 2 years and came back on this immediate job.

Mr. MASON. What date, Doctor, was it when you came back on this particular job; that is, the year?

Mr. SMITH. 1936; August 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you tell, Doctor, what is the largest membership that the American Student Union ever claimed, to your knowledge, on the University of Chicago campus?

Mr. SMITH. You are asking me a great many questions that are very difficult to answer. They submit such enormous lists that it takes my office practically a whole year to find time to check and see whether they are actually registered students. They claimed, about 2 years ago, about 480 members.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you have no way of knowing whether that membership as reported to you was entirely accurate or not?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I have a way; but we have never regarded it as of sufficient importance to waste much time on it. I mean, we postpone that for more important duties. It means checking the actual registrations and since we are on a quarter basis, the lists may be out of date before the secretaries ever get around to checking them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is it your impression that the lists are padded?

Mr. SMITH. The lists definitely are padded.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the American Student Union does not follow the same policy as the Communist Club, which I believe you stated usually just listed the minimum number of members required.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the American Student Union is inclined the other way?

Mr. SMITH. A little bit the other way. Mind you, many of the names listed, when I say that the list is padded may be perfectly good affiliates of the American Student Union, but are residents of the community, or only vaguely connected or have been students in the university.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, what, from your observation, what type of activities does the American Student Union engage in on the campus and what is its purpose; the purpose of those activities?

Mr. SMITH. I am trying to think whether I could recall their stated purposes. They state four purposes. Democracy, restoration of democracy; race relations; labor relations—there is one other that does not come to my mind.

Those are the stated purposes.

They work, of course, on the social problem, being more interested in the student who is less likely to attain social success, shall I say.

Their purposes as stated are to follow the university's wording, legal, consistent with ordinary recognized standards of good taste.

Their actual work as the American Student Union will usually fall under one of these heads.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, have you had any occasion to believe, from your knowledge of the American Students Union and its activities, that it is subject to the control or influenced by the Communist Party or Communists' program?

Mr. SMITH. Definitely influenced. How great the control, is somewhat variable. I am thinking historically now, if you please, over the 3 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Through the ardent efforts of the Communist members of the executive committee, they have exercised considerable influence in the past. They are terrifically hard workers on any job that may be assigned them. This year, perhaps due to the international situation—that is the explanation in my mind—the vast majority of the executive committee are either Communist members of the Communist Club, recognized as fellow travelers, or rather strongly in their sympathies, and frankly, have given up the type of lily-white front officers that they used in the past.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, during the current year you think that, or your observation is that the officers and those in control of the organization are most definitely or can be more definitely identified with the Communist, left-wing activities?

Mr. SMITH. Absolutely.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could I interrupt for just a moment?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is it your opinion that one reason for that is on account of first, the international situation, and secondly, the changes in line of the Communist Party, making it harder for them to get other people to cooperate?

Mr. SMITH. Exactly; yes, exactly.

Mr. VOORHIS. Can you give us any figures, Dean Smith, on how many people are on the executive committee, for example, and how many of that number would be Communist Party members?

Mr. SMITH. My source there is not thoroughly reliable. It is The Daily Maroon. The organization submits a list of its members, but only the president, vice president, secretary-treasurer to our office, as a matter of record. The Daily Maroon did carry a list of the committee members, and the chairmen of the various constituent committees. Of that group the president this year is not, to the best of my knowledge, a recognized member of the Communist Party. I am sure of that party, but he has "strung" along since he entered the university. The secretary has been affiliated with the Communist Club since she entered the university. The vice president was at one time affiliated with the Communist Club. Of the executive committee, two or three are recognized as stringing along with the group. I cannot find a very convenient word there.

Mr. STARNES. Following the party line is the terminology they use here.

Mr. SMITH. Fellow travelers. I seem to have heard attributed here.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know whether the secretaries of the American Student Union—could you give any information as to what their

affiliations have been over the period of time that you have been actively connected with this work?

Mr. SMITH. I hate to answer too quickly there. My first impression is they have regularly been members of the Communist Club.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you are not certain?

Mr. SMITH. I am not absolutely certain of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, has it been your observation in the past that the majority of the membership of the American Student Union were Communists or sympathizers, or fellow travelers, or were those that were sympathetic to or members of the Communist Party in the minority in the organizations?

Mr. SMITH. I should say quite in the minority, but decidedly in control. That is due to the very loose type of organization. They attract through affiliation, through interest in some one principle of the club; they attract a great many idealists, if you please, and I should like to point out that it is a very important circumstance that college students are normally at the highest peak of their idealism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether and are you familiar with, or have you an acquaintance in the past with the program of the Communist Party or the so-called Communist Party line; have you had a knowledge of what that has been?

Mr. SMITH. I have been informed by my students from time to time in the discussions with various members of the group. I am none too familiar. I think, my strongest information in the past, has been from those opposed to the representatives on the campus.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the American Student Union in the program has adhered to, in general at least, the program of the Communist Party or has their program been a concise program of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. To the best of my knowledge, the planks of the American Student Union have regularly been the planks of the Communist Party platform, not usually the most debatable planks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there any doubt in your mind as a result of your experience as dean in charge of student activities at the University of Chicago, Doctor, that the American Student Union is under the control of the Communist Party, insofar as that institution is concerned?

Mr. SMITH. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that indirectly it is under the control of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the organization, the American Youth Congress?

Mr. SMITH. Only very sketchily. The American Youth Congress, through its local district secretary, applied to the university some 2 years ago for the right to hold a convention on the university grounds. I declined that petition because we grant that right only to organizations recognized in the student body and they were not recognized as such, whereupon, shortly thereafter, the American Student Union petitioned for the same congress under its own sponsorship, but petitioned for permission during the Christmas holidays, when our buildings are not heated, and we could not grant the petition whether we would or not. We could not. They met in churches around the university campus and irritated us somewhat by using the university name.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you have no knowledge of that organization itself?

Mr. SMITH. No definite knowledge. The information I gathered at that time was that it could not be recognized on the campus since it had only constituent groups, but was composed of other organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would not be in a position or qualified to discuss its activities, as they might relate to the campus other than you have just stated?

Mr. SMITH. No; and other than the organizations which they cited to me as being on the campus which were all of the stripe of the A. S. U. Communist group and so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has the American Student Union, Doctor, at any time, to your knowledge, promoted any activities on the campus that were objectionable to the administration or which caused any trouble or dissension in the student body?

Mr. SMITH. Objectionable?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Well, the first thing that comes to my mind is that due to economic circumstances, the university was forced to increase its tuition this year, for extra courses. The sponsorship of a very ardent attempted student strike came from the American Student Union. They have, of course, sponsored many meetings which the university in the interest of academic freedom and free speech has permitted, but which gained for us unfavorable publicity and indirectly costs us money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has it been your observation, Doctor, that the members of the Communist Club or the American Student Union were particularly active in securing positions on the school publications or positions of influence in the various student activities?

Mr. SMITH. Until this year, that has not been true to so great an extent, because they ran their own publications, which cost them a lot of money, and they could get out only a limited number of issues per year. The American Student Union was practically in control of the Daily Maroon for a limited period, but that is not true this year. Naturally, there is a shift of student interests which applies there, I think. There is, so far as I know, there is this year one ardent Communist on the Daily Maroon staff, probably with a purpose.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, did I understand you to say that until this year that no great effort had been made by Communists to get on the staff of the papers, but this year it was different, or it is the opposite that is the case?

Mr. SMITH. This year they are practically not attempting so much to put out their own publications, and I have read too much perhaps into the increased activities of this one Communist on the Daily Maroon staff. However, the day I left the campus, yesterday, I noticed—well, that was not the Communist—but the Socialists had out a new issue of The Soap Box, the first year.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there any further questions, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. Doctor, you stated a moment ago that their stated objectives were so and so.

Now, as a matter of practical experience and as to the program which they have evolved on the campus, have you noticed any difference in their stated objectives and their actual work? In other words, is there any difference in theory and practice? I would like a little discussion of how they attempt to put their theories into practice.

Mr. SMITH. Referring specifically to the American Student Union in this case?

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Mr. SMITH. No; I am afraid what I intended there is in this line: When you approach the very difficult question of race relations, you can approach it from a purely scholarly standpoint to discuss the difficulties of the question, the fundamental issues involved, or you can, as I have believed that they have done, attempt to whet up just such differences of opinion. If you know the campus of the university at all, you know it touches on a large Negro belt. Now, by trying to make a definite issue of that situation, they have led into other purposes, if I might put it that way.

Mr. STARNES. Have they interested themselves insofar as you have been able to observe in their national relations, have they taken a rather strong stand on the subject of international relations?

Mr. SMITH. They usually have taken a very strong stand. They always advocate peace in their way. That was the fourth principle I was trying to think of a moment ago; peace under some guise. The American Student Union and the Communist Club usually agree on that, which is a party line.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I wanted to bring out.

Do you know whether or not they have advocated placing an embargo upon Italy, Japan, and Germany in the past?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And the lifting of the embargo upon Spain?

Mr. SMITH. Decidedly.

Mr. STARNES. And at one time they said that peace could be obtained or preserved through the collective security program of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. They advocated that?

Mr. SMITH. Regularly.

Mr. STARNES. Have you had an opportunity to check upon their attitude toward the Stalin-Hitler pact of August past?

Mr. SMITH. That, you see, is when my immediate connection with them was broken. I have avoided as many of these conferences as possible since then. Of course, they were quite embarrassed at the beginning, but now boldly assume the new front.

Mr. STARNES. That is right. It was better for the peace of the world and for Poland, and her welfare.

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And the United States, that that pact should have been signed?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. They usually remember to bring the United States in.

Mr. STARNES. That is right. It all sums up into a species of intellectual idiocy that I do not see how anyone can follow.

Mr. SMITH. That is no reflection on the students of my alma mater. [Laughter.]

Mr. STARNES. Any further questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. Doctor, has the American Student Union at any time in the past sponsored or promoted so-called peace strikes on the campus of the university?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; there has been a regular peace strike on Armistice Day, which I as an ex-service man have appreciated; also there has been a regular peace strike called, apparently by some central office outside of the immediate group, because the date is fixed from the outside, coming in April, as I recall; there has been some effort to observe a May Day; but the first two are directly under the guise of peace moves.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dean Smith, wherever there has been any kind of a meeting or a demonstration which has included a considerable body of students, would you or would you not say that the great majority of the students participating do so because of a kind of a general support of an idea that might be accepted by a great many people rather than because they were in any way dominated or influenced by the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Your first statement is undoubtedly correct, sir. They follow because they support in general the idea. The vast majority of students, as I believe the vast majority of Americans, favor peace.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you say, in the case of your university, that you feel that there is any influence exerted there by Nazi or Fascist organizations or groups?

Mr. SMITH. There has been no recognized student groups of a Nazi or Fascist stripe.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have there been any attempts to exert influence by people interested from that point of view in the university?

Mr. SMITH. Only, if at all, only in the so-called International House, which is affiliated with the university, but not under direct university control. There are, of course, exchange students from Germany who are admitted Nazis, but it is their instructions not to make an issue of the question and not to discuss it. Those whom I have known have been very nice chaps.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, they observe their obligations that they voluntarily assumed in that connection and practice?

Mr. SMITH. In general: yes, sir. Whether or not they are making secret reports, I do not know.

Mr. MASON. Doctor, I wish you would be specific in one or two instances where the American Student Union has, shall we say, embarrassed the university. The university, under the free speech idea, has permitted things to be done by the American Student Union which you stated had probably caused the university to lose some money or embarrassed the university in some way. Could you give us one or two illustrations of that, outside of this strike on this lifting of the fees?

Mr. SMITH. That is the one that comes to my mind at the present moment of an embarrassing situation.

Mr. MASON. But you suggested that there were others?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Where they had embarrassed the university.

Mr. SMITH. I would hate to try to cite a specific instance, sir, other than in this way: Many times they request that a speaker be permitted to speak at the student organization whose very presence on the campus might create an unfavorable reaction in the city, or among the alumni. Now, you could name any one of those. For example, the editor of the Chicago Daily Record has spoken there frequently. The leader of the Communist Party has spoken there. I am not sure that he has spoken under the auspices of the A. S. U., but probably under the auspices of the Communist Club.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just one more question, Dean Smith. I believe you said when counsel was asking you about the American Youth Congress that the various organizations which might have taken part in that conference were, I think you said, all of the stripe of the American Student Union.

Mr. SMITH. I am very glad you brought that up, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that always true?

Mr. SMITH. No. I am glad that you brought that up. I should add to that that I recall that the Y. W. C. A. is also affiliated with that, and I think that there are perhaps other organizations, but my official connection with them was that the pressure always came from that group.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, there are a number of organizations, I believe, that have at one time or another been affiliated with the Youth Congress that would be quite different.

Mr. SMITH. I have seen quite a list of them. I do not recall.

Mr. WHITLEY. Anything further?

Mr. STARNES. That is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Thank you, Doctor.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much, Doctor.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. STARNES. Who is the next witness, Counsel?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM ODELL NOWELL, DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was first duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. William Odell Nowell.

Mr. WHITLEY. And where were you born?

Mr. NOWELL. In the State of Georgia.

Mr. STARNES. This seems to be Georgia's day here before the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. NOWELL. July 11, 1904.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present residence, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. Detroit, 1382 Fleming.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. NOWELL. About 16 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. When and where did you join the party?

Mr. NOWELL. I joined in Detroit, in 1929, in the summer of 1929.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the party representative in your city when you joined?

Mr. NOWELL. Norman Tallentine.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did you join the party, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I was a factory worker and a student in the evening schools of Detroit. Labor conditions were not what one would desire. So naturally I tended more and more towards the study of labor problems, social problems in general. In the meantime I came in contact with Communist propaganda. It did not mean very much to me at the time, but as time went on they made new approaches to me and as early as 1929 I was contacted by a Communist who agreed to explain the nature of my problems to me. So, he went into great detail on several occasions and convinced me, at least for the time being, that their political organization offered a solution, perhaps the only solution, to my problems, economic and political.

It sounded reasonably logical at the time, so I was persuaded to take out membership.

That is why at that time and how I happened to become a Communist.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you fully advised or informed at the time you joined as to the Communist Party's program?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I did not know the program in its entirety. I picked up sketches of it through conversation; just the more elemental portions of the program; their immediate demands on economic issues; political issues; racial and so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your occupation at the time you joined the party?

Mr. NOWELL. I was an employee at the Ford Motor Car Co.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what positions have you held in the Communist Party since you joined, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. In 1929 I was director of the Negro committee, a committee maintained by the district committee there and it is a formal part of the Communist set-up to work among Negroes.

I was later, of course, in connection with that placed in charge of the American Negro Labor Congress and made a member of the district bureau; later in charge of the Daily Worker, that is, district circulation manager and manager of the book store. I was later placed on the secretariat of the district; the subcommittee of the district bureau.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the ruling body of the district?

Mr. NOWELL. That is the ruling body of the district.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was for what district?

Mr. NOWELL. Detroit District No. 7.

Mr. WHITLEY. Detroit district?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. And, of course, the last position I held was director of education for district 7.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever a delegate to the Communist conventions?

Mr. NOWELL. I was a delegate to the seventh national convention in 1930 and to the eighth in 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, you were an official delegate from your district; from the Detroit district?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. To what convention?

Mr. WHITLEY. Seventh national.

Mr. STARNES. Seventh and eighth national conventions.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is in the United States?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Those conventions were held where?

Mr. NOWELL. The seventh convention was held in New York in the summer of 1930.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the eighth?

Mr. NOWELL. The eighth in 1934 sometime during the summer.

Mr. VOORHIS. And where was that held?

Mr. NOWELL. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you a member of the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. NOWELL. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever a delegate to a convention of the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. NOWELL. I was a delegate to the convention that formed the Unity League in Cleveland in 1929 and a member of its national committee later.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Trade Union Unity League being the organization which controlled the Communist Party unions which were in the process of organization at that time; is that correct?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. In fact it unified the various groups that had been in process of organization through the influence of the Communist Party. That convention, of course, crystallized these and set up the Trade Union Unity League. The League in turn was affiliated with the Red International Unions with headquarters in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you sent to Russia as a delegate to the twelfth anniversary celebration by the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. By whom were you sent to that celebration?

Mr. NOWELL. I was selected by the Communist Party from the Ford local of the Auto Workers Union, the old Auto Workers Union. The Soviet, the Friends of the Soviet Union, were sponsoring this trip. Of course, they were all intertwined, interlocked. The Friends of the Soviet Union is a front organization for the Communist Party and so was the old A. W. U. That is, the Auto Workers Union.

So I was sent by the Communist Party and the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. And when was that; when were those celebrations, the twelfth anniversary celebrations held?

Mr. NOWELL. In the fall of 1929; November, to be exact.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who paid your expenses for that trip to the Soviet Union?

Mr. NOWELL. The Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the party's purpose in sending delegates to that celebration, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. The purpose was to make or to carry on at least international propaganda. It was a policy of the Communist Party at the time, more especially then to secure moral support and even financial support for Russia. So, through the medium of delegates

being sent there to see what was going on and through favorably instructing these delegates as to how to proceed and what to do and when to say it. Of course, a great deal of political favor was achieved. That is, a great deal of sentiment was aroused in favor of Russia.

So that was the major purpose in sending these delegates as we were told in fact.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what city in Russia did you attend the celebration?

Mr. NOWELL. In Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many delegates were sent along with yourself?

Mr. NOWELL. There were 26 in my delegation.

Mr. WHITLEY. And were they all members of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. A nucleus of them were. I judge about 10. The others were nonparty.

Mr. WHITLEY. Nonparty?

Mr. NOWELL. Sympathizers. A few perhaps had just been contacted and, of course, these means were used to bring them closer, through these trips.

Mr. WHITLEY. But, was the Communist nucleus or fraction in complete charge in controlling of the delegation?

Mr. NOWELL. It was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who took charge of or directed the delegates after their arrival in Russia?

Mr. NOWELL. The trade-union representative there. That is, the American Trade Union Representative to the Red Internationale of Unions, a man by the name of Ballum.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his connection with the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. NOWELL. He was a member, member of the National Trade Union Party Committee and representative to the Profintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it the practice of the American Party to send an official or keep an official representative in Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. It was.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he at that time was the official representative to the Red International of Labor Unions from the American Party?

Mr. NOWELL. He was.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was required of the delegates while they were in Russia?

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. I would like to know whether Mr. Nowell knows whether they still keep the representative in Moscow; do they?

Mr. NOWELL. That I do not know. It was the policy up to 1936. I believe.

Mr. VOORHIS. You know that it was the policy up to 1936?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know whether it was after that, from your own personal knowledge?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, it is the general policy to maintain it; that is, through the organization set-up, it is the general policy to maintain a representative for each Communist section for the International to maintain a representative in its national office headquarters.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the requirement of the delegates while they were in Russia, Mr. Nowell.

Mr. NOWELL. Well, upon our arrival in Moscow we were taken over by, or taken in charge by Mr. Ballum, of the Russian Trade Unions, Russian Trade Unions' representatives. We were shown about the city, apparently the best spots; the factories that were apparently set aside for tourists. Then our itinerary outside of the city was worked out, a brief tour of Russia. Our speakers were outlined for us and we were lectured through the party fraction there, the party leaders there on how to make fractional propaganda, how to enthuse the Russian workers; that is, to explain the bad features of our own system and the good features of theirs, which meant almost a blanket condemnation of our own surroundings, that is, at home here, and, of course, to make the Russians believe that their system is much superior. We followed out that line of propaganda in order to, of course, appease the workers there who were living under great stress, of course, attempting to execute an industrial plan.

So it was strenuous. We toured for about a month. Then we were required to make a report. That is, to issue a statement to the press regarding our observations in Russia. This was guided, always dictated, always by party leaders; and, of course, when we reached America again, most of us were sent on tours to explain what we had seen and the nature of the Russian system, how good it was, the purpose of which was to build the party; that is, to recruit or to influence organizations politically.

Mr. WHITLEY. What were your particular duties in the party after you returned from Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. That was the time that I was made president of the American Negro Labor Congress, and, of course, there was not a chapter in Detroit, just a nucleus. I was placed in charge of organizing a chapter of the congress in Detroit. I was also then made vice president of the Ford local of the A. U. W., in Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the American Negro Congress a Communist-controlled organization, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; it was. The old American Negro Labor Congress has been abolished. Well, that is, it has been changed. In 1929 or 1930, at least, it was changed over to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, at the St. Louis convention of the American Negro Labor Congress. In 1930—in fact, after the eighth convention—the other organization was abolished altogether, and, of course, by that time, the National Negro Labor Congress, which is still in existence, was organized to supplant or replace these older forms.

Mr. WHITLEY. What other organizations controlled by the Communist Party have you been a member of or active in, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I was a member of the Negro Labor Congress, the L. S. N. R., Friends of the Soviet Union, International Labor Defense and Anti-Imperialist League, the U. A. W., and the A. U. W., and some other lesser clubs and groups, as a party fraction, attempting to build these groups, all of the names of which I do not remember. These are the major ones.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did the Communist Party require you to join these various organizations which you have just named?

Mr. NOWELL. They did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And for what purpose?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, it is a policy of the party. I mean its means of consolidating, organizing through party fractions. This involves the whole structure of the party to tell you the truth. So hence members who are recruited inside of organizations or even members who are not members, persons who are not members of particular organizations are often sent into organizations to constitute a party fraction, so a number of us were required to go into various organizations to constitute a party fraction, so a number of us were required to go into various organizations to constitute a fraction in order to take over and lead that organization or those organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the organization known as the International Workers Order?

Mr. NOWELL. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever connected with that organization?

Mr. NOWELL. I was never an official member. I worked with the fraction and as educational director worked with the organizational secretary, issued instructions to the Communist fractions in the I. W. O.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that organization controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. It is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. It arose out of the American League Against War and Fascism and was organized in accordance with a slight change of policy that took place around 1935 when the party was somewhat changing the form of its united front form. In fact, the American League for Peace and Democracy offered the possibility of broadening the united front, of making an appeal to liberals, so-called; intellectuals; professionals, and even workers that have not been brought into the united front at all. So it supplanted the older organization in accordance with the change of policy, a slight change of policy that took place around 1935.

By the way, you may have in your possession the manifesto of this congress, but it is interesting to note its relation through the manifesto of the congress itself. I may read at least a portion of this. I think the entire manifesto is worth while reading to the committee. You will note the terminology of the manifesto and then the comments at the end of the manifesto.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the manifesto to which you refer?

Mr. WHITLEY. The manifesto of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. VOORHIS. In what year?

Mr. NOWELL. This was 1933.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what book does that appear?

Mr. NOWELL. That appears in the Communist, the official organ of, the theoretical organ of, the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Will you identify it further, give the date of the issue of the Communist bulletin for the records of the committee?

Mr. NOWELL. This is the Communist, volume XII, No. 11, published in November 1933.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. NOWELL. This particular manifesto was adopted by U. S. Congress Against War, New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933.

To the Working Men and Women of America :

To all Victims of War.

The black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the World. The peoples must arouse themselves and take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and Latin America, against intervention in Cuba, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war.

After ten years of futility, the World Disarmament Conference is meeting to perform once more the grim comedy of promises, to screen the actions of the imperialist governments which are preparing, more intensively than ever before in history, for a new war. The Four-Power Pact is already exposed as nothing but a new maneuver for position in the coming war between the imperialist rivals, and an attempt to establish a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The rise of fascism in Europe and especially in Germany, and the sharpened aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, have brought all the imperialist antagonisms to the breaking point and greatly increased the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

I skip over here to some more pertinent points in the manifesto.

Under the guise of public works, the—

This was still the old general policy—

the N. R. A. has diverted immense funds from the trumpeted plan of caring for the starving millions to the building of a vastly larger Navy and to mechanization of the Army. The widespread unemployment has been utilized to concentrate young men in so-called reforestation camps, which the War Department is using for trial military mobilization. The military training of youth in the schools and colleges is being further developed. More and more, national holidays and specially prepared demonstrations are being used to glorify the armed forces and to stimulate the war spirit among the masses. Hundreds of factories are working overtime to produce munitions and basic war materials for shipment to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. A centralized war control of industry, along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917, is being established. As in 1917, it is drawing the upper leadership of many trade-unions into active collaboration in the war machine.

This Congress Against War warns the masses against reliance upon the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pacts as effective instruments of peace. The Congress declares that this illusion becomes particularly dangerous at the present moment, especially when it is put forth as in the recent Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions as a method of combating the war danger.

We can effectively combat war only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the war policies of their own imperialist governments, whether these governments are working individually or through the League of Nations.

The Congress declares that the basic force in the imperialist countries for struggle against the war danger is the working class, organizing around it in close alliance all of the exploited sections of the population, working farmers, intellectuals, the oppressed Negro people and all toiling masses and all organizations and groups which are generally opposed to war on any basis. The antiwar movement allies itself with the masses in the colonial and semicolonial countries against imperialist domination, and gives full support to their immediate and unconditional independence.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, I think it would be well to have that entire manifesto inserted in the record at this point. That would save time in reading it and it would be a part of the record. Will you let the reporter have that copy of The Communist?

Mr. NOWELL. If I may just conclude with this.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. NOWELL. This is important as a comment on the manifesto. This was taken from the resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, July-August, 1928.

The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism. In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism.

In the struggle against pacifism, however, the Communists must draw a distinction between the antiwar sentiments of large masses of the toilers, who are ready to fight against war, but do not as yet understand that the revolutionary way is the only proper way of combating war, and therefore, become a prey to pacifist swindlers, and the swindlers themselves, the pacifists of various shades. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated.

(The article above referred to is as follows:)

MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

(Appeal adopted by U. S. Congress Against War, New York City, Sept. 29 to Oct. 1, 1933)

To the Working Men and Women of America:

To all Victims of War:

The black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the world. The peoples must arouse themselves and take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and Latin America, against intervention in Cuba, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war.

After ten years of futility, the World Disarmament Conference is meeting to perform once more the grim comedy of promises, to screen the actions of the imperialist governments which are preparing, more intensively than ever before in history, for a new war. The Four Power Pact is already exposed as nothing but a new maneuver for position in the coming war between the imperialist rivals, and an attempt to establish a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The rise of fascism in Europe and especially in Germany, and the sharpened aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, have brought all the imperialist antagonisms to the breaking point and greatly increased the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The greatest naval race in history is now on among the United States, England and Japan. The British-American antagonism is being fought out in Latin America already by open war—the so-called local wars being in reality struggles between these imperialist powers. The presence of thirty American warships in Cuban waters is itself an act of war against the Cuban revolution. The collapse of the World Economic Conference revealed only too clearly that the great powers are unable and unwilling to solve the basic international problems by peaceful means and that they will resort to a new imperialist war in an attempt to divert the attention of the masses from their misery and as the only capitalist way out of the crisis.

N.R.A. AND WAR

Under the guise of public works, the N.R.A. has diverted immense funds from the trumpeted plan of caring for the starving millions to the building of a vastly larger navy and to mechanization of the army. The widespread unemployment has been utilized to concentrate young men in so-called reforestation camps, which the War Department is using for trial military mobilizations. The military training of youth in the schools and colleges is being further developed. More and more, national holidays and specially prepared demonstrations are being used to glorify the armed forces and to stimulate the war spirit among the masses. Hundreds of factories are working overtime to produce munitions and basic war materials for shipment to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. A centralized war control of industry, along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917, is being established. As in 1917, it is drawing the upper leadership of many trade unions into active collaboration in the war machine.

SMOKE SCREENS FOR WAR

This Congress Against War warns the masses against reliance upon the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pacts as effective instruments of peace. The Congress declares that this illusion becomes particularly dangerous at the present moment, especially when it is put forth as in the recent Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions as a method of combatting the war danger.

FOR MASS RESISTANCE

We can effectively combat war only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the war policies of their own imperialist governments, whether these governments are working individually or through the League of Nations.

The Congress declares that the basic force in the imperialist countries for struggle against the war danger is the working class, organizing around it in close alliance all of the exploited sections of the populations, working farmers, intellectuals, the oppressed Negro people and all toiling masses and all organizations and groups which are generally opposed to war on any basis. The anti-war movement allies itself with the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination, and gives full support to their immediate and unconditional independence.

FASCISM BREEDS WAR

The rapid rise of fascism is closely related to the increasing war danger. Fascism means forced labor, militarization, lower standards of living, and the accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinist incitements as instruments for the "moral" preparation for war. It sets the people of one country against the people of another, and exploits the internal racial and national groups within each country in order to prevent them from uniting in joint action to solve their common problems.

THE WAR SYSTEM

The war danger arises inevitably out of the very nature of monopolistic capitalism—the ownership of the means of production by a small capitalist class and the complete domination of government by this class. The imminent war danger is only another expression of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system, which continues its existence only at the cost of intensification and oppression of the masses at home and in the colonies, and of struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of markets and sources of raw materials.

Only in the Soviet Union has this basic cause of war been removed. There are no classes or groups which can benefit from war or war preparations. Therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament. Serious struggle against war involves rallying all forces around this peace policy and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union.

THE U. S. PREPARES FOR WAR

The government of the United States in spite of peaceful professions is more aggressively than ever following policies whose only logical result is war. The whole program of the Roosevelt administration is permeated by preparedness for war, expressed in the extraordinary military and naval budget, mobilization of industry and manpower, naval concentration in the Pacific Ocean, intervention in Cuba, the continued maintenance of armed forces in China, the loans to Chiang Kai-shek, the initiation of currency and tariff wars—all of which give the lie to the peaceful declarations of the United States government.

PROGRAM

The Congress pledges itself to do all in its power to effect a nation-wide agitation and organization against war preparations and war. To this end we join together in carrying out the following immediate objectives:

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding National Recovery.

3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Camps, by a federal system of social insurance paid for by the government and employers.

4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called "democratic" government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to fascist and war propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments.

10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

By virtue of the mandate granted by the thousands of delegates from all sections of this country and groups of the population which bear the burden of imperialist war who, though they differ in political opinions, trade union affiliations, religious beliefs and the methods of carrying on the struggle against war, are bound together by their desire for peace, and on the strength of its unshakable conviction that the struggle against imperialist war is useful only to the extent to which it effectively interferes with and check-mates imperialist war plans, this Congress calls upon the working class, the ruined and exploited farmers, the oppressed Negro people, the sections of the middle class bankrupted by the crisis, the groups of intellectuals of all occupations, men, women and youth, together, to organize their invincible force in disciplined battalions for the decisive struggle to defeat imperialist war.

"The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological first *against pacifism*. In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism.

"In the struggle against pacifism, however, the Communists must draw a distinction between the anti-war sentiments of large masses of the toilers, who are ready to fight against war, but do not as yet understand that the revolutionary way is the only proper way of combating war, and therefore, become a prey to pacifist swindlers, and the swindlers themselves, the pacifists of various shades. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated."—*The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists*: Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, July-August, 1928.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the American League for Peace and Democracy generally known or recognized in Communist circles as being a Communist-front organization?

Mr. NOWELL. As Communists, of course, understanding the nature of our fraction work, that is at the time we knew of the establishment of the League for Peace and Democracy and knew it was sponsored and would be controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. By the way, when did you leave the Communist Party, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I left in the end of 1936.

Mr. VOORHIS. At the end of 1936?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, now, do you think that there is any change which has taken place in the relationship between the Communist Party and the American League since this time? Is the relation between the American League for Peace and Democracy today the same as it was then, or do you know?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; it is the same. If anything, the Communist Party has strengthened its position.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would just like to have you be as specific as you can as to why you make that statement.

Mr. NOWELL. I make that statement because of the knowledge of the periphery people, party contacts; that is, front people that we have; that is, I as a Communist say we had at that time, and through a general impression in the development of these organizations since I was instrumental in helping to found sections of them. So, if anything, it has strengthened its position in the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the organization known as the American Student Union, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you tell the committee what you know about that organization?

Mr. NOWELL. It was a part of, in line with the program of the party and the Young Communist League. Of course, the National Students Union was organized—I may not be so specific as to dates here because it was a youth division of the party; that is, the fraction was controlled by the Young Communist League. The purpose of this, of course, was to bore into the schools, the higher institution of learning.

(At this point Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt entered the hearing room.)

Mr. STARNES. We will suspend for a moment. I notice the presence here of the First Lady of the Land. I would like to invite Mrs. Roosevelt to come around and sit with us at the committee table, if she will.

(Mrs. Roosevelt thanked Mr. Starnes for the invitation to sit with the committee and took a seat in the front row of the audience.)

Mr. STARNES. Proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you continue, Mr. Nowell, with your discussion of your knowledge of the American Students Union?

Mr. NOWELL. As I say, I may not be specific as to dates. I am discussing now the general policy, and my knowledge of the fact that the American Students Union was a part of the youth and is a part of the youth program of the Communist Party, that is, the Young Communist League, which received instructions to strive to organize such a body. They succeeded. As I say, the policy was based upon utilizing the discontent of students, based upon the belief

that along with depressed conditions and the fact that students who are reasonably enlightened, that is, they have some theoretical and political understandings, since they are students, and are studying, could be and can be easily politicalized. Therefore, the program, that is, the approach to the organization of these students was based upon these facts. That is, the league sponsored it, because of the lack of opportunity, which is true to a certain extent, and the fact that they are in the league tells that they are or would be, and that they are easily politicalized. Also, they are a part of the, theoretically, they are the intellectual section of the youth. And in that intellectual position they occupy a position of being or influencing public opinion, the middle strata, between the larger masses of the youth, let us say, who work in factories, and they become leaders, the practical leaders of the youth movement. Their influence is greater because of the social status to which they belonged. So therefore this approach was made to the students, utilizing the intellectual and political weapons to propagate the program of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any part in that program or carrying out of that program, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. Only indirectly. My work was with the adult section of the party.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you had, as a Communist Party member, had full knowledge of the plans and the execution of those plans?

Mr. NOWELL. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. By the party?

Mr. NOWELL. I did, through the interlocking of the high committees of the Communist League and Communist Party, the adult section.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. NOWELL. And through the daily activities, and associations with members, and instructions to fractions, I had full knowledge of the plans.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had that knowledge as an official of the party?

Mr. NOWELL. Of the party; Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, what was the program and purpose of the American Negro Labor Congress which you referred to a few moments ago?

Mr. NOWELL. The old congress was based upon a policy which the Communist International worked out. That was discussed with me in the Negro department of the Communist International as early as 1929 when I was in Russia. The Communist International was still discussing the American Negro question at the time; that is, beginning in 1929, or beginning in 1928, at the Sixth World Congress, in fact through 1928, 1929, and 1930, formulating a program, a new program. The resolutions on the national and colonial questions issued or prepared by the Second World Congress of the Communist International had mentioned the American Negro as a national minority rather than a racial minority. Therefore, the purpose of this organization and the later change in the policies, the program after its change of policies in 1930, was to carry out the program to organize a separate Negro state, government, in the South. That is, they theorized that the colored people in the Black Belt of the South—

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, who do you mean by "they," Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I mean the Communist International and the Communist Party of America.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean to say that this program for the Negroes of the United States was decided upon or planned by the Communist International?

Mr. NOWELL. It was.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have personal knowledge of that?

Mr. NOWELL. I did. In fact, a resolution appears in our early strategy program based upon a resolution that appeared in 1929 that was incomplete. It was the first resolution that was issued on the question; that is, on the program. And in 1930 the E. C. C. I. resolution was sent out.

Mr. WHITLEY. By E. C. C. I. you mean Executive Committee of Communist International?

Mr. NOWELL. The Executive Committee of the Communist International. It was sent to the American Communist Party. It was not there in time. It was supposed to be there in time for the seventh international convention. After this we received this resolution, and this is the 1930 resolution in the convention of the League for Struggle for Negro Rights—that is, the American Negro Labor Congress—and that organization was convened in 1930, and we began the execution of this new program, which I will go into.

Mr. WHITLEY. By "we" whom do you mean?

Mr. NOWELL. The Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. It began the carrying out or execution of the program for the Negro people of the United States which had been formulated by the Communist International in Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. Which had been formulated by the Communist International in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that correct?

Mr. NOWELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Very well; proceed.

Mr. NOWELL. The basis for such a program was theorized as follows: That the colored people throughout some hundred-odd counties extending from Virginia to the Delta comprise a national minority, a national group, and a majority of the population throughout the strip, running clear across the Southern States; that the position of the colored people in the South is that of being subjugated economically, politically, and socially; therefore the resolution states it is the duty of the Communist Part to organize these peoples along the line of a revolutionary program that would ally them with the more advanced sections of the people—that is, the workers, the proletariat, they call them—and to use them as a force supplementing and assisting in carrying out a policy of revolution. That is for the eventual establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore it was to be a buffer state. It was to be a state that would be under soviet leadership; that is, be of the soviet form, and the strategy was therefore plain; that is, the plans were carefully laid out that in the event perhaps if it were not possible to organize such a state before a revolution took place in the United States, but in the event this country went to war,

let us say, with Japan, or found itself in bad circumstances for other reasons, due to depressions or any circumstance that might weaken the national economy and arouse a great deal of discontent throughout the country, this would be the time to strike; this would be the time to utilize this position to set up a Negro republic in the South.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean by "Negro republic in the South" a separate state?

Mr. NOWELL. A separate state and government.

Mr. STARNES. That was the idea in selling or attempting to sell the colored people of this Nation on the idea that they were a national minority; a national minority rather than a racial minority?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true.

Mr. STARNES. So that they could have a separate state.

Mr. NOWELL. A separate state.

Mr. STARNES. Separate and independently from the United States.

Mr. NOWELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your knowledge of this particular subject matter comes about as a result of the fact that you were in charge of the Negro work for the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. Of my district.

Mr. WHITLEY. At that time?

Mr. NOWELL. At that time; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was this proposal as definite as you have just indicated; was it worked out in as definite a way as to say that there was going to be a separate nation organized?

Mr. NOWELL. It was.

Mr. VOORHIS. It was?

Mr. NOWELL. In fact, it was more definite than I have stated. The resolution sent to the American Communist Party in 1930 states very definitely that it shall be the policy of the Communist Party to organize the colored people of the South on the basis of self-determination, that is, setting up a separate state and government in the south, the purpose of which would be a twofold one. In the course of publicizing, agitating for the immediate demands for the poor farmers, and so forth in the South, this movement would gain momentum. Therefore, the resolution states in any contingency, while the workers of the North, or the industrial workers throughout the country were organizing to strike against the system of capitalism for their independence, and for the overthrow and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, this national minority will bring up the rear, so to speak. That is, its revolt will serve as a tremendous means of weakening the entire system and therefore furthering the possibility for the industrial workers of the North to achieve their objectives.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Nowell, how much support was ever gotten for this plan? I mean, did you get very many people interested?

Mr. NOWELL. We did. I mean the Communist Party did. In 1929 we had about three, and I will just cite the situation in the district in which I was situated.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was in Detroit?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; that was in Detroit, but this will give you an idea of the developments throughout the country. We had one colored person who had preceded me, I believe, about a year before.

By the middle of 1930 the American Negro Labor Congress, which was later changed to L. S. N. R., the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, had almost 3,000 members in Detroit alone. We were influencing more than 5,000 colored people through the Unemployed Council and Tenants' League, and other organizations set up by the party to work among the Negro population. Therefore, the program made splendid headway.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many of those 3,000 people were informed about this plan that you have spoken of—all of them? In other words, were those 3,000 people just going along in a big organization, or were they in that organization because they were seeking to promote the program you have outlined?

Mr. NOWELL. They were there because of their condition. That is, the Communist Party promised them immediate assistance, relief. That is, to get them on welfare and get their rent paid, and so forth.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, it was largely due to the bad economic conditions that those people faced that you succeeded in interesting them?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true. However, we tactfully and tactically combined the ultimate objective of the organization with the immediate demands.

Mr. STARNES. And they would have been just as effective for the purpose if you had fully disclosed your purposes and tactics and technique to them in full?

Mr. NOWELL. Certainly. In fact, it would have been more honest on our part to have said openly what we wanted.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; but what I want to know is how many of those people would have carried on with you had you told them what the entire program was?

Mr. NOWELL. The party publicized this program. However, it was such a confused program, and still is, although it has been almost dropped from propaganda today, that they did not understand it. It was hardly understandable, and the best of people with the best theoretical understanding of the question today can hardly conceive of such a program and policy. It is interesting to note, if I may go on on this point, that also there was a very dishonest approach being employed. This committee no doubt is being interested in the international phases of the Communist movement as it affects us here in the United States and the policy of sacrifice that is carried out. Firstly, you have the top leadership. Everything is sacrificed to the top leadership. That is the bureaucracy in Russia. Even the membership is sacrificed to the leadership. The periphery organizations are sacrificed to the membership unless they find it expedient sometimes to sacrifice a number of the membership in order to maintain the periphery membership, if such a conflict should arise that has caused them to do so. The logic of it is, it is like a feudal hierarchy, that all of these various organizations are being used as cat's-paws to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for a narrow group. So, hence, I have found out through my long experience and through further theoretical investigation and study that the whole policy of the establishment of a Negro republic in the South, even the practical attempts to work out such a program in its more elemental stages and form can only lead to race riots and victimizations of the colored people of the South, chaos, and eventually a complete sacrifice offer by the

party itself. Whether this was subjectively, consciously carried out for that purpose, I should not like to think so, that it was the intention of all of those people who got up there and plugged for it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean Communist Party members?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. If it were subjectively intended as a sacrifice, objectively it could only result in creating a situation in the country whereby the colored people, wherever they might be, would be sacrificed or victimized, and we would have a situation arise, relations in the country, that would get out of control entirely and not be good for the country as a whole.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, Mr. Nowell, the program was not devised for the purpose of benefiting your people but, rather, for an utterly different purpose than that?

Mr. NOWELL. That is, for utilizing them to the end of carrying out the proletarian revolution so called.

Mr. STARNES. It was just a means to an end?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; just a means to an end.

Mr. STARNES. They were to sacrifice an entire race in this country to further the objectives of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. That is right. If it is not too lengthy, and I think it is worthwhile, too—this is a lengthy article, but there are certain portions of it that I would like to read. I would not need to go into all of it.

Mr. STARNES. From what publication is it?

Mr. NOWELL. This is from The Communist International. It is the official organ of the Communist International.

Mr. STARNES. Of what date?

Mr. NOWELL. This is May 5, 1935.

Mr. STARNES. To what subject does it relate?

Mr. NOWELL. This an article written by B. D. Amis. The title of the article is "How we carried out the decision of the 1930 C. I. resolution on the Negro question in the U. S."

Mr. STARNES. Can you identify Amis for us?

Mr. NOWELL. Amis is a former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. He is a member of the Communist Party at the present time. In 1931 he was head of the Negro committee of the central committee of the Communist Party of America.

Mr. MASON. Does that article deal with this program or project you have been discussing?

Mr. NOWELL. It does.

Mr. MASON. Concerning the setting up of this state?

Mr. NOWELL. It does.

Mr. STARNES. You may insert that with your statement here, and you can read certain pertinent excerpts upon which you wish to comment.

Mr. NOWELL. Well, there are some pertinent excerpts from the article. He states [reading]:

The Negro masses are an important ally of the American proletariat. The struggle of the Negro masses for national emancipation is a direct blow against the ruling class and is indubitably bound up with the proletarian class struggle. Lenin has clearly formulated for us the direct connection between the proletarian struggle and the national liberation movement.

That is, the direct connection between the national liberation movement and the proletarian struggle—

The peculiar oppression of the Negroes (social antagonisms, remnants of slavery) makes it imperative that the struggle for partial demands (equal pay, against wage cuts, for unemployment insurance, adequate relief, etc.), and for equal rights (the abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppression, social exclusion, insults and segregation) must be widely developed to correspond to the basic revolutionary demands (confiscation of the big landed estates, establishment of State unity in the Black Belt, and the right of self-determination). These demands must be brought forward in a popular manner to the white workers and especially among broad strata of the Negro people. When sufficiently popularized to the Negro masses, the slogans around these demands become the fighting demands of broad masses of Negroes in bitter struggle against the imperialist oppressors of the American workers and toilers.

From the 1930 resolution of the C. I. on the Negro question another excerpt:

The Communist Party of the United States has always acted openly and energetically against Negro oppression, and has thereby won increasing sympathy among the Negro population. In its own ranks, too, the party has relentlessly fought the slightest evidences of white chauvinism and has purged itself of the gross opportunism of the Lovestonites.

The other is not pertinent, just these printed excerpts. On page 513, under the title of the article "The Negro Question in the United States," taken from the Communist International, the May 5 issue, 1935, volume 12, No. 9, it states:

First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative, and judicial authority. At the present time all this power is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, the overthrow of this class rule in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right of self-determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins its freedom from American imperialism, even to the point of deciding itself the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self-determination.

That is the Communist International resolution of 1930.

If once thoroughly understood by the Negro masses and adopted as their slogan—

That is, the slogan of self-determination—

it will lead them into the struggle for the overthrow of the power of the ruling bourgeoisie, which is impossible without such revolutionary struggle (C. I. Resolution, 1930).

On page 514, continuing:

These tasks are very essential. The Negro people, an important ally of the proletariat, in revolutionary struggle for the right of self-determination, form another attacking force against the exploiters and oppressors of the workers and toilers. Every revolutionary action aimed at the heart of American imperialism, whether it has its source among the revolutionary proletariat, developing the struggle for power, or whether it is a stubborn upsurge among the poor farmers, or a national revolutionary movement among the oppressed Negro masses, weakens the foundations of the imperialist oppressors and becomes significant in hastening their downfall.

This is written by Amis—and I should continue with another excerpt, and the final one from the C. I. Resolution, that is, the Communist International Resolution:

It is likewise necessary, first, to explain constantly that only the Soviet regime is able to give the nations real equality, by uniting the proletariat and all the masses of workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; secondly, to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American Negroes, etc.), and in the colonies.

That is the basis of the present policies of the Communist International and the American Communist Party on the question. This was taken from the resolution, or the thesis of the Second Congress of the Communist International on national and colonial questions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, in addition to the setting up of the American Negro Labor Congress in an effort to carry out that program of the Communist International, what other movements have the Communists organized to achieve that end?

Mr. NOWELL. Aside from the general type of front organizations, such as Tenants' Leagues, Unemployed Councils, and they have organized the present National Negro Congress. That is, this Congress has been developed out of the older forms.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the present American Negro Congress is the outgrowth of the earlier organization, the American Negro Labor Congress, is that correct?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes: it is a continuation and a modification of the strategy and program in line with the change of Communist policy, of the policy of the Communist Party, beginning around 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was the present American Negro Congress organized or set up by the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. The National Negro Congress?

Mr. WHITLEY. The National Negro Congress.

Mr. NOWELL. They began the organization of it as early as 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you active in the steps leading up to that organization?

Mr. NOWELL. I was. In fact, John P. Davis and I established the Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you following out Communist Party instructions in setting up that new organization?

Mr. NOWELL. I was the first head of what we call the city Negro front.

Mr. WHITLEY. John P. Davis, whom you have just mentioned, is the present executive secretary of the American Negro Congress?

Mr. NOWELL. He is.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you assisted in setting that organization up on instructions from the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. From the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of the organization, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. The purpose of the present organization?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes: the present organization.

Mr. NOWELL. The purpose of the present organization is essentially that of the old organizations. The only thing that has happened is what is true of the Communist policy in general: it is due to the change in international conditions, and in line with the whole situation of the Communist bureaucracy and Communist dictatorship, everything is sacrificed. All of the sections of the Communist movement are sacrificed to the dictatorship in Russia, and hence even the changes, sometimes so frequent, and they are so different from the

original policy, until central committees, at least I know the American Central Committee, and I know the membership of the Communist Party during the time I was in it, found it difficult to adapt themselves to these swift changes. So, therefore, the policy of the National Negro Congress is essentially not different from that of the two older organizations out of which that has been developed. That is, it is for the self-determination of the Negroes in the South, to utilize the movement it creates and to unite it with the movement of the working people in the North—the industrial workers in the North, the intellectuals, the professionals, and so forth—to eventually bring about an overthrow of the capitalistic system, using Communist terminology, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this offered a possibility, and with this new type of organizations under conditions when there were large labor organizations like, oh, the various trade-unions that have arisen in the basic industries, the organizations of students and white-collar people, intellectuals, professionals, government employees, and so forth, with that it was necessary to change the form and to modify their policies, and to pretend to be democratic. So this change of policy was based upon the situation in which Russia found herself. That is, after Hitler came to power in Germany, and, of course, the Communist revolution that they attempted to bring about failed, the Soviet Government changed its policy, and hence the Communist International changed its policy. The policy was to make a united front with the democratic countries—America, France, and England—in order to secure their support to form a war alliance against Hitler. This alliance, the name of it, well, the term had been “collective security”; it was called collective security.

Mr. STARNES. That is, their so-called determination of collective security that they urged wherever possible at that time?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. That was the international form of the united front. Within particular countries, notably in France, the people's front, that is the national form, and that was the form employed. For instance, if Foreign Commissar Litvinof went around to talk to various departments, or various governments, and sold them the idea that it is necessary for democratic countries to cooperate in the quarantining of the Fascist nations, and so forth, and proposed to them, both as a representative of a sovereign government doing business diplomatically with our government, and at the same time speaking for the Communist International of the Communist Party, there he can very well offer the Communist Party as a means and an instrument and in collaboration with these governments who will, in turn, support collective security. Therefore we have logically worked out a consummation of agreements between Communists through the medium of peoples' fronts.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, that policy has been changed again very recently, has it not?

Mr. NOWELL. Recently it has changed.

Mr. STARNES. That was after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler compact?

Mr. NOWELL. That was before the signing of the Stalin-Hitler compact. This was designed to pull these nations into a war alliance against Hitler and, of course, to pull Russia's chestnuts out of the

fire. England was the main objective. I think it is pertinent to the question, and if you do not mind I will go into it, although it deals with foreign affairs. Russia made a concession to England first, I know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are interpreting this international situation in terms of the Communist Party policy in this country?

Mr. MASON. From the inside?

Mr. WHITLEY. Knowing the Communist Party policy in this country as a member, and internationally as a member and an official of the party?

Mr. NOWELL. Knowing the policies and the whole logic of them from the inside I have discussed these international circumstances just to show how they affect the objects of the Communist Party inside of the United States. Russia first repudiated, almost, to England and France her efforts to organize her colonies and movements, that is, movements designed along the same line I have read here, colonial movements designed to undermine these nations. She gave up those movements after Hitler came to power and promised not to bother, to organize these people any more if France, England, and America would support her against Germany. Therefore, the Prime Minister of Britain at that time, Mr. Anthony Eden, of course, became a spokesman for the League of Nations. The League of Nations was revived by Russia. Its spokesman there was Foreign Commissar Litvinof. At the convenient time, of course, the more conservative element, supposedly conservative, I use that because of the term used, asked Mr. Eden to resign. It was England's policy to utilize this prestige that had been given her when the League of Nations had been restored to do other things along the lines of the British policy which are not pertinent here, I do not believe. This went on for the time that you remember, up until recently, when it became evident that Britain would pursue the policy of appeasement, even to the extent of what might be detrimental to France, rather than making an alliance with Russia or to permit Russia to head the alliance. Seeing what was going to happen, of course, Stalin immediately switched, forced Britain's hand, if I may use a common term, and made an alliance with Hitler with a promise of getting half of Poland and seeing possibilities of strengthening himself in the Baltic, and possibly forcing Britain into line and forcing Britain to fight Germany, hoping that when they are all exhausted he could come in, the strategy being, when they are all exhausted, to overrun Europe.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, to keep this discussion, in so far as possible, within bounds confine it to the activities of the party in the United States.

Mr. NOWELL. Now, I come to the home policy.

Mr. STARNES. I think this is a very interesting point, and, as I understand it, he is developing this policy to show that the Communist Party in the United States followed that line.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right, and that is what I have in mind, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; to justify that—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). To show how the change in policy of the Communist Party in the United States was affected by that international situation.

Mr. NOWELL. Therefore, the National Negro Congress, and that is the particular organization under consideration, its policy was changed in accordance with this new line. That is, in line with the policies of the people's front, the policy of making concessions to the democratic countries in order to secure their support against the Fascist countries, were carried out in that form, that is, among club people in the United States. That is why the instrumentality of the National Negro Congress was used. That is, not so much an appeal to the average industrial worker or the agricultural worker, as to the professional, the intellectual, and so forth, people who are not immediately revolutionary, but more respectable and more acceptable and so forth. So, therefore, this organization is broader. It appeals to a supposedly more enlightened section of the population through professionals, intellectuals, and ministers. Its methods are more subtle, and harder to detect. That is, the fraction work of the Communist Party is harder to detect in such organizations, because they can innocently go into a church, or into a fraternal organization, or into any type of organization under these broad, apparently liberal methods of working, democratic methods of working, and win these people over. The old radical slogans of the left days, of course, are not being used. So this is in line with a change of policy which would make it respectable, so that it would get support of bigger elements in this country.

Mr. STARNES. All right; will you name for the Committee some of the organizations that the Communist Party utilizes in this country for its united front in order to put this particular program over? Give us the names of some of those organizations.

Mr. NOWELL. The American League for Peace and Democracy was one of its major organizations. The National Negro Congress was its chief organization among colored people. The National Students' League, and it bored into the National Youth Administration.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you mean by that?

Mr. NOWELL. I mean through the possibilities bound up with other projects, youth assistance to students in universities and schools, it offered a possibility due to the already existing organizations, set up among youths, as, for instance, this student group that I have just mentioned, to carry on, that is, to supply their people with work, and hence funds, and so forth to utilize.

Mr. VOORHIS. What does that have to do with the National Youth Administration?

Mr. NOWELL. I mean the benefits of it. That is placed wrongly, of course, it can be changed, but I mean benefits that come through such appropriations. They have made these funds allowed and these benefits derived a means, and use them as a means of financing and carrying on these activities in these various other youth front organizations, which are established.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, you do not mean by that, however, that the National Youth Administration itself did that?

Mr. NOWELL. No, not the National Youth Administration itself.

Mr. STARNES. Or embarked on any program like that or was in sympathy with any program like that?

Mr. NOWELL. No.

Mr. STARNES. Your statement now is that the Communist Party has, through those youth organizations attempted to bore from

within and utilize the advantages that come under the National Youth Administration for that purpose?

MR. NOWELL. That is right. Of course, the Young Communist League was the spearhead. It was the party organization proper that was the leader of these. I have given you the National Students' League. The John Reed Clubs in most sections were reorganized on a federated basis and its various departments and various organizations comprising it were set off in specialized groups and reorganized into a federation, the Civic Rights Federation.

MR. WHITLEY. What organization was that?

MR. NOWELL. The Civic Rights Federation.

MR. MASON. The Civic Rights Federation?

MR. NOWELL. The Civic Rights Federation; yes. These are the major organizations that I know about which are extremely broad; I mean they penetrate deeply.

MR. VOORHIS. Mr. Nowell, in each of these organizations that you have mentioned, and I do not know that I recall them all, but as a general matter the membership of those organizations would be composed of people, would it not, who were simply interested in some improvement in conditions or something of that kind? You do not mean to say the membership of those organizations would be Communist?

MR. NOWELL. No, it does not mean that everyone who joins some organization like the League for Peace and Democracy is a Communist.

MR. STARNES. Is not this a correct assumption, that these groups are utilized by the Communist Party to obtain support and membership and a degree of respectability in certain circles that they could not get through the regular party organization?

MR. NOWELL. That is right.

MR. STARNES. That is the sole purpose?

MR. NOWELL. That is quite true.

MR. STARNES. And hundreds, and thousands of people went in there innocently and the Communist Party sought to utilize that popular front?

MR. NOWELL. Yes: that is the answer to it.

MR. VOORHIS. Can those things be done nearly as effectively now as they could in the period you have been discussing?

MR. NOWELL. Of course, the Communist Party is going to lose a great deal because of its change in policy. Firstly, a great many people who were followers of these front organizations have a great many aliases. Naturally under the new policy that was in operation up to a few weeks ago tactics were used not to let these people on the inside. In the old days some did necessarily know all about the internal affairs of the party, but now they are purely periphery people. They carry a deluded illusion. They do not know just what they are doing, most of them, but, nevertheless, they are being used for the particular purpose of the party wants. I dare say, if I may assume this, that not always are these people innocent. That is, it is my experience. When a government recognizes the Russian Government it has recognized the Communist Party, possibly. So, if it recognizes the sovereign government at all of that country it cannot help but recognize the Communist Party or Russia and the Soviet International, they are one. There is no such thing, naturally, as a division between sections, that is, politically and otherwise between

various sections of the Communist Party and the Russian Government. They are all united. If I were a Communist and were a member of the United States Senate, or were a worker in Europe, or wherever I happened to be, I would be responsible to the Communist International in Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. Is that your chief allegiance as a Communist?

Mr. NOWELL. That would be my chief alleged allegiance if I were a Communist, and that means also it would be my duty, above all else, to protect the interests of what the Communists call the Fatherland of the Workers.

Mr. STARNES. Which is the Soviet Government of Russia?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; the Soviet regime, and this was the message given to the delegates when they were about to return to the United States in 1929 and then in 1931 and in 1932.

Mr. STARNES. How many times did you go to Russia?

Mr. NOWELL. Twice.

Mr. STARNES. Twice?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What was the occasion of your second visit?

Mr. NOWELL. I was a student in the International Lenin School.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you stay there?

Mr. NOWELL. I stayed approximately 2 years.

Mr. STARNES. Who paid your expenses on that trip?

Mr. NOWELL. The Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. The Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. The first time you went the Friends of the Soviet Union paid your expenses?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. STARNES. Did you travel under your own name on both trips?

Mr. NOWELL. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Can you recess at this time without breaking into your general line of inquiry?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just want to ask a couple of questions before we conclude, because they have to do with what was said this morning by the witness.

You said something about the United Auto Workers being a Communist front. You said that was in 1929, that that was a Trade Union Unity League organization?

Mr. NOWELL. That was the A. U. W.

Mr. VOORHIS. That has nothing to do with the present organization?

Mr. NOWELL. No.

Mr. STARNES. And he did not so intimate.

Mr. NOWELL. No; I did not.

Mr. VOORHIS. I know he did not, but I wanted to make it plain.

Mr. NOWELL. No; I did not.

Mr. VOORHIS. In the second place, when did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. I left at the end of 1936.

Mr. VOORHIS. At the end of 1936?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What has been your occupation since that time?

Mr. NOWELL. I have worked as a coder on the national health inventory in Detroit.

Mr. VOORHIS. As what?

Mr. NOWELL. As a coder, coding industrial case histories. It is a W. P. A. project. For 2 years I was an organizer for the U. A. W. A.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean since 1936?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; since 1936.

Mr. VOORHIS. You were so engaged how long?

Mr. NOWELL. About 2 years.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you still?

Mr. NOWELL. I am not; no.

Mr. VOORHIS. What are you doing right now?

Mr. NOWELL. At the present time I am an employee of the Ford Motor Car Co.

Mr. STARNES. That is where you were employed at the time you joined up in 1929?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true, reverting to the original.

Mr. STARNES. We will resume with the same witness at 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m. a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m. pursuant to taking a recess.)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings. The witness will take the stand again, please. Proceed, Mr. Whitley.

FURTHER STATEMENT OF WILLIAM ODELL NOWELL

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, at the time we adjourned for the noon recess, you were giving testimony with reference to the National Negro Congress in which you were connected as a Communist Party member, both in the organization and operation of it. Will you identify for the committee some of the leaders in the organization, and activities of the National Negro Congress?

Mr. NOWELL. The best known among the national leaders to me is John P. Davis, who together with me acted as a member of the Communist Party fraction, Davis from the national fraction and myself the Detroit chapter of the organization. Of course, there are others that I know just through reading of them. I know J. Phillip Randolph, but I never worked with him; and I know such local leaders as Ed Williams and Myrell Work, who were members of the Communist Party fraction with me in the conduct of the local work of the Detroit chapter.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. John P. Davis is president of the national congress or executive secretary of it?

Mr. NOWELL. He is executive secretary of the National Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is known to you and worked with you in the party as a party member?

Mr. NOWELL. He did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, how does the Communist Party control these front organizations? What is the system of control used?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, the practical organizational methods of control are party fractions; that is, the party fraction is a group of Com-

munists who may be recruited from an organization and that may work back in it as an organized group, or they may be sent into an organization to do the same type of work; that is, to carry out the policies and to lead the organization in the interests of the Communist Party. This is based upon an elaborate organization of schemes as well as, or that correspond to, the old political philosophy and the broadest strategy, branching out into the whole international strategy of organization. If I may, I will just read into the record here the use of fronts and front organizations as to how the Communist Party uses them in its purposes for using these organizations. It is taken from the Communist, volume 10, No. 5, of May 1931. It is an article by Clarence Hathaway on Use of Transmission Belts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that another name for a front organization?

Mr. NOWELL. It refers more specifically to the link or axis between the Communist Party and front organizations. This has to do with the use of fronts, and how there is control of mass organizations for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. NOWELL. I mean he characterizes this an axis here, these relations, this means of control as the use of "transmission belts." I will read the most pertinent portions of the article. I will begin on page 412 of this volume [reading:]

What must we do?

In the first place we must break definitely with the conception that Communist work consists solely in direct efforts to build the Communist Party and in recruiting new members.

Hathaway here is attempting to change what was known to us at the time as a sectarian situation, into which the Communist Party had gotten itself, this particular article saying that methods that are to be referred to as sectarian should not be employed, but the members must be broader, a little bit more democratic, that it is worth more really to work patiently in an organization without offending people or repulsing people and to get a larger number to follow than it is to go in and just recruit one or two members here and there. This is the meaning of what he says. [Reading:]

We must learn to set up and work through a whole series of mass organizations and in this way also develop our party work. Our chief error is our failure to understand the role of and to systematically utilize mass organizations (T. U. U. L., Unemployed Councils, I. L. D., W. I. R., L. S. N. R., etc.)—that is, the Trade Union Unity League, the International Labor Defense, the Workers International Relief, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, etc.—

as transmission belts to the broad masses of nonparty workers. The Communist Party is necessarily composed of the most conscious and self-sacrificing elements among the workers. These mass organizations, on the contrary, with a correct political line, can be made to reach many thousands of workers not yet prepared for party membership. Through these organizations, led by well-functioning party fractions, the party must necessarily find its best training and recruiting ground. They are the medium through which the Party, on the one hand, guides and directs the workers in their struggles and, on the other hand, keeps itself informed on the mood of the masses, the correctness of party slogans, etc.

He goes on:

Comrade Piatnitsky—

who was organization secretary of the Communist International at the time—

speaking at the tenth plenum of E. C. C. I. on the methods of organizationally consolidating the growing political influence of the various parties of the Comintern, stated:

"How can the growing influence of the parties be consolidated? By good work on the part of the party organizations, by close contact with the masses. What is the best way of establishing this contact? By Communist work in the workers' and peasants' mass organizations (factory committees, trade unions, workers' cooperatives and sport organizations, I. R. A., free thinkers' organizations, W. I. R., provisional organizations, mainly strike committees, anti-lock-out committees), by the work of party nuclei in enterprises."

Comrade Kuusinen, who was also one of the secretaries of the Comintern of the Communist International says:

The first part of our task is to build, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our party (*not under mechanical leadership.*) [Hathaway's emphasis.]

These are taken from organizational articles, by which the Communist Party is almost bound as though they were an instruction from the Communist International, and they portray, or I believe give a clear conception of just how fronts are used, the purpose for the establishing of this solar system of organizations, and how they fit into the scheme of the Communist Party in increasing its mass influence.

On page 414, just another excerpt, to further substantiate this:

The proletariat—

This is taken from Stalin's book, Problems of Leninism, quoted by Hathaway—

The proletariat needs these belts, these levers (*the mass organizations*) [Hathaway's emphasis], and this guiding force (*the Party—C. A. H.*), because without them it would, in its struggle for victory, be like a weaponless army in the face of organized and armed capital.

Lastly, we come to the Party of the Proletariat, the proletarian vanguard. Its strength lies in the fact that it attracts to its ranks the best elements of all the mass organizations of the proletariat. Its function is to unify the work of all the mass organizations of the proletariat, without exception, and to guide their activities toward a single end—that of the liberation of the proletariat.

I think that these are the most pertinent portions of that article which I want to submit to the committee for the record and which probably clarify the question under discussion.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, at the time you ceased your activity with the Communist Party—the latter part of 1936, I believe you said—was the party up until that time, at least, to your knowledge, utilizing the fraction system to secure and maintain control over front organizations and the trade unions?

MR. NOWELL. It was.

MR. WHITLEY. The fraction system was, to your personal knowledge, still in effect and operation up until that time?

MR. NOWELL. It was up until 1936.

MR. WHITLEY. I made that inquiry particularly in view of the previous testimony, Mr. Chairman, that the fraction system was abandoned some years ago.

At the time you became a member of the Communist Party what was the number of members in the Michigan district?

MR. NOWELL. In 1929 we had around 700 members. In 1931 it had increased to about 1,100, and by the end of 1936 the organization

department estimated that the Communist Party, district 7, Detroit, had about 2,500 members—a substantial increase in members.

Mr. WHITLEY. What national or local party leaders do you know or have you worked with, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I have worked with most of the national leaders—that is, those that were leaders since—committee members, and leading Communist functionaries locally and nationally for the period 1929 to 1935 or 1936, and I have a list here. I have a complete list here of people—it is not exhaustive by any means—of people who were in and are still playing a very important part in the leadership of the Communist Party in various sections of the country. I also have a prepared list here of people that I know to be occupying strategic positions in industries and organizations in Detroit and Michigan.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you read that list if it is not too extensive?

Mr. STARNES. Take each list up separately and identify it so that there will be no misunderstanding on the part of the members of the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right; and identify the individual names for the record.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. NOWELL. There is Celia Parinsky.

Mr. WHITLEY. Spell the last name.

Mr. NOWELL. P-a-r-i-n-s-k-y. She is the former wife of Harry Wicks. I met her in 1921 in Moscow. She was an interpreter there for English delegations who were visiting Russia. She was located in the Communist book store in the building of the national offices, and then came to Detroit, and has been active there in a section of the Communist Party.

Mary Zuk is a member of the Communist Party. I think it is section 3. She was a former Hamtramck councilwoman, defeated in the last election, and, of course, is in the city department in the city of Hamtramck. I do not know which one, but she is still there and is still an active Communist.

Jessie Mullenbauer is a Detroit school teacher and the wife of Bill Mullenbauer.

Mary Himoff is a former district secretary of the Young Communist League of Detroit and a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League.

Earl Reno is a former automobile worker, and now a Communist organizer, and up to recently was located in Detroit.

William Mullenbauer is the husband of Jessie Mullenbauer. Mr. Mullenbauer is in the Interior Department, or something, the Reforestation Division.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where is he located?

Mr. NOWELL. I do not know just where he is located.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you know what he is if you do not know where he is located?

Mr. NOWELL. It was reported authentically to me.

Mr. VOORHIS. By whom?

Mr. NOWELL. Right after he finished Michigan State College he applied for, and received, a job with the Reforestation Division.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who reported it to you?

Mr. NOWELL. The Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. How long ago was that?

Mr. NOWELL. That was in 1936.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you are testifying that he is still there?

Mr. NOWELL. I do not know that he is still there. He got a job with the Reforestation Division.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where there is any doubt as to their present status, make that clear, Mr. Nowell. In other words, you identify them as of the time you knew them?

Mr. NOWELL. At the time I knew them. At present, about Mullenbauer's case, I do not know.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Counsel, it should be very easy to check up as to whether he is still with the Department.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right, but I do not want the witness to indicate anything beyond the period when he was an active member and in possession of competent, authentic, and accurate information.

Mr. NOWELL. Adolph Sunday, former secretary of the workers' camp.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that name?

Mr. NOWELL. A-d-o-l-p-h S-u-n-d-a-y, former secretary of the workers' camp committee of the Workers' Educational Association, and a member of the Italian fraction. He is an Austrian by birth. Sunday is an alias. I will, perhaps, find his right name after a while.

Edward Goldheimer, active in the Workers' Educational Association among the veterans in Detroit.

Le Bron Simmons, Negro, is a Detroit lawyer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Spell that.

Mr. NOWELL. L-e B-r-o-n S-i-m-m-o-n-s. Le Bron Simmons is a member of the Communist fraction of the National Negro Congress, Detroit chapter, active in Communist front organizations.

Anthony Gerlac is a former organizational secretary of district 7, lately active in the I. W. O.

George Smith is an alias, a Rumanian, active in the Rumanian organizations and a member of the Rumanian Bureau and in the fractions.

Alex Urpas is active in the Hungarian organizations.

Joseph Kawalsky is former editor of the Tribuno Rotatnetsi. However, it has been changed, and I do not remember the new name. In accordance with the broader policy, of course, the name of the paper was changed. He is now State treasurer, I believe. I am not sure of that, so he is just an active Communist—I mean he was State treasurer.

May Kaplan is a former secretary of the Government Employees' Union, a member of the Communist fraction there and active in local Communistic activities in Detroit.

Ben Bayley is former president of the John Reed Club.

Bessie Bayley is a member of the Communist fraction in the United Art groups there of the Art Federation, to which the John Reed Club has been changed locally.

Alice Smullen, Y. C. L. I met her on the I. L. D. subcommittee, and she was active in women's organizations.

Gus Bailey was active in the International Negro Congress, the Federation of Colored Clubs, and so forth.

R. Ruffini is the former head of the Italian fraction, and a candidate for councilman in Hamtramck.

E. Sabol, leader in the Russian fraction and a member of the Russian Corporation of the Russian Workers' Home in Hamtramck. Sophie Kishner, Y. C. L. leader in Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that?

Mr. NOWELL. K-i-s-h-n-e-r.

Curtis Davis, a member of the shop unit of the Dodge local, Y. C. L. member, who graduated into the adult organization.

Beatrice Siskin, alias Shields, was formerly with the T. U. U. L. committee, later of the Lenin school in Moscow, and later educational director of the Chicago district, and recently educational director in Detroit, district No. 7.

Nydia Barkin, alias Barker, former district secretary of the Y. C. L., and a member of the national committee of the Y. C. L., formerly has been an active Y. C. L. worker.

Frank Sykes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that?

Mr. NOWELL. S-y-k-e-s. Frank Sykes is a Negro, active in the W. P. A. union, Workers Alliance.

Isaac Smullin, former head of, or former secretary, of the Workers Educational Association and the Detroit camp committee of the workers' camp. The name has been changed to Camp Liberty.

Mr. VOORHIS. When you say that these people are thus and so, you know that they were that in 1936; is that right?

Mr. NOWELL. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do not know about it now, you do not know where they are located or what they are doing?

Mr. NOWELL. Most of these I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know that through your former connections while you were in the party?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes, sir; through my former connections, and just keeping up.

Mr. WHITLEY. Confine yourself Mr. Nowell, to what you actually know of your own knowledge.

Mr. STARNES. As I understand it that is what the witness is doing. Of course, he cannot trace every man down to the last 24 hours, and no one expects him to do so.

Mr. NOWELL. I cannot keep up with these people. I know they are still active Communists, but who will possibly withdraw from this fraction or that while I am here in Washington I do not know, but these people were active Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you are identifying them?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; I am identifying them, or some of them that I know to be still in the same places they were when I was in the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Unless you so state, in each instance, you are, of course, confining your identification of these parties and their work with the Communist Party in the various lines as of the time you were actually a member of the party, speaking of personal knowledge.

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; that is right.

Mr. STARNES. That is all we are asking you to do, and I do not think anybody misunderstands it.

Mr. NOWELL. Ann Williams, formerly of the Lenin University in Moscow and later located in Baltimore, and now in Detroit as a welfare investigator.

John Spardon is with the Macedonian Peoples League.

George Parinsky, head of the Macedonian-Bulgarian Peoples League.

Cross Misheff, an officer in the Bulgarian-Macedonian Peoples League.

George Kritalsky is a member of the Russian fraction, and formerly of the Carpenters' Union, and was a candidate for mayor of Hamtramck in the past. The year I am not sure about, but I think it was around 1934.

Richard McMahon, president of the Hodcarriers' Union.

Maurice Sugar, formerly I. L. D. attorney, is at present attorney for the C. I. O. He worked with me for years as an active Communist in Detroit; and took instructions from the organizational department of the Communist Party in work in the I. L. D. lawyers' group, and in the Civics Rights Committee which later became the Civil Rights Federation, and which is at present the Civic Rights Federation. He has attended closed party meetings with me. His name was in our fraction files at the time.

Jack Raskin is with the International Architects, Chemists, and so forth; that is, as late as 1937.

Harry Raskin is a physician, former president of the Pen and Hammer Club, and a member of the medical advisory board of the U. A. W. A., before that board was abolished.

Phil Raymond is a former head of the A. U. W., the old "red" union, and later State chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan, and an active old member.

Steve Nelson, who went in the International University under the name of Louis Evans, is reported to have served in Spain and toured the country shortly after in the interests of the Communist Party and the Spanish Legionnaires, or those people who were sent to Spain to assist the Spanish Loyalist cause. He was conspicuous because of his connections with the OGPU in Moscow.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who is that?

Mr. NOWELL. Steve Nelson.

Mr. VOORHIS. You know by your contact with him that he was connected with the OGPU?

Mr. NOWELL. In Moscow. I was present; I was there at the time. Herbert Benjamin, head of the Workers Alliance.

Israel Amter is, of course, well known.

Charles Krumbein is former chairman of the Communist Party in New York State.

Max Salzman—I met Max Salzman when he was I. L. D. secretary in Pittsburgh. Later he worked with me in Detroit and was counsel of the Dearborn section of the Communist Party in Detroit and a member of the district bureau.

Pearl Salzman, his wife, is Y. C. L. leader in Detroit.

Lawrence Murray was director of education for the Detroit district in 1936.

George Powers was a member of the T. U. U. L. before it was abolished, Detroit district.

John Schmies—

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that?

Mr. NOWELL. S-c-h-m-i-e-s is former district secretary of the Communist Party of Detroit, district No. 7, and was reputed to have

been placed in charge of the I. W. O. in Chicago, according to party information at the time.

Louise Thompson, leader of the National Negro Congress, prominent Communists, and spokesman of Negro women.

J. Mendel, former instructor in the International Lenin University, and prior head of the control commission of the Communist Party.

Manuel Reese, active in the Communist Party of the State of New York.

Phil Frankfeld.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that?

Mr. NOWELL. F-r-a-n-k-f-e-l-d, former Y. C. L.—Young Communist League—secretary of Detroit, and a student in the International Lenin University, and also was reported through the papers to have been district organizer of the Communist Party of Massachusetts.

Bill Gebert—

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that?

Mr. NOWELL. G-e-b-e-r-t, former district organizer of the Chicago district, a Communist sharpshooter on trade-union organization and delegate to the 1932 plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Ann Burlak, former member of the national set-up of the T. U. U. L., and later active in trade-union movements in New Jersey and throughout for the Communist Party under the old Red Trade Union.

Mary Dalton, that is an alias, I believe. She was sent into the South on decisions from the central committee to begin execution of the program having to do with the whole program of self-determination in the South. She conducted that.

Herbert Newton and Jim Johnson and others were dispatched there to begin the work on this program prior to 1933 when the E. C. I. sent a complete resolution.

Louiz Martinez was active among the Spanish or Latin-Americans.

William L. Patterson, a Negro, former national secretary of the I. L. D., and former head of the national Negro department of the central committee. He was in Russia at the Lenin University in 1929. I met him there. He is at present a staff writer for the Midwest Daily Record, or was up until recently, according to the signed articles.

Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party. I met him in 1929, and was frequently instructed by him after my return from Russia the last time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you talk a little louder. Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. Earl Browder, I first met him in 1930. If I said 1929 I am wrong. I first met him in 1930. I met him subsequently on his lecture tours through the district, and met him in Moscow in 1932. He is national secretary of the Communist Party of America.

William Z. Foster, I met him first in 1929 as organizer, going around setting up sections, preparing the ground for the T. U. U. L.

Clarence Hathaway, former editor of the Daily Worker, formerly American representative on the Comintern, and still editor of the Daily Worker, I believe.

Robert Minor, since a committee member.

William Weiner—

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that?

Mr. NOWELL. W-e-i-n-e-r. Weiner is a member of the national party faction on the I. W. O., and a leader in the I. W. O., and formerly located in the national office of the Central Committee, I believe as treasurer of the Central Committee.

Max Bedacht is a former member of the Central Committee, and national head of the I. W. O.

Alexander Trachtenberg is head of the International Publishing House, international publishers.

M. Olgin was the editor of Freiheit.

Annette Demain, former head of the women's department of the Central Committee, later, and is probably at present, head of the national secretariat of the I. L. D.

Mother Bloor is a well-known active member of the Communist Party and since a committee member, or was.

George Mink, former member of the national committee of the T. U. U. L., an old Communist, and active in trade-union circles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever know of George Mink having any other connections other than with the party in this country?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I did not. I met him in 1929 at the T. U. U. L. convention in Cleveland, when the T. U. U. L. was formed. I have had little contact with Mink since.

Harry Weeks, former editor of the Daily Worker, and delegate to the Sixth World Congress. He worked and lectured extensively for the Communist Party, and is a former member of the Central Committee.

Robert Dunn, head of the Workers Research. Berry, I think that is the proper name. I met him in 1930, preparatory to the Seventh World Congress as a member of the Communist faction there.

Maurice Childs was in the International Lenin University in 1931. I was with him through 1932, and followed him there in 1931, connected with the OGPU there, which I was going to later on. He is a very influential figure and, perhaps, has more valuable, as many or more valuable, connections for the Communist Party of America than most others.

William Simons, on occasions has been the Latin-American representative for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that complete the list?

Mr. NOWELL. Just about. These [indicating] are really more important than the others. I do not want to submit the list, but I would just like to read them off if there is time.

Mr. STARNES. What is this group here? With what particular line of work are they identified?

Mr. NOWELL. These are people who now, or were up until recently, and, as far as I know now, people employed in strategic positions in industry, and so forth, in Detroit and the Detroit area.

Mr. STARNES. All right; you might give us that list and identify them, and with what interests they are connected.

Mr. NOWELL. I will read the list off, and then I will turn it over to the reporter.

Lazarus Marksian, a tool and die worker formerly with Hudson, Briggs and Lincoln.

Peter Cronis, Hudson Motor Co., and Ford Motor Co., section 2, Communist Party.

Henry Jansen, membership director of section No. 2, in 1938, at the Budd Wheel Co. He was with Chevrolet Gear and Axle and Kelsey-Hayes Wheel.

Nicholas Dekold, financial secretary, section 2, C. P. He was employed in the Immerman Screw Co., at least the last I knew of him he was.

Anna MacLellan, Communist Party, section 2. She is in the I. W. O.

Joe MacLellan, section 2 of the Communist Party, I. W. O.

Ralph Urban, section 1, Communist Party, and Y. C. L., chief steward at Packards.

Frank Petrakovich, alias Miller, is section organizer in the north Detroit section of the Communist Party, and was a representative for Communist Party activities.

Francis Puzio, Flint section organizer, goes under the alias of Walker.

Ike Greenberg, manager of Modern Book Store, goes under the name of Mason.

Marion Gilpin, Y. C. L. organizer, married to a city fireman by the name of Paul Elder.

Otto Grellman, I. W. O., and active in Chrysler Local No. 7.

State Senator Stanley Nowak. I met Nowak casually before he joined the Communist Party. In fact, he joined the Communist Party in 1935. I was present at his initiation at a banquet during which he was initiated by William Weinstone. He was subsequently associated with him in Communist Party activities in Detroit.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his present position?

Mr. NOWELL. His present position is State Senator from Michigan, in the Michigan State Legislature.

Nowak's wife was education director of section 1.

Emma Williams is the wife of Fred Williams, Chrysler unit.

Fred Williams is business agent for Local No. 208, U. A. W. A., C. I. O.

Denver Deynes, former financial secretary of Chrysler Local No. 7.

Neal Tucker is a member of Chrysler Local No. 7.

Mae Hampton, section 2, Communist Party. Her husband is a member of the W. P. A.

Enis Bateman, unit 1, section 2, a bakery worker.

Florian Kapata, Ford Dearborn unit, and is financial secretary of Ford Local U. A. W.

John Lee, a Negro, section No. 1.

Ray Burke, vice president, Local 212, Briggs, Detroit.

Russell Strelbitzky, section No. 2, tool and die worker.

Gus Buzan, section No. 2, Communist Party, unit No. 1, section No. 2. His real name is B. Gust.

Paul Daniel Gates, Chrysler unit, employed at Hudson Motor Co.

Adam Szymanski, unit No. 7, section No. 2.

Mac Cinzori, Ford Dearborn unit.

William McKie, organizer for Ford local, Communist Party organizer.

Maurice Sugar. I met him in the home of Bill Mullenbauer in 1921, and was active with Sugar, as I have stated before, in the I. L. D., as a member of the I. L. D. fraction and in the civic strikes

committee, the old Civic Rights Committee, before it was transformed into the Civic Rights Federation. I have worked in almost all of his political campaigns up to 1936, and have sat in party meetings with him and collaborated with him in the issuing of instructions to him and other members of the I. L. D., the lawyers' fraction of the Civic Rights Committee fraction.

Mr. STARNES. Speaking of the I. L. D., were you a member of it?

Mr. NOWELL. I was a member of the I. L. D.

Mr. STARNES. Speaking from your contact and experience with the organization, was it a communistically controlled or united-front organization, or was it the legal arm of the Communist Party as has been contended by certain witnesses?

Mr. NOWELL. The I. L. D. was a Communist Party controlled organization; not only Communist controlled, but it was set up in the old left section days, and it was identified directly with the Communist Party. Its officers perhaps, with only one exception, of the whole number of officers that is, city officers were Communists. That was true also nationally. I would just like to read some excerpts from the I. L. D. Faces the Future here in an article written by William L. Patterson, who was at the time the national secretary of the I. L. D. I will proceed with the names here later. This article was published in July 1934, in volume 13, No. 7, of the Communist. I will just read the most important points in the article:

To accomplish this destruction of the illusions of democracy and justice it must be clear that there must be coordination between the programs of the other class-struggle organizations of the working class and the program of the I. L. D. The party must, it is obvious, be the coordinating center.

Then he quotes here from some work, the name of which, and the source of which, is given at the bottom:

Its function is to unify the work of all the mass organizations, without exception, and to guide their activities toward a single end, that of the liberation of the proletariat. Unification and guidance are absolutely essential. There must be unity in the proletarian struggle.

Patterson here quotes and he does not give the source of his material.

Further:

The mass organization reacted more slowly to the struggle of winning the Negro masses, of transferring them from a reserve of forces for the American bourgeoisie, to a reserve force in the proletariat. In 1931 the I. L. D., under the guidance of the party, began in real earnest the struggle for the defense of the rights of the Negro people, with the *Scottsboro case*, and raised this struggle, under the leadership of the Comintern and the International Red Aid (I. R. A.), to the level of an international issue.

I do not think it is necessary to quote further to show the Communist character of the organization. However, in 1932, I was a delegate at the international conference of the International Red Aid, or M. O. P. R. in Moscow.

The American section is affiliated with M. O. P. R. That is the International Red Aid.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know that to be true yourself up to the latter part of 1936 when you ceased your activities?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You can definitely identify the I. L. D. up to that point?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; as a section of the International Red Aid.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that fact generally known among the active party membership?

Mr. NOWELL. It was.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it would certainly be known to the officials of the I. L. D., would it not?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. In fact, almost every secretary that I remember, since my beginning in the Communist Party, has been a Communist; both Peterson and Adain were leading members of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continue, please.

Mr. NOWELL. The Communist Party is set up in Detroit under the leadership of Rev. Mr. Bollens. A significant thing is that the committee is one of those transient and temporary front organizations designed to utilize an issue. The issue here is not for me to make comment on. That is the fact of the type of an organization that is being utilized to agitate around an issue.

This Rev. John Bollens, I met him after my return from Russia in 1929. We discussed at length, and he was sympathetic to the Communist Party, and an ardent admirer of what was taking place in Russia at that time. Later I had occasion to work with him on the Detroit Civil Rights Committee, and when it was transformed into the Civic Rights Federation—it went through different intermediary stages—and actually became a committee—I mean an organization, not a committee, before it became the Civic Rights Federation.

Rev. Mr. Bollens is also known to me as a practical Communist. He accepted instructions from the Communist Party. I participated in issuing those instructions, together with Earl Reno, who was at that time organization secretary. He is one of the front men of the Communist Party in Detroit.

Minard Newhouser, Chrysler unit No. 7. His divorced wife married R. J. Thomas, who is at present president of the U. A. W., C. I. O. international union.

Carl Deutsch, Dodge local, Communist Party member. I worked in the Dodge unit with him.

Earl Kaiser, W. P. A. superintendent, Communist, section No. 2, in 1938.

Lillian Galecki, employed as clerk in Unit 157.

Sylvia Alston, connected with the Civil Rights Federation. In fact, she is secretary—one of the secretaries—technical secretary, I believe, of the Civic Rights Federation.

Ed Williams, member of a fraction of the Negro congress. Worked with me in the organization of the local chapter of the American Negro Congress.

Lomis Williams, Communist organizer.

Paul Kirk, former head of the Communist Negro fraction in the U. A. W. A., and of the Negro suborganized committee of the U. A. W. A.

Merril Work, section organizer, Ferry Hall, organizer; I think that is section No. 1 of the Communist Party.

Ruben Mardiros, Ford unit, section 3, Ford local—C. I. O. local.

John Pengrazi, Briggs unit, Local 212.

Charles Clark, financial secretary of Briggs unit, Local 212.

Ray Cook, Local No. 7, Chrysler Union.

Don Kovich, Murray Body Unit, and member of the Murray Body local of the C. I. O.

James Jones, President Murray Local No. 2.

Robert Willis, court deputy under Wilcox, Labor's Non-Partisan League.

I should say here that Willis is a Communist, but he is one of the Communist-front men that have been used extensively, perhaps more effectively than some of the party members can be used, because it is not generally known that he is associating and accepting instructions from Communists.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know he is accepting such instruction?

Mr. NOWELL. I do. He worked in the U. A. W. as organizer. I do know he acted in concert with the Communist faction.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the significance of your saying that one man's divorced wife had married somebody else? Do you think that made those two men friendly with each other?

Mr. NOWELL. Not at all. That is not the significant point. The point here is the contact. I mean, that was not in my mind at all. The point is to show the contact and so on.

Mr. VOORHIS. But I wouldn't think that would be a good one.

Mr. NOWELL. I hope the committee sees the proper side of it. That is, what was meant by bringing that up. I admit there was no slander at all.

Robert Willis. I called his name.

John Seggie, section No. 2, Communist Party.

Elio Voisick, section No. 2, Communist Party.

George Graovac. His party name is Davis. He is in the Hudson local of the Hudson Communist Party Union.

Joseph Stone, section No. 2, Communist Party.

Joe Casper, has a barber shop on the corner of 9401 Mack Avenue; used to be the meeting place of the Communist Party. Casper was a party member in 1932, and president of the Chrysler Union, the local.

Adolph Nedela. His party name is Sunday. I have already given his name as Adolph Sunday. His real name is Nedela; his alias is Sunday.

William Allen: former organization secretary, Communist Party, recently candidate for common council in Detroit.

Stephanie Allen, his wife, is employed in the I. W. O. offices.

John Barron, member of the Lithuanian unit, also member of the Ford local.

Rifka Meisenberg, section organizer of what we called at the time the Ferry Hill section of the Communist Party.

Mitzi Meisenberg, Y. C. L., daughter of Rifka.

Michael Groessens, vice president, Local 212, member of the Briggs unit in 1938.

Mrs. Ruben Mardiros, section No. 2, works Universal Cooler.

Paul Brooks, recording secretary, Murray Body local.

Mike Zurrell, Ford unit.

Walter Cocker, Ford unit No. 1.

John Pirosko, Ford unit No. 1.

Canute Frankson, Negro section No. 1, Spanish Loyalist veteran. Returned from Spain about 6 or 8 months ago. Formerly located in Grand Rapids, Mich. Worked with me in the Negro Congress

prior to his going to Spain, and has written extensively on his Spanish exploits since he returned, in the colored papers.

Marion Noble, section No. 1. He is a Spanish Loyalist vet.

Mary Paige, Y. C. L., section No. 101.

Walter Kolowski, section No. 3. He has been deported. I was told by Communist sympathizers that he was given a banquet the other night. Kalowski is being deported.

Edith Segal. She was the wife of Lawrence Emory in 1935, head of the business group there, the John Reed Club, and active on a W. P. A. art project in Detroit, and up to the time that I left the Communist Party.

Sam Sweet, educational director in Local No. 155. I recruited Sweet to the Communist Party in 1933.

Mark Delentsky, an active Communist in the DeSoto local of U. A. W., C. I. O.

Matthew Konatz, financial secretary, Chrysler unit, or he was. He is one of those "beer-garden" revolutionists. He wants to overthrow the Government every time he gets a few bottles of beer.

Karl Dunning, former secretary I. O. D.

That makes the complete list.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Nowell, I would just like to know, did you compile that list from memory, or how did you make it up?

Mr. NOWELL. I compiled this list from my old papers. I went back through my old papers and compiled this, and on the basis of meeting these people in activities in which I was engaged up to recently, up to a few months ago.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean you had records that you had kept over the years?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely.

Mr. VOORHIS. That you still had in your possession?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely.

Mr. VOORHIS. And it was from those records you made up this list?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; a lot of these are made up from those records. Perhaps a few of these names were taken from my own knowledge. I mean the description of their activities taken from my own knowledge of their activities in the trade unions, U. A. W. and C. I. O. In fact, I was forced to work in the race relations division of the C. I. O. I met with a great many people of all types, that is, of all political shades, and so on, so I couldn't help but meet these people and know what they were doing, even where they go to party meetings. If one is interested, of course he could find out what they do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you sent to Russia during 1931, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. For what purpose?

Mr. NOWELL. I was sent as a student to the International Lenin University.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where is that located?

Mr. NOWELL. It is located in Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who sent you there?

Mr. NOWELL. The Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the United States?

Mr. NOWELL. Of the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. For how long did you remain there?

Mr. NOWELL. I remained there from September 1931 up to December 1932.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately 2 years?

Mr. NOWELL. Approximately 2 years; at least 18 months.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who paid your expenses, both your traveling expenses and your living expenses, while you were in Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. My traveling expenses were paid by the Central Committee of the Communist Party; my living expenses were paid by the Communist International and the Russian Government, while there in school.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were there other American students in the Lenin School or University in Moscow with you?

Mr. NOWELL. There were; approximately 30.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately 30?

Mr. NOWELL. Approximately 30 students.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Joseph Zack there at the same time you were a student?

Mr. NOWELL. No; Zack was not. I understand Zack had been there previously, but he wasn't there then. Some of the 1930 and 1931 students had departed; others remained for a second term. So if Zack was there——

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know it.

Mr. NOWELL. I didn't know him. He might have gone back before I arrived.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of the studies or instruction that you received in the Lenin University?

Mr. NOWELL. Our theoretical studies consisted of Marxian economics; Leninism, which is called philosophy there; trade-unionism, that is, trade-union strike strategy; labor history; the history of the two internationals; the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our other studies were military science. We studied how to dismantle the weapons of the leading countries, that is, their main weapons, such as rifles or machine guns and so on. I also studied secret service, codes. We studied strategy, beginning with the organization of a fraction—a shop fraction—clear up to the control of a trade-union, or mass organization, and developed the political parallel along with it. That is, the ideological development of the people under the influence of these fractions, and when a certain strategy applies at a certain time, and how to change that consequent upon the development of the political understanding of a person and lead him up to the higher stage, and eventually using all of these developments that we were going to consciously carry out, to make a revolution. So hence we studied the details of how to develop street fights. I mean, how to do barricade fighting, how to seize control of a city, the most strategic, economically and technically strategic points, and so on.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do they have textbooks on those things?

Mr. NOWELL. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Textbooks or any stuff that was given to you to read?

Mr. NOWELL. Only charts on this.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean, you didn't get to bring any of it back with you? You haven't any of it with you now?

Mr. NOWELL. No; it would not have been possible to come out with any of that sort of thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would they have let you bring it out of the country?

Mr. NOWELL. No; they wouldn't permit it. We studied the strategy of what we called the proletarian uprising. In other words, the science of civil warfare was developed down to its fine points. And a number of people were sent to the Red Army to secure further training in this respect.

Mr. WHITLEY. A number of American students?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. In fact, I spent some time in the Red Army myself, but I was just making a practical study of the Army, and doing international propaganda work; that is, lecturing and so on.

I was sent there for a while to make a practical study of the organization of the Army, the tactics, the methods, and so on, corresponding to the instructions we had been given. These studies we had been given by a Red Army commander who was an attaché from the Red Army to the Lenin University.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it made clear to the students in that university—that is, the American students—of which you were one, during those courses of instruction, the purpose for which they were being given?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely. The students were told, in being initiated to the school, that its purpose was to develop professional revolutionaries. That is, people who will spend all of their time in developing and leading for the Communist Party among the mass of the people. It was understood that—of course, this was understood before we went there—that the objective, the ultimate objective of the Communist Party was to overthrow the capitalist system of society, overthrow the Government and change the capitalist system of society. Most of us thought when we went in that it sounded all right; it had no terror for us. We thought it was all right at the time, until we went deeper into it and found out actually what the Communist Party was, and what such a thing would mean, the way they wanted to do it. So the students were aware. Those that were not told the purpose of the school, and those that perhaps did not understand through the number of explanations given, were given thorough instruction, and they left with a thorough knowledge of what was expected of them when they got back to the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the Soviet Government, through its Communist International, Comintern, financed the course of instruction for American citizens to train them how to overthrow the Government in this country?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that an accurate statement?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the Lenin University? Who controls it?

Mr. NOWELL. The Lenin University is controlled—I mean, its function, of course, is apparent from what I have just stated, but it is a section, and it is controlled by the Communist International, the Russian Communist Party, and, of course, the Russian Government. It is known to the outside world, if at all, as the school of the Com-

munist International. It is more than that. It is directly connected with the Red Professors' Institute, which supplies most of its instructors. That is the Institute of Red Professors in Moscow, one of the institutions of higher learning there, especially for high party functionaries in the academic world. They did supply, when I was there, most of the instructors in the various academic subjects in the school. So it is controlled jointly—and these are not separate at bottom—by the Communist International, the Russian Communist Party, a section of the Communist International, actually its head, and the Russian government, which means the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know what happened to any of the other people that were there when you were there? Do you know where any of them went, what they have done?

Mr. NOWELL. Morris Childs, who went under the alias of Summers there. I last heard of him, and according to newspaper reports, he is the district secretary of the Communist Party of Chicago; Beatrice Siskin, who was also there, is his educational director for that district. She worked under him as educational director. I understand she is now in Detroit, according to published materials. She is educational director in the Detroit district.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many people altogether do you suppose ever attended that school? Not alone in the years you were there but in other years?

Mr. NOWELL. I know people who went in 1929—I don't know how many. I know Harry Weeks went over in 1928 and remained—he is the man whose name I called here a while ago in connection with being a delegate to the Sixth World Congress, and later the editor of the Daily Worker. I know in 1930, the Y. C. L.—Young Communist League—secretary went from my district. I believe they would send more than just 1 person. I know in 1921 I went, along with 25 or 26 others; and, in 1934 and 1935, I know we sent students from the Detroit district to the International Lenin school at Moscow.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the fact that this group of students, American students, was being sent over to that university made public or announced?

Mr. NOWELL. No; this was strictly secret.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were any particular efforts made to surround the whole proceeding with secrecy?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. In fact, we were instructed upon the securing of passports, filling out the application for passports, to mention the fact that we were on a tour, taking in several countries, and not to state Russia specifically. This was to negative the idea that we were going to a particular country to remain there for some length of time. We also were guided by the delegates later. We were not to mingle on the boat, and everything was to be like a conspiracy—I mean, carried out in conspirator form. That precaution was kept up until we reached the Russian border, and then we could relax.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you obtain your own passport?

Mr. NOWELL. I did.

Mr. VOORHIS. In the regular way, I mean.

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; in the regular way.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mentioned a moment ago that Morris Childs was one of the group that studied with you in that university. Can you tell the committee anything further about his activities or connections over there?

Mr. NOWELL. The fact is that during my stay there and our studies in the Lenin school conflict arose, a political fight or political factionism arose among the students. The source of this might be interesting. It was a fact that most of the students had been deceived. They had illusions that the Communist Party was democratic. Here in the United States there was some possibility of getting away from strict discipline and the bureaucracy, but there we were living directly under the directorship of the Communist International itself, and the Russian Government. There you were being trained for leadership; you were being—steeled, they call it—tested. If you showed any independence of thought, any individuality, or any individualism, it was a bad sign. You must conform absolutely, be a good stooge, and just refuse to think, and accept without question. So a lot of us just didn't understand this sort of thing. We questioned not only certain theoretical problems and solutions offered, but we also questioned this procedure, this undemocratic and dictatorial means of handling people. This was the main issue, as well as its counterpart, a part that was taking on momentum throughout Russia, and throughout the Communist International at the time. It was the beginning of the purges, and the Russian dictatorship was becoming vicious and we felt it. So during this political purge that was directed against a number of us—political persecution; we were not exactly purged for the time being—but all sorts of force was used against us to whip us into line. There is where Childs loomed up as a prominent figure in the international Communist school. I had six students who had stayed over from the previous term tell me of his activities in the previous year; that he was intimately—and it sounded fantastic to me at the time—that he was intimately connected with the OGPU; he together with Beatrice Siskin and Means, a professor of philosophy in the International Lenin School, and these people acted for the American Commission and the English-speaking group, and in connection with the OGPU to keep the students under control. That is to weed out all those people who asked questions, and so on, and who appeared to be discontented. So throughout my dealings with him during that bitter factional fight, I found that Childs was a direct representative of the OGPU. He was an associate and informed to, and was informed by, it; and, with the notorious Yataschenko, he was reputed to have discovered the engineers' sabotage plot in 1929.

Yataschenko, with his aides, was an attaché from the OGPU and the Red Army in the International Lenin School. He, together with his aides, was attached to several of us—not because we were suspected of doing anything like sabotage, but the idea was to provoke, that is, to make us feel miserable, to sort of dog our steps, keep on our trail until we broke down under the thing. They had the OGPU and certain of the unofficial OGPU organized to do that very thing to disloyal Communists, or those reputedly disloyal. That is, those of us who were sort of revolting against the type of discipline used in ministering to us. Childs was the leader of that; he and Means and Yateschenko were the three big fellows that executed the plans of the OGPU in regard to punishing and making miserable people who were in political

disagreement, and they made a good job of it. That is how I found Childs to be connected with the Ogpu.

Mr. STARNES. In the school you attended, you stated, they taught you revolutionary methods, and that some of you were trained in the Russian Army. Will you get down to detail as to what type of training was given you? Was it strictly military training or specialized training of some sort in the use of certain weapons and certain tactics?

Mr. NOWELL. We were given regular military training. That is, we studied military science, strategy, such as is general in almost all countries. The strategy is pretty much the same, except in countries of different geographical situations, and so on. We had target practice and all that. Then we were taught what is called partisan warfare, the science of civil warfare, revolutionary uprising. It is not done legitimately and openly. You don't march in brigades and fight like armies that are meeting each other.

Mr. STARNES. I want you to bring out that factor.

Mr. NOWELL. The conspiratory type of warfare. It is related to the boring-in process, street fighting, and how to mobile in blocks, the blocks in a city, the workers in a plant; how to develop a general strike out of a local strike; how to develop a general strike into a city uprising, a city uprising into a national uprising, coordinating all these different uprisings. Then how to lead this thing, once it is raised, once these men are on the warpath, how to direct them. Then we come to something like open warfare. We break these people down into groups; we make armies on the basis of the immediate emergency of the moment, or whatever the situation may be. We were given to know that in a revolutionary situation you cannot follow out mechanically any particular plan, only your objective. It is a tense situation. Therefore a party having an organization, with its fingers on everything—every portion of the city and its population, that it can depend on—is prepared to direct all its forces in the way they should be.

Mr. STARNES. Were you taught to concentrate particularly on utilities and munitions plants, or anything to that effect?

Mr. NOWELL. The food supply, the warehouses, the utilities, that is water and lights, gas, and all those things; the communications, that is the railways entering the city, the streetcar service, telephone service, and telegraph; and all those things.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, that is communications. You were talking figuratively a few moments ago when you mentioned "utilities".

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were you given any instructions in sabotage?

Mr. NOWELL. Sabotage; how to wreck trains, at this point closing down factories, facilitating discontent to raise the mob spirit in order to get the men on the go, and various other acts of sabotage, which of course could be attempted on a moment's notice. Also the general method of derailing a train and destroying its cargo. I mean, if it is going to be available for the enemy, just put it full speed ahead when you know there is another train coming head-on, and just step aside.

Mr. STARNES. What about the question of military intelligence, or what we call here spies, espionage? Was any instruction given you in that?

Mr. NOWELL. We were given instruction in code, how to decipher codes, and shown the possibilities of working out our own code, and an elaborate system of securing information that under legal conditions is not unusual. It is the Communist routine of finding out what is the grievance of a man employed in a particular plant, what are his family problems. I mean, what is his level of understanding, what are his weaknesses, what are his strong points, keep up with him, keep a regular history of his activities, his developments, and so on. All this is available for our organizational department, and for the various section and unit organizational work. This is a form of conspiracy, it is a form of spying on people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they give you any instruction with reference to traveling on illegal or false passports?

Mr. NOWELL. They didn't give that openly. That is a problem of the organizational department of the Comintern. They rarely do that, unless one happens to need such a passport.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it was not a part of the general instruction?

Mr. NOWELL. No; it was not a part of the general instruction.

Mr. WHITLEY. They only do that in specific instances where occasion arises when they want to make use of a false passport.

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet any other OGPU operatives while you were at the Lenin school? Did you talk with any others?

Mr. NOWELL. Beatrice Siskin, who was associated with Mrs. Browder, the wife of Earl Browder, was also active and connected with the OGPU, and with Mrs. Browder, who received reports from her to our knowledge, and kept check on the discontented students in the school and the general situation in the school.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you meet Mrs. Browder at that time?

Mr. NOWELL. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was she introduced to you as Mrs. Browder?

Mr. NOWELL. She was.

Mr. WHITLEY. And is she the present Mrs. Browder?

Mr. NOWELL. I understand she is. I haven't met her since.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was what year?

Mr. NOWELL. This was 1932 that I met Mrs. Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at that time to your personal knowledge she was connected with the OGPU in Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know when she came to this country?

Mr. NOWELL. I read that she came in 1933.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know that of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. NOWELL. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what her maiden name was?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just met her as Mrs. Browder?

Mr. NOWELL. I just met her as Mrs. Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is there anything more with reference to the activity of Morris Childs while you were at the school? Did you have any trouble, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, of course, there are a great many other activities that Childs engaged in, but I believe the more essential points have been covered.

Mr. MASON. Where is Morris Childs now?

Mr. WHITLEY. He is at present in the Chicago district, I believe a district organizer. He has some official position with the Chicago district.

Mr. STARNES. When you were with the party and connected with its activities, and able to direct its activities, in connection with and in addition to the national program, did you have a regional program you worked on that was particularly adapted to certain regions or sections of the country?

Mr. NOWELL. We did; and we had an organizational set-up, subdivisions of the party organization that made the national set-up adaptable to particular industries more especially. The major distribution in the organization set-up was upon a straight unit, and the shop unit. The shop unit works somewhat conspiratorily, especially under conditions of—

Mr. STARNES. That applied particularly or peculiarly to industrial regions?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; industrial regions.

Mr. STARNES. Have they rural regions?

Mr. NOWELL. For the rural regions we utilized the form of the Agricultural Workers' Union, the Share Croppers' Union, and among the colored people of the South we organized the first American Negro Labor Congress. That was turned over to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and lately, of course, as I testified this morning, this form was eventually changed and the National Negro Congress was set up in place of all of these.

Mr. STARNES. It supplanted or replaced all of these other organizations that had preceded it?

Mr. NOWELL. It did.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you testify that you helped to organize the National Negro Congress?

Mr. NOWELL. I did; the Detroit chapter.

Mr. VOORHIS. Not the national?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, no.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean the Detroit chapter of it.

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. Why I say I participated in the organization of it, there is hardly a distinction. The local chapter, of course, organizationally is no different, only, of course, it is not the central organization. I mean I worked together with the national secretary of the congress in the establishment of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you ever one of its officers?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I never was.

Mr. STARNES. Would it be a correct statement to say this: That the chief work of the party in the South was directed mainly toward the Negro problem and the sharecropper—efforts to organize them and use them for party purposes? Would that be a correct statement?

Mr. NOWELL. That is so. The major emphasis of the Communist Party, at least up to the time of 1934, was on organizing the Negroes of the South, and it did continue stressing that point up to the time

that the policy began to change. They also emphasized the organization of the white sharecroppers, and more and more emphasis was placed on organizing the industrial workers of the South.

Mr. STARNES. Having particular attention to the textile industry, I presume?

Mr. NOWELL. The textile industry, the masses, and so on.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name for the committee some of the organizers and some of the leaders who were sent to the South to work either under their party names, or as direct agents of the party, or through other organizations?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, in 1930, after the seventh national convention, Tom Johnson was placed in charge of the work in the South. Subsequently Herbert Newton was sent there. Mary Dalton was sent to the South, and a young colored fellow who died in Russia. I mean was reported to have died. I met him. I don't recall his name. He worked there in 1929 and through the major portion of 1930, at least up to the 1930 convention in New York. And another organizer was sent in there prior to Johnson. A large number of organizers have been sent in. I don't recall all of their names. But we have received reports that a large number of organizers were being sent to the South to carry out the program of the seventh convention of the Communist Party. And of course reports came in subsequently. For example, Max Salzman was sent down into the St. Louis territory in 1935.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who ever was sent into the Memphis or Arkansas and Mississippi area? Do you know of anybody, men or women, who were sent down there?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I don't believe I do.

Mr. STARNES. What special work or activity was given particular attention to by the party on the west coast or in the middle western area?

Mr. NOWELL. The maritime workers.

Mr. STARNES. The maritime workers?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of anybody in the Detroit area who went out to the west coast area to engage in organization activities or to assist in any way?

Mr. NOWELL. No; I don't know of anyone sent there. I do know that Bud Reynolds was sent from Detroit in 1932 or 1933 to the West to work with the farmers' organizations. I don't believe he was assigned to the Maritime Union. I do know that Mr. Docey, whom I have known since 1930, perhaps 1929, was quite active in the maritime work out there. He was formerly district organizer of the California district.

Mr. MASON. You mention and identified a John Davis a while ago, did you not?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. MASON. John Davis?

Mr. NOWELL. John P. Davis?

Mr. MASON. What contact did you have with John P. Davis, directly?

Mr. NOWELL. Directly? Davis and I, as a part of the national and the local fraction—that is, I was a member of the local fraction, Davis

a member of the national fraction—worked together in the establishment of the local Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress.

Mr. MASON. You worked with him in establishing that local chapter?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely. In fact, we had received instructions from the central office of the Communist Party to begin to organize the Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress. Davis was to be sent along later to consolidate, and not to be known as a Communist. Our job was to get certain things done, and Davis was to come along and contact liberals and so on, and get them all together. The fraction would be a driving force, of course, and the chapter would be organized, and it would be a good front.

Mr. MASON. Over what period of time would you say you had direct contact with this John P. Davis?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, it wasn't more than a week, I believe, that Davis was there. We worked together. I communicated with him and heard indirectly from him through the district office of the party. I had been removed as a means of political discipline at that time and was doing what is called mass work or fraction work.

Mr. MASON. Then you would say you had direct personal contact with him every week or two over a period of 3 months, or 6 months, or over what period?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, no direct contact. The only thing is, we gave our reports on the development of the congress to the district committee. Davis would then have to get those reports through the national fraction.

Mr. MASON. He came there and tried to tie up and capitalize upon the work that you had been doing?

Mr. NOWELL. No. We received communications from the Central Committee of the Communist Party to establish a branch of the National Negro Congress.

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. NOWELL. William Weinstone, who was district secretary of the Communist Party, handed over the letter to me. I was head of the city fraction, that Negro fraction, organized the work in colored organizations. So we began to work, Ed Williams and myself, Lyonie Williams, Paul Kirk, and several others. We organized a good big fraction, and when we had the ground prepared, it was understood through the local fraction and the national fraction that Davis would be sent in, and he was sent in. And, of course, we had contacted people, other party people, and when the ground was prepared Davis was sent in, of course, to speak to them and to officially set up the chapter.

Mr. MASON. You met Davis when he was sent in, personally?

Mr. NOWELL. I did.

Mr. MASON. And explained to him the work that you had been doing as preparatory?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely.

Mr. MASON. So that he would know it?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; we worked together as members of the same Communist fraction.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you knew him and met him personally?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Nowell, while you were attending the Lenin school in Moscow, did you meet or work with any leaders of the Communist Party who were in Moscow at that time?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes, I did. I met Clarence Hathaway, who was a representative from the American Communist Party to the Communist International at that time; Amy Schecter, who had gone there with the Gastonia prisoners. She had served as one of the minor officers of the Comintern. I met Andrew Overguard, who was a representative from the Communist-controlled labor unions in the United States to the Red International of United States in Moscow. I met James Ford, who at that time was head of the International Negro Trade Committee in Hamburg; Otto Housewood, who was a Negro representative from the American trade-unions to the Red International of Trade Unions; and George Pedmone, who was at that time a Communist, who subsequently resigned. He was also, a portion of that time, a representative of the Red International of Trade Unions, and I met Bill Gerhardt. I met Earl Browder.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was Earl Browder's mission in Moscow at the time you were there?

Mr. NOWELL. Browder was sent up by the Communist International to attempt to straighten out this factional situation that had developed among the students.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the school, which you have already described?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes. That was the reason for Browder being there. Of course, during his stay there he delivered several lectures to the students. One of his main reports to the students is published in his book, *Communism in America*. I think the title of it is just that. A report to American students. This speech, of course, has been abridged and the worst aspects of it have been taken out, and it appears respectable now, but it was a vicious castigation of those politically recalcitrant people whom Browder had been called there to put into line. He also delivered his report in our presence before the American commission of the Communist International on the political situation in the United States.

Mr. WHITLEY. He made a report to the Communist International on the political situation in the United States?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; from the political bureau of the Communist Party of America.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does the Communist Party of the United States maintain representatives to the Communist International in Moscow, Mr. Nowell, or did it?

Mr. NOWELL. Up to the time that I left the Communist Party it was the policy to maintain a representative from the Central Committee to the Communist International.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any such representatives who have been sent from the American party to the Comintern?

Mr. NOWELL. I met Clarence Hathaway there, after he was withdrawn; Joe Peters, who later became organizational secretary of the National Communist Party of the United States—no, Robert Minor was sent next. He served for about 3 or 4 months. He was withdrawn and Joe Peters was sent in, and he served there for several months and I believe I left Peters there as American representative to the Comintern.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether it is also the policy for the Comintern to send representatives to the United States?

Mr. NOWELL. It is the policy, but it is rarely carried out. However, I do know, in 1930 I met, at least a man was introduced as Mr. Williams at the 1930 convention in New York—he was introduced as a representative from the Communist International to the American Communist Party and to the convention. He brought greetings from the Russian Communist Party and from the Communist International. In 1931 I had occasion to meet Mr. Williams in Moscow. He was then located in the Comintern there. Also, I met in Moscow a Mr. Gerhardt, who was from the German Communist Party. He was a German by birth. He was a representative from the German Communist Party, but in recent years he had been interested in and had been working on American problems, so he worked with the American commission of the Communist International. He traveled throughout America in 1933 and a portion of 1934. I believe I met him in 1933. As a representative of the Comintern he traveled under the alias of Edwards.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you return to the United States after taking this course of instruction in Moscow, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I returned to the United States about December 1932.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you stop en route, or did you come directly back?

Mr. NOWELL. I stopped over for several days in Germany, traveling through. I had occasion to meet a few people that I knew there, that I had met in Russia, to study the situation there a little bit. Then we proceeded to Bremen and boarded a ship for home.

Mr. WHITLEY. Whom did you contact upon your return to the United States, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. I contacted Earl Browder. Of course I met Ira Heywood, who had accompanied Earl Browder in Moscow during the students' revolt, and, by the way, Jack Stachel also accompanied Browder on this mission of quelling this revolt. Those are the two people that I interviewed, or that interviewed me, after I returned, gave me my instructions what to do, where to go.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you make a report to Mr. Browder?

Mr. NOWELL. Somewhat of a report, a short report. I for the most part received instructions. Little had transpired in the few months that had elapsed since Browder was there, so we talked pretty generally, and he urged me to try to see the point of the leadership, go back to Detroit and to assist the leadership there.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what duties were you assigned by the party after your return from Moscow from your training course there?

Mr. NOWELL. I was assigned to educational work. I was made the director of education of the Detroit district.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the purpose of that so you could hand on to other members in the workers' schools in this country the training you had received in Moscow?

Mr. NOWELL. That was the purpose. Browder explained to me that I was best fitted to teach. He urged me to do so, and to go to Detroit and take over the department of education.

Mr. WHITLEY. And what courses did you teach in your educational work in the party at Detroit?

Mr. NOWELL. We taught almost the same subjects that we were taught in Russia; that is, trade-unionism, trade-union strike strategy, Leninism-Marxian economics and party organization, and other subjects designed to attract people who were not politically interested, such as the Russian language, English for foreign-born workers, lectures on health and hygiene, and so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many persons did you train there in the schools in Detroit during the period you were educational director?

Mr. NOWELL. We trained about 300.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did they in turn become leaders, or were they assigned to strategic positions in various organizations?

Mr. NOWELL. They were. In fact, some of these names that I have read off were our students, and some were sent from mass organizations. They already had their assignments. Most of them were given assignments after they were trained. Of course, I have not been able to keep in contact with all of them. I just don't know where they all are. But some were given important posts in the sections of the Communist Party, some given posts in the fractions of mass organizations, but all were placed strategically.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you continue your position as educational director?

Mr. NOWELL. I continued it up to the eighth convention in 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was the district organizer for district No. 7 at that time, Mr. Nowell?

Mr. NOWELL. In the beginning John Schmies was district organizer; that is, in 1932 and 1933. At the eighth convention he was removed and William Weinstone was sent in as district organizer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you a delegate to the eighth convention which was held in Cleveland?

Mr. NOWELL. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you in disagreement with the party at that time?

Mr. NOWELL. I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. According to your own experience over a period of 7 or 8 years, as an active leader in the party, is it your experience and observation that the Communist Party is a democratically controlled organization?

Mr. NOWELL. No; it is not a democratically controlled organization. In fact, it was through my experience, more perhaps than through the theoretical seasoning that I just revolted against the methods used by the Communist Party. You have a system, not only an organizational system—that is, here is the leadership here that is considered immaculate. I mean, its interests, its position; it stands above everyone else. It is absolute, and divine, almost. And, of course, below this is the hierarchy of lesser people, an aggregation of lesser people down through the rank and file of membership, and below them, of course, is the mass of people. So the system of psychology is just the other way around. First, this mass of people is considered to be not only ignorant and backward, but incapable of ever becoming enlightened as a whole. Therefore they are always going to need some sort of paternity over them, superimposed over them. They are always going to have to have someone to tell them what to do and to lead them. Therefore, I found among some Communists, among a great many,

among most of the leadership, a conception of exploiting not only—I wouldn't always call it ignorance—I would say the honesty and naiveness of a lot of people, most all of the people, whom they can deceive by spreading confusion, using deceptive methods, duplicity, double-crossing, and misleading in various ways. In other words, the whole conception is one of confusion. The more confusion you can create, that is, if you can confuse the herd and stampede it, you can lead it where you want to. Therefore the ideological methods, the intellectual strategy, if you can call it that, the methods of psychology employed, correspond to the organizational set-up of the party and of this network I just mentioned. On going into this I found they had theoretical justification for it. First I thought it was just bad people, that these were corrupt and that maybe there were some good people further up. So I kept on until I dug down to the bottom—or to the top—and I found it in the very system itself, found that not only was it the religious element, but more basically it was at the very bottom of the party leadership itself and its theory of dictatorship of the proletariat, which, of course, does not mean that ever would they stand for a majority, for a democratic process like majority rule. I mean this is a smoke screen behind which there hides the ruthless dictatorship of a little clique of people.

The relationship of the proletariat, if one wanted to go into the whole theory—I mean the logic of it—can only lead to a dictatorship by a few party leaders. They know that. Therefore they find themselves in a situation where, to carry out what they want carried out, where for historical reasons they were unable to do it. Primarily I believe it is because of the wrongness of their theories, the theoretical conception of their system. They are in a vicious circle. Therefore they are forced more and more to become more and more dictatorial and to liquidate the elements of discontent that rise up. In Russia, of course, they do it with a firing squad. Here they do it through excommunication, through expulsion, and so on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Character assassination?

Mr. NOWELL. Character assassination, rumor mongering and all those sorts of methods. Those are OGPU methods, methods designed to not let any past member survive.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, it is fantastic to think that anybody would follow that group if they knew its real purpose, but they gain their adherents because of the fact that there is so much ignorance and poverty and so much maldistribution of earthly possessions, if you want to call it that, among the people. Isn't that true? Isn't that the basis of the doctrine on which they attempt to start communism and thrive and grow upon the promise of a better economic existence for them?

Mr. NOWELL. That is true; yes. They theorize and attempt to carry out practically the theory of the class struggle.

Mr. STARNES. Wherever they can find a discontented class, or wherever they can find poverty, they seek to thrive on it?

Mr. NOWELL. I should say more than that. Wherever they find a biased outlook. There are thousands of honest problems confronted by thousands of people every day. Those problems should be solved. I feel they will be. The bad feature of their method is to take the honesty, the naiveness, of the persons exploited, and place

them in a position where he has to run into a problem which otherwise he might solve or avoid. They consciously create problems through sabotage, attempt to superimpose a method that will prove the theory true, that the conflict between classes is irreconcilable and cannot be solved this side of revolution, seeing that a method is employed that will not solve the problem. This is the bad aspect. It is the decadent and reactionary aspect of the whole process that leads people to revolt against it, and get accused and kicked out, or what have you.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't think so. I suppose the reasons you have just given are the major reasons you left the Communist Party. Would that be right?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; that is why I left the Communist Party. I found it to be not only undemocratic and not progressive, but on the contrary to represent the decadence that grows out of post-war European conditions, especially those characteristic of Russia.

Mr. VOORHIS. What you found was that a progressive solution of the problem could not very well be carried on under those circumstances, with the attempted application of these hard and fast dogmatic ideas; is that right?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just one other question; were you employed by the Ford Motor Co. all the time while you were a member of the party?

Mr. NOWELL. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you dismissed because you were a member of the party or did you quit?

Mr. NOWELL. I don't know that. I left the Ford Motor Co. in 1929 to go as a delegate to Russia. I came back and went back to work, and I worked there until the depression came and about 40,000 people were laid off. In 1931 I went to Russia and never attempted to go back.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you are working there now?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What department do you work in?

Mr. NOWELL. I work in 131, I believe it is, as a punch-press operator.

Mr. VOORHIS. I used to work in the Ford plant myself. I can understand some of the problems that are faced by the people there.

Mr. STARNES. One other question I want to ask: You stated a moment ago you stopped over in Germany on your way back, in 1932, and made a check on conditions there. Just what did you mean by that statement?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, I did it on my own accord. However, I did meet some of the German students that had returned ahead of me and several others that I had met. I mean delegates, and so on, whose addresses I had, that I had met in 1929, and I was interested in what the conditions were because we had been in disagreement about the situation in Germany, and that entered into the conflict in Moscow.

Mr. VOORHIS. At that time there was a considerable communistic spirit or sentiment in Germany?

Mr. NOWELL. There was.

Mr. STARNES. And a considerable movement of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWELL. There was.

Mr. STARNES. And I presume you stopped and talked with those people about the situation?

Mr. NOWELL. I did.

Mr. STARNES. And how communism carried on its program in Germany?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely.

Mr. STARNES. You stated a moment ago that the party paid your expenses to this school?

Mr. NOWELL. It did.

Mr. STARNES. Insofar as you know, did it pay the expenses of all the students who attended the school?

Mr. NOWELL. It was reported to me that it did. It is the policy of the Central Committee. It is stated in the communication when you are sent that the Central Committee will bear all expenses.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Mason, do you have any questions?

Mr. MASON. Just one or two. You quit the Communist Party because you became disillusioned after coming in contact with their methods of trying to bring about certain conditions?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Since your disillusionment and since you quit the party, what is now your theory of solving the problems that ought to be solved, if you have any?

Mr. NOWELL. Well, it is true that I am sort of taking stock of myself and of my own ideas. I am reevaluating things a bit. I do know this: That there must be a progressive and democratic solution of social problems. I mean by that the economic and political problems that confront the people. I mean there must be not too many hitches in it. I believe that the reason subversive movements have found a fertile soil for growth is that democracy has been too slow in some instances to adapt itself to change and to take the lead in correcting certain social evils, thereby allowing subversive groups to exploit these problems of the people.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, those of us who should be responsible for solving these problems in a democratic way have not proceeded with our jobs in a rapid enough way?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. But I would like to ask if the democratic way is not always an evolutionary and a slow way, and when we get out of patience with the slowness of bringing these things about, then we say we must change them overnight and the revolutionary way has taken its place. Isn't that almost an accepted fact—that the democratic way is a slow evolutionary way?

Mr. NOWELL. Yes; it is an evolutionary way; sometimes a little faster than others, but it is an evolutionary process.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, the tempo is not always the same, but it is constant growth and progress?

Mr. NOWELL. Surely.

Mr. MASON. You have shown a great deal of intelligence in your statement concerning your attempt to get at a proper solution of these problems and about your finally becoming disillusioned so far as the methods of the Communists are concerned. Now you say you are taking stock. I think there are a great many people who, if they are sincere in their efforts to bring about better conditions and solve some

of the troubles of democratic countries, should find it time to take stock; and when we do take stock we must find that revolutionary methods are not the methods that will solve our problems in a democratic country.

Mr. NOWELL. That is true.

Mr. STARNES. I am afraid we have wandered a little but—I don't know that we have wandered either. This is the crux of the situation.

Mr. MASON. I say we haven't wandered. I say this: If the Dies committee is continued, then it should work toward a constructive solution of these problems; that after uncovering these things, if we leave it go at that, we have not completed the job.

Mr. STARNES. You are right.

Mr. MASON. And we must find a constructive solution and attempt to bring it about, perhaps a little more rapidly.

Mr. STARNES. There is nobody who will quarrel with you on that.

Mr. VOORHIS. That constructive solution is the real answer.

Mr. STARNES. Well, nobody will quarrel with you on that. But I didn't want to go too far. At the present time we are in the investigating stage. That is the point I wanted to bring out.

Who is your next witness, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. William Hinckley.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM W. HINCKLEY, FORMER EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

(The witness was duly sworn.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, if I could have the assistance of Mr. McMichael and Mr. Cadden.

Mr. STARNES. If you will identify them for the record.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I was formerly chairman of the American Youth Congress, until July of this year. Mr. McMichael is chairman of the American Youth Congress at present, and Mr. Cadden is executive secretary of the American Youth Congress and has been executive secretary for the past 2 years.

Mr. STARNES. Later on they can furnish the reporter with their full names. Proceed with the examination.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. HINCKLEY. William W. Hinckley.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present address?

Mr. HINCKLEY. 548 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where were you born?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Winton, S. Dak.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you born?

Mr. HINCKLEY. March 20, 1910.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present occupation?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I am at present doing some research in preparation for a book about youth.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you been active in the field of youth work?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I was executive secretary of the American Youth Congress for a few months late in the year 1936, and elected its chairman in January of 1936. The executive secretary year was 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you held any other executive positions with the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. None.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were the executive secretary for the year 1936?

Mr. HINCKLEY. For a few months, yes; from July 1935 to January 1936. From January 1936 I was chairman.

Mr. WHITLEY. For that one year?

Mr. HINCKLEY. No; continuing up until July of this year.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, from July 1936 until July 1939 you were chairman of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. January 1936 to July 1939.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, will you describe for the committee when the American Youth Congress was organized, the date, and the individuals or organizations or groups that took part in its organization?

Mr. HINCKLEY. That was before my connection with the Youth Congress. From information which I received from Miss Viola Ilma, who was the original organizer of the first American Youth Congress, held in 1934 at New York University, I understand that a group of her friends were primarily concerned with the calling together of a representative gathering of young people from as many organizations of young people as they could reach. New York University was the birthplace of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that first meeting, or the organization meeting, took place at New York University?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In 1934?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes; in 1934.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your first connection with the organization, you say, was in 1935, and then continuing from 1936 you were chairman?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what individuals or groups participated in the organization meeting of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have those records and I could refer to them. If I had been given a little bit more notice of my opportunity to appear here and answer some of the criticisms that have been made of the American Youth Congress before the committee, I would have had them here. I am sorry I haven't those documents with me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't have the record showing what organizations or groups participated?

Mr. HINCKLEY. In the first congress. I haven't them.

Mr. STARNES. Can you supply that for the record?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I can.

Mr. STARNES. If you can, we would be happy to include them with your statement. Go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe to the committee, in general at least, the nature or type of groups that participated in this organization meeting?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Miss Viola Ilma and her group invited representatives from national youth organizations that reached all the way from the Boy Scouts to the Young Communist League. She invited every

youth organization that could possibly be reached. I don't have the list with me. I am sorry.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you will supply a list of the participating groups for the record later?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I shall be glad to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know who the officers of the organization—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). I understand you have been ill, but could you speak just a bit louder?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes; I will be glad to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know who the officers were who were elected at the convention, Mr. Hinckley?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I am sorry, I don't know all of them. I know Mr. Waldo MacNutt was elected the chairman to continue.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall any of the others?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Miss Elizabeth Scott was the secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. What organization did Mr. Waldo McNutt represent?

Mr. HINCKLEY. He represented the Y. M. C. A. of the Rocky Mountain region; the student Y. M. C. A., Rocky Mountain region.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what organization or group Miss Elizabeth Scott represented?

Mr. HINCKLEY. St. James Presbyterian Church, New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Again we realize you don't have the record with you, but do you know approximately how many groups participated in the organization meeting?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Approximately 70.

Mr. WHITLEY. Seventy.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Existing youth organizations which got together at that meeting—

Mr. HINCKLEY. New York University meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. To set up a congress.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, does the American Youth Congress have an executive or national committee or controlling body?

Mr. HINCKLEY. It does. It has a cabinet. I shall be very glad to provide you with the names of the officers of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean the present officers?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you will read those into the record.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The present officers and, of course, the cabinet.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Jack McMichael, who sits at my right, is chairman, and he represents the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, which is the combined agency of the student Y. M. C. A. and student Y. W. C. A. in the country.

Mr. J. Carrel Morris, who is chairman of the Christian Youth Council of North America, is a vice chairman.

Mr. James B. Carey, president, United Electric, Radio and Machine Workers of America, is a vice chairman.

Miss Mary Jeanne McKay, National Student Federation of America, is a vice chairman.

Miss Louise Meyerovitz, an officer of Young Judea, is a vice chairman.

Edward E. Strong, National Negro Congress, youth section, is a vice chairman.

James V. Krakora, of the Czechoslovak Society of America, is a vice chairman.

There is to be a representative of the farm youth groups to be chosen later as a vice chairman.

The regional representatives of the American Youth Congress are:

New England: Alexander Karanikas, Massachusetts Youth Congress.

Middle Atlantic area: Michael Gravino, New York State Youth Council.

East Central: Myrtle Powell, Pittsburgh Y. W. C. A.

South: Thelma Dale, Southern Negro Youth Congress; and Miss Jimmy Woodward, Y. W. C. A. Randolph-Macon College.

Southwest: Wynard Norman, Oklahoma City Youth Assembly.

West Central: Harlan Crippen, Minnesota Youth Assembly.

West coast and Rocky Mountain: Clara Walldow, California Youth Legislature.

Puerto Rico: Miss Julia Rivera.

The treasurer of the American Youth Congress is Miss Harriet Pickens, of the business and professional council, Y. W. C. A.

The executive secretary is Mr. Joseph Cadden.

Representatives at large on the cabinet are Clarence Carter, Connecticut Conference of Youth; Daniel J. Spooner, Young Peoples League of the United Synagogue of America; Howard Ennes, Washington, D. C. Youth Council; Joseph Lash, American Student Union; Margaret Day, National Federation of Settlements; Josiah R. Bartlett, social action committee, Union Theological Seminary; Miss Rose Troiano, industrial council, Y. W. C. A. A representative of the A. F. of L. unions is to be named later. The administrative secretary of the American Youth Council is Miss Frances M. Williams, and the legislative director is Mr. Abbott Simon.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe for the committee the type of organization? In other words, is the American Youth Congress a membership organization, or is it made up of a group of affiliated bodies?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The American Youth Congress is made up of a group of cooperative agencies, cooperative organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does it have any individual membership at all?

Mr. HINCKLEY. It has no individual membership at all, and I would like to submit a list of the national organizations that have participated in cooperation with the American Youth Congress recently.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

Mr. HINCKLEY. They are:

American Baptist Publication Society.

American Jewish Congress, Youth Division.

American Law Students Association.

American League for Peace and Democracy.

American Social Hygiene Association.

American Student Union.

American-Ukrainian Youth Association.

American Youth Hostel Association.

Armenian Youth of America.

Association of Lithuanian Workers.

Association of Medical Students.
 Campaign for World Government.
 Canadian Youth Congress, a fraternal organization.
 Christian Youth Council of North America.
 Cooperative League of the United States.
 Czechoslovak Society of America.
 Esperanto Association of North America.
 Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.
 Gas, By-Product, Coke and Chemical Workers.
 International Fur Workers' Union.
 International Student Service.
 International Workers Order, Youth Section.
 Junior Hadassah.
 League of Nations Association, Youth Section.
 National Association of Deans of Women.
 National Council of Jewish Juniors.
 National Council of Methodist Youth.
 National Federation of Settlements.
 National Intercollegiate Christian Council.
 National Negro Congress.
 National Student Federation of America.
 Non-Partisan Lobby for Economic and Democratic Rights.
 Order of Railway Telegraphers.
 Packing House Workers Organizing Committee.
 Servants of Christ the King.
 Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, Youth Division.
 Student Peace Service.
 Student Volunteer Movement.
 United Automobile Workers of America.
 United Czechoslovak-American Youth.
 United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.
 United Furniture Workers of America.
 United Office and Professional Workers of America.
 Young Communist League.
 Young Judea.
 Young Peoples League of the United Synagogues of America.
 Young Peoples Religious Union.
 Young Peoples Socialist League.
 Youth Committee Against War.
 Young Women's Christian Association, Industrial Council, and the Business and Professional Council.

There are various representatives of local branches of other national organizations which participated in our congress in July, including:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
 American Communications Association.
 American Federation of Teachers.
 Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.
 Chinese Student League.
 Christian Endeavor Union.
 Croatian Fraternal Union.
 Disciples of Christ.
 Evangelical and Reformed Church, Young People's Federation.
 4-H Clubs.
 German-American Youth Association.
 Girl Reserves.
 Girl Scouts of America.
 Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.
 Journeymen Tailors Union.
 Labor's Non-Partisan League.
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
 National Maritime Union.
 Navy Yard Apprentice Association.
 Newspaper Guild.
 Pilgrim Fellowship.

Pocketbook Workers Union.
 Polish-American Youth League.
 Rainbow Girls.
 Religion and Labor Foundation.
 Retail Employees of America.
 Southern Negro Youth Congress.
 State, County, and Municipal Workers of America.
 United American Artists.
 United Mine Workers of America.
 United Rubber Workers of America.
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
 Workers Alliance.
 Young Democrats.
 Young Men's Christian Association.
 Young Men's Hebrew Association.
 Young Republicans.

There is one national organization I left out, and that is the Inter-seminary Movement.

Those are the organizations that participated and cooperated in one way or another with the American Youth Congress.

MR. MASON. What are the requirements for a cooperating organization?

MR. HINCKLEY. The requirements are stated in our constitution, and I should like to read you the constitution of the American Youth Congress.

MR. STARNES. If it is lengthy, you can set it out in the record; and if you wish to refer to or read any pertinent parts of it, you may do so.

MR. HINCKLEY. It is quite brief.

This draft constitution was prepared by a subcommittee of the American Youth Congress, national council, and was discussed in each State delegation meeting. Recommendations for revision were made by the State delegations and by national organizations to the constitution committee at the Congress of Youth. This committee reported a revised draft to a joint session of senate and house, where it was discussed, amended, and adopted unanimously in the following language and form:

ARTICLE I. PURPOSES

The American Youth Congress is established as a nonprofit educational association, which shall serve as a cooperating center and clearing house for all youth organizations, youth-serving agencies, local, State, and regional youth councils or assemblies, and organizations desiring to promote the welfare of youth. The basis of cooperation with the American Youth Congress shall be a desire to participate in any one or more activities or projects undertaken by the congress and to utilize its services.

ARTICLE II. NATIONAL CONGRESSES

The supreme governing body of the American Youth Congress shall be the national congress. The national congress shall be composed of delegates from all youth and youth-serving organizations, youth councils or assemblies, and organizations desiring to promote the welfare of youth that cooperate with the American Youth Congress or desire to cooperate. The national assembly shall be empowered to convene national congresses, which shall meet at least once every 2 years, to establish qualifications for delegates and to recommend an order of business, subject to approval by the national congress. The national congress shall be governed by such rules of procedure as adopted by a majority vote of the delegates. The findings of the national congress shall guide the cabinet and the officers of the American Youth Congress in developing the activities and projects of the American Youth Congress.

ARTICLE III. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

A national assembly shall be established to be composed of one official representative from each national and independent regional cooperating youth organization and each youth council or assembly. The national assembly shall meet at least twice annually at the call of the cabinet or as determined by previous meeting of the assembly to review the work of the cabinet and to establish policies for the succeeding period.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I interrupt just one minute? The national assembly is composed of one representative of each national association which is affiliated, or of each local organization also? Which way is it?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The national assembly is composed of a representative of each national and independent regional cooperating youth organization, and each youth council or assembly.

Mr. McMICHAEL. May I put in just a word there? That is, the next meeting of the national assembly will be here in Washington. I would like so much to have the friends of youth both on this committee and in the audience attend that meeting. It will be open to the public.

Mr. STARNES. Will you be kind enough to furnish the members of the committee with a copy of the publication you have there. It appears the press has copies, and others.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I shall be glad to.

Mr. MASON. This National Youth Congress I understand is made up of cooperating bodies, but listed among those cooperative bodies are many adult organizations, such as the Maritime Union. The representatives of the Maritime Union who appeared before us would seem to be anything but youthful, and anything but interested in youth.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I think if you would ask the National Maritime Union how many of its members were under 30, you would find a very large proportion of that organization's members were under that age. We ask not only that all youth organizations participate in the congress, but we invite the help, aid, and cooperation of all youth-serving agencies.

Mr. MASON. And the National Maritime Union, or such an organization as that, would come under a youth-serving agency?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The National Maritime Union could be considered very easily as a youth organization in itself, in its own right, since it is composed of so many young people.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would that same thing be true, for instance, of the architects, technicians, and engineers, and these other unions?

Mr. HINCKLEY. They have a vast number of unemployed young people who have just come out of college, who have learned architecture, students who cannot find jobs. You will find, as a matter of fact, many or most of the members of that organization are young people.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the fur workers?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The fur workers to a great degree, too, are young people. I don't have the percentage of membership under 30, but I know certainly of hundreds of young shipping clerks.

Mr. McMICHAEL. It is really a great problem to get these young people who are working and do not belong to any youth group except

a labor union represented. And yet we need these organized young people very much, so we give them this opportunity.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, will you describe to the committee how the American Youth Congress functions? What is the administrative set-up?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I believe that is pretty well outlined in the constitution. Should I continue where I left off there? Particularly with the matter of officers, which is article IV.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right, if that will give a description.

Mr. HINCKLEY (reading):

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a chairman, seven regional representatives (New England, Middle Atlantic, East Central, South, Southwest, West Central, West Coast, and Rocky Mountain), and executive secretary and a treasurer. Their duties shall be defined by the cabinet, subject to approval by the national assembly.

SEC. 2. An officer may be suspended from office by a two-thirds vote of the national assembly.

SEC. 3. The cabinet shall nominate at least one person for executive secretary for the consideration of the national congress.

SEC. 4. The delegates to the national congress from each region shall choose one person who shall be the candidate for regional representative from that region.

ARTICLE V. CABINET

SECTION 1. The cabinet shall be composed of the officers of the American Youth Congress and eight additional members all elected by the national congress to serve until the succeeding national congress.

SEC. 2. The cabinet shall meet regularly between meetings of the assembly and shall be responsible for the realization of the policies established in the findings of the national congress and the program formulated by the assembly.

SEC. 3. The cabinet shall be empowered to provide for the financial support of the congress and to hire such administrative personnel as it deems necessary subject to the approval of the national assembly.

SEC. 4. The cabinet shall be empowered to establish such committees and commissions as it deems necessary to carry the program of the American Youth Congress into effect, subject to the approval of the national assembly. It shall be empowered to establish regional boundaries for purposes of representation.

SEC. 5. Vacancies occurring on the cabinet shall be filled by the national assembly, until the succeeding congress.

ARTICLE VI. ADVISORY BOARD

The cabinet shall be empowered to establish an advisory board, the members of which shall be invited to aid in the work of the congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, what is the total membership at the present time of the affiliated bodies of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. You will have to realize, Congressman Starnes, that it is very difficult to get any such number accurately.

Mr. STARNES. It would be an estimate?

Mr. HINCKLEY. At the American Youth Congress held in New York in July there were 736 senators and representatives representing organizations with a total membership of 4,697,915 (after subtraction for duplication) who were accredited at the Congress of Youth. Of these, 96 are senators delegated by 63 different national organizations; 640 are representatives from 450 organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were any of these organizations real big ones? Out of the 4,697,000 were there any two or three organizations that accounted for a considerable block of that membership?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I will ask Mr. Cadden to answer that.

Mr. VOORHIS. If so, who would they be?

Mr. CADDEN. I did some work with the credentials committee and the largest single organization represented at the congress was the Christian Youth Congress of North America, which is a federation of national Protestant youth organizations. This has a membership of between five and six million young people. But we subtracted from the number that we accredited here at the congress all those parts of the organization that were not represented, and we also subtracted all the duplications which occurred. For example, in that Christian Youth Council of North America there is the National Council of Methodist Youth, which has approximately a million members. We subtracted that 1 million from the number given by the Christian Youth Council of North America. In other words, in order to reach this estimate of more than 4½ million we had to go through a lot of mathematical gestures.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you get a figure of five or six million does that mean people who themselves actually join these organizations, or does that mean only that there are so many young people in a certain church group, and that church group is officially connected and therefore you count them in?

Mr. CADDEN. For example, the National Council of Methodist Youth is made up of members of the Epworth League and church groups who come to church on Sunday nights.

Mr. WHITLEY. In keeping with orderly procedure, Mr. Chairman, I believe if Mr. McMichael and Mr. Cadden are going to assist in the testimony they should be sworn.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; that is so. Will you be sworn, please.

(Jack McMichael and Joseph Cadden were duly sworn.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, will you explain to the committee the source of income of the American Youth Congress, and the approximate annual budget on which it operates?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I will ask Mr. Cadden to explain that.

Mr. CADDEN. Since I have been the executive secretary and had charge of the books, the administrative set-up of the congress, I would like to try to explain it.

The total disbursements during the last period, the last fiscal year, according to the audit, from September 1, 1938, to August 30, 1939, were \$15,284.03. The total income during that period was \$15,501; the unpaid bills which accrued during that period and which were carried over from the period before that, were \$2,984.56, leaving a deficit of \$3,168.33 on the 30th of August 1939.

The disbursements that were made were made, first of all, for the expenses of the national office, which accounted for \$2,200, salaries of the executive secretary and office manager, a public relations director and three people that did secretarial work in the office, \$4,209.50.

The rest of the administrative expenses were for printing, express, and postage, for the annual dinner which we gave, for the mailing and printing of our monthly bulletin, Youth, for traveling expenses, for loans which were repaid, past loans which were repaid, old debts paid for the year 1937 and 1938, bank charges and petty cash.

The total for all of these expenses during that period was \$10,817.58.

During the year we had a Congress of Youth from July 1 to 5, 1939. The expenses for the organization of that Congress were \$4,466.45. This included mailing and postage, advertising, salaries, rental of a hall, cost of meetings, delegates, badges, telephone and telegraph, both in the New York City Council, because the Congress was held in New York City, and in the national office, travel expense and bank charges, these expenses totaling \$4,466.45.

Our income, which was in total that year, \$15,501, came first of all from individual contributions of \$7,458.91. These contributions came from approximately 1,000 people who were approached through letter campaigns, through individual solicitation, subscriptions to Youth, our monthly bulletin, of \$264.56, affiliation fees of \$158.50. Those were from local and national groups, sale of literature, \$89.87, miscellaneous, \$42.47, loans which were made, \$320, tickets for the annual dinner, \$2,298.40, pins which were sold, \$66.71, and advertising in the Congress of Youth, \$75, a total of \$11,368.55.

The income at the Congress of Youth, from July 1 to July 5, 1939, came from the sale of Congress of Youth calls, \$45.49, individual contributions made at the Congress, \$395, fund-raising letters which were sent out before the Congress, \$633.50, registration fee of the delegates, \$1,860, massmeeting at which we took up a collection, \$775.56, loans made to the Congress of Youth, \$350, the total being \$4,132.15, making the total net income \$15,501. The unpaid bills, as I say, amounted to \$2,984. You wouldn't be interested in the list of bills, I suppose.

Mr. WHITLEY. No; I believe not.

Mr. McMICHAEL. I might say you can see from this report that we are a very poor organization, and if there are any friends in this room who would like to make some contributions they would be welcome.

Mr. STARNES. There are Methodists here, and I am one, and they usually take up a collection. But we will have to defer that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do I understand that the sources of income are contributions, collections, and affiliation fees or annual dues paid by the affiliates? Is that correct?

Mr. McMICHAEL. During the past few years we have tried to collect affiliation fees from organizations. At the present time we have abolished that system and now have a subscription fee of \$10 for national organizations and \$5 for local organizations, rather than affiliation fees.

Mr. WHITLEY. Ten dollars and five dollars per year?

Mr. McMICHAEL. Per year, for the services.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there any other regular or set sources of income? Do you levy any other assessments or have any other type of dues?

Mr. McMICHAEL. No; we have no others.

Mr. WHITLEY. What publication does the American Youth Congress have?

Mr. McMICHAEL. We have a monthly publication called Youth, which at one time was printed but is now multigraphed, and we have put out pamphlets of the proceedings of the last Congress held in July.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, going back to the organization, will you describe for the committee just what the purpose of the organi-

zation is? I would like to have that in the record, the purpose of the organization and its present program, and some of the programs it has adopted in the past.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I should be very glad to refer you again to its purposes as stated in its constitution.

The American Youth Congress is established as a nonprofit educational association which shall serve as a cooperative center and clearing house for all youth organizations and youth-serving agencies, local, State, and regional youth councils or assemblies and organizations desiring to promote the welfare of youth. The basis of cooperation with the American Youth Congress shall be a desire to participate in any one or more activities or projects undertaken by the Congress, and to utilize its service.

Mr. WHITLEY. I had in mind a program rather than purposes as you have already outlined them.

Mr. HINCKLEY. The program of the American Youth Congress is embodied in its creed, which was unanimously agreed upon at the recent congress.

THE CREED OF THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

I dedicate myself to the service of my country and mankind. I will uphold the American ideal, which is the democratic way of life. I will help assure its bounty to all races, creeds, and colors.

I will maintain my country, founded by men and women who sought a land where they could worship God in their own way, as a haven of a free conscience and the free religious spirit.

I will safeguard the heritage of industrial development, technical skill, natural resource, and culture which has made my country the inspiration for the youth of all lands, and I will use whatever talents I have to add to that heritage.

I will be a social pioneer helping to forge new tools for an era in which education, the chance to make a decent living, the opportunity for health, recreation, and culture will assure the fullest development to all.

I will respect and defend the Constitution, keystone of American liberties, which includes the Bill of Rights granting freedom of religion and press, of speech and assemblage. I will seek progress only within the framework of the American system of government which is founded on the principle that all political power is vested in the people, and I will oppose all undemocratic tendencies and all forms of dictatorship.

I will help make the United States a force for peace and pledge that my patriotism will not be at the expense of other peoples and nations, but one that will contribute to the brotherhood of man.

I will not permit race prejudice, religious intolerance, or class hatred to divide me from other young people. I will work for the unity of my generation and place that united strength at the service of my country, which I will defend against all enemies.

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, what is the circulation of your publication? Does it go to all the affiliated bodies? Does it have any individual circulation?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I will ask Mr. Cadden to answer the question about individual circulation. I understand the number of general circulation of Youth is about 3,000.

Mr. CADDEN. About 1,000 of those go to organizations, the other 2,000 to individuals, who are either professional social workers, or working in youth-serving agencies, individual subscribers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, I realize, that the Creed of your Congress which you have just read is the basis of your program as worked

out, your specific program. But would you give the committee some idea as to just what your present program is, your objective program, and what it has been in the past, some of the specific measures you have promoted or sponsored?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes; it has come to the attention of the Youth Congress that one of the reports, or, rather, the report which the Dies committee has made to Congress, in January 1939, stated that the American Youth Congress was not originally set up by Communists, but it was penetrated by them, as shown by the reports of its first congress, which was held in Washington, D. C., in 1934, and at its second congress it was broken up and reorganized into a "red" front.

This simply is not true, and it is in the report of the Dies committee.

Mr. McMICHAEL. I might say there never was a meeting of the congress in Washington, D. C.

Mr. HINCKLEY. That is perfectly true; and the American Youth Congress is not a "red" front. Having made a study of the committee, the American Youth Congress has concentrated its efforts on a national scale in recent weeks to the dissemination of a petition, which is being signed by thousands of young people and those who wish them well all over the country.

The petition reads:

To the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the American Youth Congress is pledged, as stated in its creed, to work for the maintenance of civil rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States:

Whereas the Dies committee threatens these civil rights by attempts to discredit the trade-unions and other progressive American organizations under the cloak of a drive against foreign agents, misuse of congressional power, intimidating members and staffs of such organizations, seizing records improperly, and serving faulty subpoenas, the conduct of un-American and unjust hearings, acceptance of hearsay, slander, and surmise instead of evidence, and denial of adequate hearing to organizations and individuals attacked, provoking a war hysteria with witch-hunting methods:

Whereas, such conduct on the part of the Dies committee tends to discredit the work of other congressional committees, and weakens public confidence in the functioning of democracy;

Resolved, That we, the undersigned, urge that the Dies committee be discontinued immediately;

Resolved also, That we support careful, constructive investigation of activities detrimental to American democracy, and urge public support and congressional appropriation for the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee.

That is one of the main businesses before the congress at the moment.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that represent your present program, the present program of the congress, Mr. Hinckley?

Mr. HINCKLEY. No; of course not. I am thinking of some of the things we are doing constructively at the moment.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you name some of the others?

Mr. HINCKLEY. One of the main aspects of the work at the moment is to attempt to develop local youth councils, give them inspiration and guidance throughout the country, in cities and villages and States, to establish local, State-wide cooperating centers for youth organization and youth-serving agencies in the same manner that the National Congress exists. That is one of the main jobs, and it is quite a difficult one.

We have had quite a measure of success during the past year in giving service of this kind to young people all throughout the Nation to do this job. That is part of the process of creating materials to handle the economic conditions of youth, teaching people to understand their own local communities, teaching an organization the manner whereby they can work together and instill the idea of citizenship and responsibility to democracy.

We have had a measure of success in this in the past and we hope to increase that success.

The congress, of course, stands by its resolutions passed at the recent congress in New York, and I shall be glad to give you an idea as to what those resolutions embodied.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do the resolutions represent the program of the congress, Mr. Hinckley? I will be glad to receive the resolutions in the record, but I am particularly interested at the moment in just what your immediate program is.

Mr. CADDEN. I think perhaps if I could tell some of the activities, I think it would cover the thing you are trying to get at. Mr. Hinckley is not connected with the Youth Congress now; he has not been connected during the whole of last year.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was chairman until July of this year, as I understand it.

Mr. CADDEN. Yes; theoretically. He actually resigned the year before, handed in his resignation until we elected another person. But he was not working in the office, on the administrative set-up, and he therefore is not now, and was not during the last months, familiar with some of the program.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Cadden is better qualified to answer this particular question than I am.

Mr. CADDEN. We have, as has been pointed out, been attempting not only to coordinate the activities of national youth organizations, but also to bring together young people in local communities for the improvement of their local conditions. The best way, I think, to describe what the interest in these conditions is, is to tell you about the percentage of people who are facing difficulties, young people who are facing difficulties in those local communities.

On the basis of Government reports, Labor Department reports, American Youth Commission reports, National Youth Administration statistics, we have made a chart of the actual situation in the local community. I would like to give you an example of that.

Taking a small town which has two hundred inhabitants, there are at the present time 76 who have regular jobs. Of these 200, 40 are going to school or college, 5 of them go to school part time, in addition to the 40 who go full time; 28 of them are married women who neither study nor work; 51 of them, 25 percent, are employed and are out of school. The total in this country in this group is 6,000,000, in a total youth population of 21,000,000.

In addition to the fact that these people are facing the problem of unemployment they are also facing very difficult health conditions. They face conditions which are the result of their not having adequate health facilities. Many of them who want to go to school cannot go to school because there are no facilities. Mr. Starnes, who comes from Alabama, certainly is a man who knows about the educational needs in some of our States.

Mr. STARNES. That is general throughout the country.

Mr. CADDEN. Yes, sir; it is. These conditions that are facing our young people are our concern, and we draw together these young people in communities to face these problems and see what they can do about them.

On a national scale we are trying to deal with the problem by helping to get through Congress legislation which we think will go toward a solution of that problem, and in this book which I passed out, on page 48, you will find the national legislative program of the American Youth Congress. Some of the bills we think are most important; Federal aid to education, Federal aid to health, extension of the W. P. A. and the National Youth Administration, particularly. And these problems which we try to attack nationally we try to attack locally by getting the citizens of a town or community excited about the problem; first of all, getting them informed about the problem, and then getting them to do something about it.

In different parts of the country the problems have different variations, and the things that can be done vary. Therefore in every locality where there is a local youth council there is a varied program. There are no two towns in the United States that have the same need.

What we have done is to bring together representatives of the youth organizations of that community, get them to look at the needs, and on a democratic basis figure out what they can do to meet the needs of that town. That is the thing we are doing, by promoting the organization of local youth councils, by organizing State-wide meetings of young people, which we call city councils of youth, and to which aldermen are elected, and in the States, we have now in 13 States legislatures and assemblies, State legislatures to which youth organizations send their representatives, and all of these people get together on a city or a State basis to look at their problem and see what they can do about it.

Of course the main thing which they get out of this experience is the citizenship training, which we feel is at the present time important, especially because of the unemployment situation, especially because of the critical times that we all face, which we do not need to go into here. This question of citizenship is now more important than ever before, and we feel that by practicing citizenship, by practicing democracy in their organizations and by going to these city councils and these State legislatures, by finding out how government works, by organizing tours to the different government agencies in their localities, in their communities and towns, they will be able to know how the government works, and they will be able to participate in their government as intelligent citizens.

In addition, we have urged young people to vote, because we feel that one of the big weaknesses at the present time is that so relatively few people actually vote, and we, of course, have conducted in some parts of the country campaigns for suffrage where suffrage was denied, campaigns against poll tax, where poll taxes have kept people from their right of suffrage. We have urged people to register, we have gotten them out to the polls to express their opinions and to participate in government as citizens, the young people who have come of age. That campaign is our major campaign at the present time.

Before Mr. McMichael mentioned a meeting in Washington on February 12. That is to be the National Citizenship Institution and is going to be held every Lincoln Birthday week-end. It is the beginning of a campaign which will lead up to a National citizenship day, at which we will register young people who are of voting age and will vote in the next election. We are doing that in order to make them conscious of their responsibility as citizens in a democracy, and we feel that is going to strengthen our democracy.

This national citizenship campaign will be carried on, not only on a national scale, but in each of these localities, in the city councils and in the State legislatures, as well as through the national organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what extent does the Congress, through its national officers, keep in touch with and supervise or assist in the activities of the local groups?

Mr. CADDEN. Every one of the local groups, both city-wide and State-wide, are autonomous. They make their own program and elect their own officers and run their own affairs. They are in constant correspondence with the national office about problems that they face, not only social problems but practical problems of organization, finance, printing, and postage, as well as all the other kinds of problems.

In addition to correspondence, there is an attempt made by myself and Miss Williams, our administrative secretary, to travel as much as possible. Travel is very sadly limited by our budget, but these local councils and State assemblies all work with the young people, and we are giving them whatever experience we have had in other parts of the country in the organization and the financing of these groups and in carrying out their programs.

Mr. HINCKLEY. You see, as a matter of fact, the program is as varied as America's problems. The youth problem cannot be separated from the general problem of economic distress, social disaster. In some places we have young people making up a youth council because it wants one more swing in the park, and in another place you will find a youth council, such as the one in Washington, D. C., where young people get together because they want to vote; they want to have citizenship here in the District of Columbia, and they want to have a free city college. So that as a matter of fact the local programs are as varied as the problems of America and as interesting in their solution.

Mr. WHITLEY. There have been people before this committee, testifying under oath, most of whom were former active members of the Communist Party of the United States, some for a period of a number of years, who have testified before the committee that the American Youth Congress, although not originally set up by the Communist Party, did come under the control of a strong, highly organized minority group in the Congress, and that they as Communists had participated in that activity. I would like to have your comments, or Mr. McMichael's comments on that.

Mr. CADDEN. Have they ever presented any evidence to that effect?

Mr. WHITLEY. Not in the form of documentary evidence.

Mr. CADDEN. Evidence of any kind?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is their sworn statement, and as former active Communist Party members.

Mr. STARNES. As I recall it, the gist of the testimony thus far through the hearings has been that originally it was not communistic in its

set-up, that there was a split in the organization at one time, at which time the left-wing group obtained control; that many of your affiliated organizations are communistic. That has been the gist of the testimony that has been given by members of the Communist Party and by members of some of these organizations. And, frankly, I presume that you will say that you do have Communists in your organization, and that probably some of the organizations affiliated with you probably are controlled by Communists. That is the gist of the testimony.

Mr. VOORHIS. And furthermore, Mr. Chairman, I believe in every single case that members of the committee have asked the question whether this person, whoever it was who was testifying, intended to say that all of the organizations were communistic, or whether they would say that the majority of the members or the majority of the people in the Youth Congress were, and in every case they said, no, they didn't mean that.

Mr. STARNES. There has been no charge that your membership generally is communistic, and there has been no statement to the effect that even more than a very small percentage of your membership is communistic, and as Mr. Voorhis has stated, time and time again members of the committee have asked witnesses if they meant to imply that it was indeed a Communist organization or that the majority of your members were Communists or even sympathetic to the Communists and the answer invariably has been no. If you don't know what has been said here before, that is the gist of the testimony.

Mr. HINSKLEY. We read it.

Mr. STARNES. We think you ought to proceed on a basis of fact, not on assumption or on misrepresentation, because, frankly, it leads one to make statements that are not true and any statement that is not founded on fact is liable to be on a foundation of sand and wholly untrue. Any resolution passed on misinformation or on lack of information is the same way. What your view as an organization about this committee is personally I don't care, and neither does the committee. We are trying to do a job in our way, just like you are doing in your way, except ours is imposed by legislation and is not voluntarily assumed.

Speaking for myself and the two members present, I didn't vote for the original setting up of the committee, and Mr. Voorhis didn't vote for its continuance. But there are some statements in your resolution that are wholly without foundation in fact, a slander on the members of the committee, and it does not represent our attitude. I just want to tell you these things, gentlemen, in order that your statements here may be tempered with some degree of truth and justice and a spirit of understanding. We are making no wild charges or provoking war hysteria or anything like that. As American citizens you have an inalienable right to believe anything you want about us, and I don't care what you believe. That is your right as an American citizen. We are here only in the interest of truth and honesty, and we are here seeking to find out to the best of our ability, with the equipment that has been furnished us, whether or not there are forces at work in this country, whether financed by foreign or domestic sources, that are seeking to subvert and destroy the constitutional democratic form of government that you and I enjoy.

With that in view, please proceed and let us get along.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Will you let me reply to that point?

Mr. STARNES. There is no need to speak to the point. I am just giving you the information.

Mr. McMICHAEL. You said you were interested in information, so I thought you might let me give you some.

Mr. STARNES. In response to counsel's questions please give any information you have. Furthermore, if any other organization in the whole United States of America feels that it has been placed in an unjust position by statements of witnesses before this committee—not by committee members—we will be happy to afford them an opportunity of coming here and stating under oath what their real position is. I want to state once and for all to you gentlemen, that there is absolutely no disposition here at all to suppress the truth, no disposition here to malign anyone. There is a disposition only to find out what the truth is with reference to subversive and un-American activities.

Mr. McMICHAEL. If that is so, I think you will be glad to have me speak to that point.

Mr. STARNES. That is all we are interested in on that line.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Some 15 months ago——

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. McMICHAEL. I am responding to his question in the light of what you have said. Some 15 months ago we sent a request to the Dies committee for an opportunity to have people who had been working with the Youth Congress as friends who helped the youth movement in this country, appear before this committee and answer certain charges that had been made against the American Youth Congress by people who were not friends of the youth movement, and who were not making any real contribution to youth problems. We have been continually asking for that opportunity from that time until now, and now we have it for the first time.

Mr. STARNES. And I was glad to afford you that opportunity, let me tell you.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Thank you. I just wish you had been a little speedier about it, because you have slandered the American Youth Congress.

Mr. STARNES. I have just been in a position where I could do it for you, and I did it as quickly as I could. I invited you to appear——

Mr. McMICHAEL. I am glad you take that point of view. Evidently the controlling force in the committee did not take that point of view for 15 months. Now that you have given us an opportunity to come here, let me say that what we were talking to was not what certain people had said at this hearing, but what Mr. Dies, the chairman of this committee, had reported to the Congress as a representative of the American people, using American taxes to unearth supposedly un-American activities. He made a report to Congress without giving the people who had worked in the congress an opportunity to appear before this committee and answer.

I will cite you from the congressional hearings of this particular committee. When Mr. Dies outlined the work of the committee, he said it was not the purpose to slander any organization, and when any individual or organization is slandered, or anything bad is said about any individual or organization, he said you were going to give that

individual or organization a full opportunity to appear and speak. We have waited 15 months. Then you let "Bill" Hinckley know he was to testify—was it November 15?

Mr. STARNES. There is no quarrel about that. Suppose we proceed in an orderly manner, and you may make any statement you wish. Let us get the facts.

Mr. McMICHAEL. I want to make clear why we are protesting.

Mr. WHITLEY. I wanted your comment on the testimony of previous witnesses to the effect, as stated, that the Communists had, through the use of a small minority, certainly exercised control in the American Youth Congress far beyond their representation, and some witnesses stated they had been able to control its policies and program.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I would like to talk about one of those witnesses and the charges he made. That witness was Mr. Kenneth Goff, who, if the reports in the newspapers were correct—and I have not been able to see the actual statement—if the reports in the newspapers were correct, he charged that both Mr. Cadden and I were Communists. That is not true. We have denied it. I would like to deny it here under oath.

Mr. STARNES. We are happy to have you do that. I don't know what statement he made; I was not present when he made it.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Further, he stated that the American Youth Congress was a Communist front organization. That is not true, and I would like to deny that. It is front for no one.

I think it is an insult to my intelligence to have someone say that I have to front for someone. I have convictions; I am an American citizen. I know what I believe, and I am sure that young people generally do, or the Youth Congress would not have grown as it has grown. It is controlled by no small clique or minority, or it could not have grown that large.

Mr. STARNES. We are glad to have these unequivocal statements on the record.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Goff, I believe, is a poor, unfortunate, young fellow, demoralized by years of unemployment and hard times, and feeling that this was a road to publicity, fame, and perhaps a job, he came to talk to you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with him?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have met him. When I was in Milwaukee, organizing the Milwaukee Youth Congress, I saw him in the office there. My relationships with him were as one person who worked in an office to another.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was very active, was he not—according to his testimony, at least—in the Milwaukee congress? Is that correct?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I remember some of his work. I remember his being in the office. I don't know exactly what he did. Mr. Cadden, who did most of the office work there, might be able to tell you. I think that my attitude toward him was one of pity at the distressful loss of his leg, a matter which we can all deplore. The national council of the Youth Congress took up a collection to help him secure an artificial leg, and I think that is as far as my relationship with him ever went.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hinckley, have you read his testimony before this committee?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Not all of it. All I have seen is what I have seen in the press.

Mr. STARNES. Will you make it available to him, so if there is any statement made in there concerning Mr. Hinckley's activities with the congress, Mr. Hinckley will have full opportunity to reply?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. CADDEN. I worked with him in Milwaukee. I was there a month before the Milwaukee congress in 1937. I think what Mr. Hinckley just said is an understatement. He worked in the office, sort of an office-boy relationship to us at that time, because he had had this accident, because he was not able to get a job, because he had no people, no family in Milwaukee, no place to turn, and he was a very disillusioned and a very unsteady, unbalanced kind of a young fellow. The testimony which he gave, of which I have seen a part, at least—for example, he said the Communists were controlling every youth organization in the country with the exception of the Boy Scouts and the Catholic Youth organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. No; he didn't say they were controlling. He said that they were attempting to get people into them and influence them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Trying to extend their influence.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is what he said. I don't think he made any statement to the effect that they were controlling. The reason I feel pretty sure about that is because I remember some questions I asked him.

Mr. CADDEN. Yes; you asked some questions; and he modified it, I think.

Mr. VOORHIS. I remember one or two other organizations he mentioned. The Townsend organization, for instance.

Mr. CADDEN. He was connected with that.

Mr. VOORHIS. He said something about that that I thought was rather a stretch of the imagination, that that organization was controlled by the Communist Party. His statement, as I remember it, was only that they were attempting to penetrate them; and I will point out that Mr. Browder made the same statement. Communists have time and again told us here that they have attempted to penetrate an organization, including the church, including political parties. We are sorry you have gotten a misapprehension about these things. The statement was, Mr. Cadden, that it was an attempt to penetrate but had not been successful.

Mr. CADDEN. But the first report that was made about the American Youth Congress was made in January 1939, and up to that time there were three witnesses who had been heard by the committee. The first one that was heard was Mr. Matthews. Before he became connected with the committee he was a witness. He was a witness in August 1938. He said at that time he had a connection with the American Youth Congress at its beginning, and we have tried very hard to discover what that connection was. We have never been able to discover any connection whatsoever between Mr. Matthews and the American Youth Congress. He was the only one who testified before the committee made its report that he had a connection with the Congress. The others who testified—Chaillaux, of the American Legion, and Walter Steele, the editor of some small magazine—did not even pretend to have any first-hand knowledge or connection with the Ameri-

can Youth Congress, but reported on the hearsay that had been passed along to them about us and about the work of the Communists and the communistic nature, as they called it, of the American Youth Congress. These people had no first-hand information.

It was on the testimony of these three witnesses that the committee made its original report to Congress, and I think just any sensible objective look at the type of witnesses that they are, and the fact that they are repeating hearsay and are not even attempting to give evidence, shows how weak the kind of charge that was placed against the Youth Congress has been, because Homer Chaillaux—I know him—if he could get one shred of evidence on me or on the American Youth Congress, or Bill Hinckley, or anybody else in the Congress, he would have done that, and done it years ago, and would have made it public and we would have had photostatic copies in every newspaper in this country, because that is his job. But he has not been able to do that. All he has been able to do is to make accusations.

Mr. WHITLEY. When former active members of the Communist Party, or the Young Communist League, testified under oath concerning their activities as Communists, it was not hearsay.

Mr. CADDEN. Whom do you refer to?

Mr. WHITLEY. It is either correct or it is perjury. They are qualified, as former members, concerning Communist activity. I have in mind Goff, Mr. Ryan, who testified yesterday. I just want to take exception to your statement as to hearsay evidence, because that is competent evidence in a court of law.

Mr. CADDEN. I was speaking of the evidence given up to January 1939, when the first report was made to Congress.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Did Mr. Ryan say he ever had any connection with the American Youth Congress, or were the newspapers wrong?

Mr. WHITLEY. He said he never had any active interest.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Those kind of witnesses you can't get much information out of.

Mr. VOORHIS. To keep the record straight, Mr. Ryan's testimony was not given as a member of the Youth Congress, but was given as reflecting the point of view of the Communist Party toward the Youth Congress. That was all.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Which is really not the point.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, it is the point, I think, as to what their attempts are going to be. But that is all.

Mr. CADDEN. The interest of the Republican Party toward the Youth Congress would show that same type of thing.

Mr. VOORHIS. Supposing somebody said that with regard to the congress and the Republican Party, would you get all excited about it?

Mr. CADDEN. Sure, I would, if somebody said we were dominated by the Republican Party. I would resent that.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Surely.

Mr. CADDEN. Or, to keep the record straight, dominated by any political party.

Mr. STARNES. Let me help get this thing straight. Have you any further questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. I have none.

Mr. STARNES. You deny, on the part of your organization, that you are Communist-controlled, Communist-motivated?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Absolutely.

Mr. STARNES. And that you personally are not a Communist, or in sympathy with the Communists.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Absolutely.

Mr. STARNES. And that goes for you, Mr. Cadden?

Mr. CADDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You condemn communism—

Mr. CADDEN. We had a resolution passed at the last congress that you might be interested in.

Mr. STARNES. I read that a moment ago. What I am getting at, you personally condemn communism as being undemocratic the same as fascism and nazi-ism.

Mr. CADDEN. Absolutely.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that resolution included in the creed?

Mr. CADDEN. No, sir; it is a separate resolution at the top of page 46.

Mr. STARNES. I was glad to see it. It condemned all forms of dictatorship, but it didn't specifically mention communism, did it? Do you condemn all forms of dictatorship?

Mr. CADDEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you go along and condemn all forms, mentioning names?

Mr. CADDEN. Let me read it.

Be it resolved, That this Congress of Youth record its opposition to all forms of dictatorship, regardless of whether they be Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or any other type.

Mr. VOORHIS. How could the Young Communist League accept that?

Mr. STARNES. That is what we want to know.

Mr. McMICHAEL. After all, we are not the representative of that organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you see how they could?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I think, Mr. Voorhis, that is a matter of opinion. I think you have to ask them that.

Mr. STARNES. But they are members of an organization affiliated with you.

Mr. HINCKLEY. And they voted for that resolution.

Mr. STARNES. You don't make any denial of the fact that some Communists and probably some Communist organizations have affiliated themselves with your organization?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The Young Communist League is a cooperating organization, but I named 63 others.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct, and we are not unmindful of that fact. But we are trying to get the truth and the truth only, because the testimony given to us concerning this matter has been given to us by Communists who have denominated it as a transmission belt.

Mr. McMICHAEL. But who in no sense could represent the American Youth Congress.

Mr. STARNES. We are not saying that they are giving your attitude. We are just saying they gave the attitude of the Communist Party toward your organization, how they regard it, and how they report it to the Comintern in Russia.

Is there any other statement you wish to make?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I think you might be interested in the fact that the American Youth Congress, whenever it has had a political symposium at any place, such as our annual congresses, it has always invited spokesmen of the National Committee of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Communist, all political parties, and invariably all political parties have sent their spokesmen without exception. There has never been on our platforms a spokesman of any one political party alone, and we have lived up to our constitution of being a non-partisan, nonprofit making educational organization.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; and when you read to the committee a moment ago a list of your affiliates, I didn't know whether it was the League of Nations, or the International Economic League, or what it was, because it certainly seemed to be broad and comprehensive enough in its affiliations.

Has it adopted any particular line of action—did you ever take, as an organization, any attitude or line of action with reference to the embargo on Loyalist Spain?

Mr. HINCKLEY. There was a resolution at the Milwaukee Congress 2 years ago, urging those young people who would like to be of service to suffering humanity, through refugee relief campaigns in the United States, to either carry on their work to supply funds, refugee funds through the American Friends Service Commission, or the Committee for Spanish Democracy.

Mr. STARNES. Who presented that before the Congress? What organization sponsored it?

Mr. CADDEN. The sponsors of these proposals for refugee aid came from the American Friends Service Committee and from the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, two organizations.

Mr. STARNES. They sponsored it?

Mr. CADDEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Did your organization ever adopt a resolution or place itself on record with reference to the embargo on Loyalist Spain?

Mr. CADDEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. If so, what was that?

Mr. CADDEN. Not in reference to an embargo. In reference to our united forces giving the maximum amount of aid to the people in Spain, to raise funds for the orphan Spanish children of those killed, and feeding, and clothing.

Mr. STARNES. Did your organization, as such, ever sponsor a recruiting campaign or urge American youth to join the Loyalist forces?

Mr. CADDEN. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, those constituents of yours or affiliates, who did believe in that cause probably did?

Mr. CADDEN. Sure.

Mr. STARNES. But you are not responsible for that. I am asking about your organization now. Did you ever take any attitude, as an organization, with reference to placing an embargo on Italy, Japan, and Germany at any time? Have you ever taken such action?

Mr. McMICHAEL. I am very well acquainted with the action that we took recently on the embargo of Japan, because I was interested in seeing a free China, and seeing the Nine Power Pact strengthened, rather than just a piece of paper torn up by the Japanese Army. I

was interested in seeing the United States Government stop its co-operation with Japan, and I am happy to report that the congress is overwhelmingly in favor of seeing the will of the American people carried out.

Mr. STARNES. Has any congress in times past adopted resolutions requesting that an embargo be placed upon Italy and Germany as aggressor nations?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I believe that there have been from time to time resolutions sponsored to boycott all German-made goods.

Mr. McMICHAEL. That is still our program, by the way.

Mr. STARNES. I think it is, judging from what I can get.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I would like to check further on that, and I wouldn't like to say that is all. I don't know any further than that at the moment.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know for the record whether or not, at any time, your organization has sponsored a resolution, or adopted a program or line of action which requested this country to place an embargo upon Italy and Germany as aggressor nations. Has your organization as such at any time in its history taken any position on this question of the so-called collective security as an instrument for peace?

Mr. HINCKLEY. There have been resolutions for international co-operation, and there was one in this year's peace panel at the American Youth Congress. I believe the best thing to do is to present the resolution, because a thing of this sort is so carefully worded and worked out in consultation. It is like trying to report something that is very difficult to report.

Mr. CADDEN. The resolution at the July congress is on page 30, under "League of Nations."

Whereas all those who have studied international relations realize that an international society providing collective security for its members is essential to peace: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Youth Congress recommend that the United States join the League of Nations:

That it cooperate fully in carrying out the provisions of its covenant:

That the United States use all of its influence in getting the League of Nations to remedy the causes of aggression through "Peaceful change";

That this opposition to aggression include economic boycott, and if necessary contributions to an international military unit, and

That the United States propose such changes in the League covenant as will make it a more effective organization.

You understand these are the resolutions of the Peace Commission and not the resolutions of the congress.

Mr. STARNES. Are these resolutions by the various panels binding upon your affiliates, and is that supposed to be the line of action by your affiliates?

Mr. McMICHAEL. Of course nothing is binding upon the affiliates.

Mr. STARNES. I understand that, but is it supposed to be the rule and guide of conduct for your various organizations? Because if you take your affiliates away you wouldn't have anything.

Mr. McMICHAEL. We function nationally through a cabinet, and the cabinet is supposed to implement and carry out the program.

Mr. STARNES. But the only means you have of carrying out your program is through your affiliates.

Mr. McMICHAEL. Actually, though, in a local situation, the local youth council is an affiliate, or the student Y. M. C. A. is an affiliate.

They have complete autonomy. We may recommend that they do certain things——

Mr. STARNES. I am trying to find out whether you are what I might call a super holding company, holding views and setting down a rule and guide for action of all your subsidiaries.

Mr. McMICHAEL. You see, the subsidiary must agree with one part of the program of the American Youth Congress, so that there is one thing they can join in and work on. It may be getting better housing, or an embargo on Japan. I wouldn't know what it is.

Mr. STARNES. Well, it is growing late. Can you gentlemen be available in the morning for further questioning if the committee desires?

Mr. CADDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. We will continue the hearing in the morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 6 p. m., the committee adjourned to 10 a. m. Friday, December 1, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

(The Committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:25 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.)

MR. STARNES. The Committee will come to order and resume its sessions. Who is your first witness this morning, Mr. Whitley?

MR. WHITLEY. Joseph Lash.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH P. LASH, NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION, NEW YORK CITY

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

MR. LASH. Is it all right if Miss Reynolds, our college secretary, sits here with me?

MR. STARNES. For the sake of orderly procedure, Mr. Lash, the lady may sit with you. We will have her identified for the record. If she wishes to make a statement later we will let her make a statement to avoid the confusion which we have when two or three witnesses are on the stand at the same time.

MR. LASH. I would like to refer to Miss Reynolds myself for some information I may not have at hand.

MR. STARNES. Yes; and you may refer to her to refresh your recollection about any pertinent information, and then if she wishes to make a separate statement later that is quite all right. We will ask Dr. Matthews to conduct the examination.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your full name for the record?

MR. LASH. Joseph P. Lash.

MR. MATTHEWS. What is your address?

MR. LASH. 494 Hudson Street, New York City.

MR. MATTHEWS. And your business address?

MR. LASH. 1860 Broadway, office 815.

MR. MATTHEWS. What is your official position?

MR. LASH. I am national secretary of the American Student Union.

MR. MATTHEWS. Would you please give a very brief resumé of your educational training, Mr. Lash?

MR. LASH. I went through high school in New York City at DeWitt Clinton, graduated from City College with a Bachelor of Arts degree, and received a Master's degree from Columbia, and have some credits towards a Doctor's degree.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever a member of the Socialist Party, Mr. Lash ?

Mr. LASH. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the Socialist Party?

Mr. LASH. In 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you still a member of the Socialist Party?

Mr. LASH. I resigned from the Socialist Party in 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly the reason for your resignation from the Socialist Party?

Mr. LASH. I believed that the Socialist Party was subordinating the interests of the people as a whole in the interests of factional political considerations within the left. I thought there was not any statesmanship for seeing things broadly, and so I left the Socialist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that issue crystallized in your mind by your experiences and observations in Spain?

Mr. LASH. It was one of the things that crystallized the issue in my mind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you resign from the Socialist Party shortly after your return from a trip to Spain?

Mr. LASH. About 2 months afterward; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you in Spain in the summer of 1937?

Mr. LASH. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you return from Spain?

Mr. LASH. I returned from Spain in September 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the date of your resignation from the Socialist Party?

Mr. LASH. I believe sometime in October. I do not have the letter here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That would make it 1 month, would it not, instead of 2 months after your return from Spain?

Mr. LASH. I do not have the letter here, so I do not know. I think you have the letter in your files, so I think you can tell us that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a matter of fact, don't you recall that you resigned from the Socialist Party in September 1937?

Mr. LASH. No; I said I don't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not?

Mr. LASH. I said I did not recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you write any articles on the subject of your resignation from the Socialist Party which appeared in any publications?

Mr. LASH. I wrote a letter concerning my resignation from the Socialist Party, which was submitted to the press and to my friends.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that letter published, so far as you know, in the New Masses?

Mr. LASH. Unfortunately, it was made use of only by the Communist publications, and I regretted that fact very much.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you state in your letter of resignation from the Socialist Party or in the discussion of your resignation which was given to the press, that you anticipated being widely suspected of having become a Stalinist?

Mr. LASH. If you have the letter there I can tell you what I said; I do not recall the letter in detail at this time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall having said that?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make any reference to any suspicions of Stalinism that might be attached to your resignation from the Socialist Party?

Mr. LASH. You mean in the letter?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the letter or in the press releases you gave out?

Mr. LASH. I did not give out any press releases.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said it was widely carried in the Communist press or used in the Communist press; was that your letter of resignation?

Mr. LASH. Just the letter of resignation, but no press release was sent out with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In your letter of resignation did you make any reference to the question of Stalinism being associated with your resignation from the Socialist Party?

Mr. LASH. Dr. Matthews, if you give me a copy of the letter I could then read what I said in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall the contents of the letter?

Mr. LASH. I only received notification——

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). Just a minute, Mr. Lash——

Mr. LASH (interposing). No; let me explain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Never mind.

Mr. LASH. I want to explain why I do not have this particular document with me.

Mr. STARNES. Answer his question, and then we will let you make any explanation you wish to make. That will be better procedure, and that will save any argument or colloquy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The question is, Mr. Lash, did you make any reference to Stalinism being associated with your resignation from the Socialist Party?

Mr. LASH. No; I do not recall any such reference. I do not have the letter here because I received the invitation to appear before this committee at midnight, Wednesday night, to appear here yesterday morning at 10 o'clock, and I immediately took the train, and I was unable to collect any material excepting a few documentary materials and pamphlets on the activities of the Student Union.

Mr. STARNES. The answer to his question, then, is that you have no independent recollection?

Mr. LASH. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lash, were you ever a member of the National Student League?

Mr. LASH. Never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever in any way associated with the activities of the National Student League?

Mr. LASH. What do you mean by the word "associated"?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever participate in any of the projects or activities which were carried on under the auspices of the National Student League?

Mr. LASH. The Student League for Industrial Democracy, of which I was national secretary at that time, at times found itself doing the same things as other student groups, including the National Student League, and when we found we were doing the same things we cooperated in doing them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you graduate from the College of the City of New York?

Mr. LASH. In 1931.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the National Student League send a delegation to Harlan, Ky., in the spring of 1932, according to your recollection, Mr. Lash?

Mr. LASH. Yes; it did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go as a member of that group to Harlan, Ky.?

Mr. LASH. I was one of the students who took part in the expedition.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the time you were a graduate student at Columbia University?

Mr. LASH. I was a graduate student at Columbia at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was in March 1932, was it not?

Mr. LASH. It was in the spring of 1932; I do not know whether it was in March or April, but it was in the spring of 1932.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That delegation to Harlan, Ky., was organized under the auspices of the National Student League, was it not?

Mr. LASH. It was portrayed to us as a thing of broader sponsorship, but I learned in the course of the trip that the National Student League was behind it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Donald Henderson the chairman of that delegation to Kentucky as you recollect?

Mr. LASH. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not have any knowledge to the contrary, do you?

Mr. LASH. I do not have any knowledge either way, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is your knowledge, is it not, Mr. Lash, that the National Student League was the Communist organization among the students of this country?

Mr. LASH. Not at that time. That is, it was not my knowledge when I went down on the Harlan expedition, that is, that Communists were very influential in the National Student League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you did later come to understand that the National Student League was the organization of the Communists on the campuses of America, did you not?

Mr. LASH. That there were Communists in the National Student League, yes; and that they had a great say in the policy of the National Student League, yes; but as to what number of students in the National Student League were Communists, I have no way of knowing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are not prepared to say that the majority of the members of the National Student League were Communists—members of the Young Communist League, or members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LASH. I suggest, Mr. Matthews, if you get someone who was connected with the National Student League at that time they could tell you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am dealing with your knowledge of these matters, if you have it, Mr. Lash. Did you ever express any opinion in public or in writing on the question of the relationship between the Young Communist League and the National Student League?

Mr. LASH. I may have——

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). Did you not express the belief that the National Student League was dominated by the Young Communist League?

Mr. LASH. I may have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not recall that you did so express yourself, Mr. Lash?

Mr. LASH. If I did, I would say so, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall having given any such expression, is that your answer?

Mr. LASH. I say, I may have. Honestly, if I knew definitely I did, or had made a statement, why, I would say so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lash, did you ever participate in negotiations for the amalgamation of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy?

Mr. LASH. I certainly did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Over what period of time did those negotiations between representatives of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy take place? Was it a period of a year or more?

Mr. LASH. About half a year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About half a year?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the National Student League make frequent proposals to the Student League for Industrial Democracy that an amalgamation be brought about between the two organizations?

Mr. LASH. Yes; they did. The origin of the proposals, Mr. Matthews, came about in this way; at Amherst there were chapters of both the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, with which I was connected, and the boys who led those chapters both lived in the same dormitory and were roommates, and they discovered in time that the activities of both of those liberal clubs were getting to be identical, and so, they said, why should we have two clubs on this campus that are natural rivals; why not have one club, and they proceeded to amalgamate the two organizations, much to my chagrin, and I did not know what the National Student League thought about it, and then they suggested that this be done on a national scale. The National Student League then made a proposal to the Student League for Industrial Democracy that there be a united student organization on the campuses.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that in 1934, as you recollect?

Mr. LASH. I do not recall when the original proposal was made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But after the proposal originated it did finally become a proposal of the entire National Student League organization?

Mr. LASH. Yes, it did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you participated in the negotiations which had to do with the amalgamation of the two organizations?

Mr. LASH. For a long time I had nothing to do with the negotiations, because I did not trust the people making the proposals, and

I was not sure that the people were sincere in proposing that amalgamation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say people making proposals, do you mean to imply that they were Communists?

Mr. LASH. No; I refer to the leaders in the National Student League, whoever they may be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you at the time imply or say that these proposals originated from Communists?

Mr. LASH. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever connected with the publication for the Student League for Industrial Democracy known as the Student Outlook?

Mr. LASH. I am very proud of it; I was editor of it; yes, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Over what period of time, do you recall, you were the editor of it?

Mr. LASH. I was the editor of it from the moment it was started until the moment it was ended. That was from 1932 until 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were the editor of the publication, were you?

Mr. LASH. Yes; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not know whether the title "editor in chief" was used, but as far as the editors went you were the principal editor of the publication, were you not?

Mr. LASH. Yes; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in that publication you did print or publish discussions of the proposed amalgamation between the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy?

Mr. LASH. We did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask you, Mr. Lash, if you will please say whether or not you can identify this particular issue of the Student Outlook?

Mr. LASH. Yes; I can identify it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the issue dated November-December 1934, entitled "Winter Number" "Student Outlook," and on the editorial board under the word "Editors," the first name which appears is that of Joseph P. Lash, chairman. I take it that is chairman of the editorial board, is it not?

Mr. LASH. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to read portions of an editorial which appeared in this issue of the Student Outlook which has been identified by the witness. This editorial which deals with the amalgamation of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy is entitled, "Unity in the student field," reading in part:

An amalgamated student organization would become the arena of a bitter unscrupulous struggle between young Communists and young Socialists for control of that organization. Our experiences with the National Student League even within the framework of the united front have attested to the wisdom of our convention's decision on this matter. On October 12 we did not have even a united front of action at the Yankee Stadium against the Italian Fascist students, because the N. S. L., at the orders of the Young Communist League, would not participate in a demonstration that officially recognized the participation of certain Communist youth opposition groups such as the Trotskyites and Lovestoncites. Imagine the bitterness and strain this division would have created within an amalgamated organization.

I take it the editor is distinguishing between a united front in which an actual merger of the organizations does not take place but in which there is only temporary cooperation between the two organizations on a specific issue. One of the headings in this editorial, which has to do with the amalgamation of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, is entitled "Stalin robbed banks." I take it, Mr. Lash, that that title inserted in this editorial was not calculated to refer to the Student League for Industrial Democracy; is that correct?

Mr. LASH. Of course not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it was calculated to refer to the National Student League; is that correct?

Mr. LASH. That they robbed banks?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not say that they robbed banks.

Mr. LASH. The statement was, "Stalin robbed banks." Tell me what is in the copy you have there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I told you. I say, inserted in the editorial under your editorship there is a heading which reads, "Stalin robbed banks." Now, I ask you for your interpretation of the relevancy of calling attention to Stalin as a bank robber in the discussion of an amalgamation between the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy?

Mr. LASH. If you will give me the magazine I will give you the interpretation of it, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is no interpretation. I will pass it to you presently, however.

Mr. LASH. Then, perhaps, there is no occasion, Dr. Matthews, to—

Mr. MATTHEWS (interposing). That heading may have been inserted without any relevancy to the editorial, in other words. Reading the editorial further:

The Student L. I. D. is firmly convinced that young Communists will hesitate at nothing to build the Communist movement which in their hearts is equivalent with the social revolution. The Student L. I. D., although it wishes fervently for the unification of all who are united in their desire for a workers' world, is convinced that the young Communists in the National Student League envision amalgamation as a God-given opportunity to smash the influence of the Socialist movement and Socialist ideas in the student field. The national convention of the Student L. I. D. meeting in December will doubtless again consider the offer of amalgamation made by the National Student League. You will pardon us, comrades, if we then decide to decline.

Now, if you would look over the editorial, Mr. Lash, and see if you can give some specific explanation for the appearance of the heading here, "Stalin robbed banks," I would be glad to have you make that explanation.

Mr. LASH. It is right after the caption, Dr. Matthews; didn't you see it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I saw what is after the caption.

Mr. LASH. There is reference to an incident here; shall I read it to the members of the committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; please read it.

Mr. LASH (reading):

An unpleasant maneuver has just come to light at Oberlin which justifies our disquietude on this point. On October 17 the student L. I. D.—

that is the organization with which I was connected—

received a communication from one "Arthur White" in which Mr. "White" confidentially informed us that a freshman claiming to represent the national office had been trying to organize an L. I. D. at Oberlin. That this freshman's objectionable personality has nullified all of Mr. White's own quiet efforts. Moreover, that this freshman has stated "in contravention of L. I. D. policy" that he favored amalgamation. Particularly did these things distress the sanctioning Mr. White, because this freshman claimed to have received his scholarship through the aid of Norman Thomas.

On investigation it has turned out that Arthur White is a fictitious name representing a group of N. S. L.'ers at Oberlin, who had composed this slanderous letter first to create friction between the national office and our vigorously growing chapter at Oberlin; second, in order to fish out some connection between President Wilkins of Oberlin, Norman Thomas and the granting of the L. I. D. representative's scholarship; and this, because it wanted to sabotage the growing L. I. D.

In other words, the heading refers to what the editors considered the completely unprincipled character of Stalin as reflected in robbing banks in order to advance the movement of the workers in Russia and the unprincipled character of this maneuver and the movement of the National Student League at Oberlin.

Mr. MASON. It is a pretty far-fetched thing; I cannot get it yet—

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not understand perfectly myself how a fictitious Arthur White on the campus at Oberlin trying to undermine the influence of Norman Thomas had anything particularly to do with the heading over it, "Stalin robbed banks," but Mr. Lash inferred that I was not able to read, and so I have had him read it into the record. That is the interpretation which he now makes of that, showing that Stalinists wherever they act do so in an unprincipled manner. At least that is the fact set forth in this particular article.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the fact, that you attempt to set forth that Stalinists did act in an unprincipled manner?

Mr. LASH. In this particular case; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At that time the view that you expressed in your editorial was that any movement to organize the forces on a national scale among the student body was liable to lead to a conflict between the National Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Young Communists—

Mr. LASH (interposing). Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that you said you were opposed to any amalgamation between the National Student League and the L. I. D.?

Mr. LASH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Because you feared this conflict between the Young Communists and your organization for dominance in the national arena of student activities?

Mr. LASH. No; not between our organization and the Young Communists, but between the articulate elements in our organization and the Young Communists.

May I just interpose here to say that I am absolutely willing to answer all questions asked but I hope we will get to the present Student Union. Miss Reynolds can explain many features of that.

Mr. STARNES. I can assure you that we will get right down to it. Of course, we will be happy to go into this movement from its beginning, coming down with its program from its original inception to the present date.

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Lash, do you feel that there has been a change in the methods of Stalinists over what you thought existed when that article was written?

Mr. LASH. At the time we were considering this amalgamation, Mr. Voorhis, I had a letter from Prof. John Dewey, but it, unfortunately, is in my files, in which I asked Professor Dewey what do you think of this proposal to amalgamate, and he said that he did not trust the change in policy of the Communists. This was around the period in which the Communists were changing their policy, but he felt we should take advantage of it while it lasts, and if they were now coming out for democracy that every effort should be made to utilize their efforts for democracy and he said, "Go ahead and see what happens."

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Lash, we know, all of us, that Dr. Dewey certainly changed his mind if he ever did have that opinion, completely, and I think that the things that happened in connection with the Teachers' Union in New York would be illustrative of that fact, but that does not answer my question. What I wanted to know is whether your own opinion regarding the methods and tactics of Stalin is different today than it was when that article was written by you?

Mr. LASH. The easiest thing, Mr. Voorhis, would be to sacrifice the Communists to the lions right now. I will answer your question, Mr. Voorhis, and to denounce them, particularly since I am in such disagreement with their policies, but I think it would be completely unfair to their attitude of cooperation in the American Student Union to do that. They have worked more lately in the American Student Union. They have agreed to abide to the decisions of the majority in the American Student Union. That has been I think because their policy during the past few years has been one of cooperating with the forces of democracy. Now that their policy is changing, no one has been more eloquent in denunciation of that change than I in the proper place. It may be their whole policy in the American Student Union will change. I think then that all of us who have a responsibility to the membership, and who are in the leadership of these organizations, have a responsibility to the membership to see that the organizations remain absolutely steadfast and firm in their loyalty to American principles and in their desire to see progress achieved only within the framework of the American system regardless of what controversies that may bring with Communists now.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Lash, the only question in my mind is whether—and there is no question in my mind, as a matter of fact, but what worries me is the fact that I cannot see but what you were substantially right when you wrote that article. To attempt to make a united movement for the preservation of democracy and democratic principles and prerogatives and attempt to include in it people who just do not believe in it, and whose tactics, as you have indicated in your last statement, may change overnight, I do not see how your movement generally can be successful under those circumstances.

Mr. LASH. If I may answer that in another way, Mr. Voorhis, I will do so: We are dealing with people at the level of college age. Nobody can convince me, and that is one of the reasons that I

later was sorry about that particular remark, "Stalin robbed banks," that young people of college age, whether Communists or anything else are people who are unscrupulous, or people who work as hidden elements. I know that there are young Communists, and I have a great many disagreements with them, but I say if I am honest and can stand up against others in the light of day that they will have to give way, and that they are sincere and honest people and that it is the job of those of us who do believe in democracy to talk with them, to work with them, and to show them how democracy works.

Mr. VOORHIS. I will agree, but I do not think it follows from that for a single, solitary moment that they have to be in the same organization with you when that organization says it is trying to promote democracy.

Mr. STARNES. Let us be honest about this thing. Do you feel that you can help democracy, and when we speak of democracy we do not speak of a democracy as a Socialist would use the term, or as a Communist would use the term, we are speaking of constitutional, representative democracy, do you think that your organization could help improve constitutional, representative democracy by joining forces with a group that you denominate as bank robbers or a group led by bank robbers? Do you think you can improve our democratic institutions in that manner?

Mr. LASH. Mr. Starnes, the answer is that if Young Communists are ready to say they are willing to work along with us for a program to eliminate illiteracy, to establish equality of educational opportunity, to make cultural facilities available to all of our people, to help promote conservation of human resources and other types of social insurance, to undertake to provide medical care for all of our people, to try to create a city beautiful through slum clearance and housing, to guarantee civil liberties and equal political rights to all American citizens, if they are prepared to accept this program and work in activities that are designed to promote this program, then, it seems to me that we have no alternative but to accept their support on these points.

Mr. STARNES. Just a moment. I have allowed you wide latitude in reading from your editorial which was not responsive at all, but the point which the committee is at a loss to understand is this: How you think you could improve constitutional, representative, democratic government and a love for the ideals of such a government in the student body of America by joining forces with a group whose leader you have characterized as a bank robber, when the testimony by the leaders of the Communist Party in this country is that they do not believe in this system of government? This committee is at a loss to understand how you can do that.

Mr. LASH. We have no way of excluding anyone from our organization, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. That may be true, but most organizations usually have a way of selecting those who may join the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this particular case it was not a matter of excluding anybody from the organization, but the direct negotiation or amalgamation between your organization and an organization whose nature, at least, you thought you understood at that time.

Mr. LASH. That was at a different period of time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a moment. I am speaking of this period. In the course of this editorial it is a fact, is it not, as you have refreshed your recollection, Mr. Lash, that you tended, shall I say, to use the National Student League and the word "Communist" interchangeably, and in negotiating with the National Student League you took the position you were negotiating with Communists, is that not correct?

Mr. LASH. Mr. Matthews, the easiest thing in fighting things you do not like is to call them communistic; I fell into that habit myself.

Mr. STARNES. Answer the question.

Mr. LASH. That is my answer, and if I may explain I will.

Mr. STARNES. He asked you a question, though; if you can, answer him directly. Repeat the question, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. My question is: Whether or not he used the name National Student League and the word "Communist" or "Communists" interchangeably in this discussion on the assumption that in negotiating with the National Student League he was negotiating with Communists.

Mr. STARNES. What is your answer?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is, that you used the terms interchangeably?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you mean to imply by what you have said to the chairman that you have since come to believe that there were not Communists dominating the National Student League, or did I misunderstand you?

Mr. LASH. I say that I have come to believe that one should fight ideas with ideas and not by name calling, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of this editorial you stated categorically that the National Student League was dominated by the Young Communist League. That was your opinion at the time. Did you ever modify that view? So long as the National Student League continued to exist it was your view that it was dominated by the Young Communist League or members thereof?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. The answer is yes?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said here you should fight ideas with ideas and not by name calling, but do you not think that if you are going to do that, to call a spade a spade, that it is important to have your ideas clear, and not muddy, and not try to compromise where it is impossible to compromise?

Mr. STARNES. And, do you know of anybody who is in a class with the Communists on name calling?

Mr. LASH. I think you have a point there, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Let us go ahead with Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, so far as this period of the history of the student movement was concerned, this was a case of negotiation between an organization dominated by Communists on the one hand and an organization dominated by Socialists or those of a socialistic viewpoint on the other hand, is that correct?

Mr. LASH. Socialists were in the leadership of the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By using the words "Socialist" and "Communist" I do not mean to indulge in name calling.

Mr. LASH. No; but it is the word "dominated," I think, that is invidious.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is your word here with reference to the Young Communist League. In the case of the Student League for Industrial Democracy you prefer to say that organization was under the leadership of Socialists; is that correct?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that you did have in mind the building of a student movement which would take a radical position with reference to American institutions and society; is that correct?

Mr. LASH. A radical position, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. LASH. How do you define a radical position? We could spend a great deal of time on that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you could spend a great deal of time on that?

Mr. LASH. How do you expect me to answer the question——

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am using a word which in common thought will characterize both Socialists and Communists. I have tried to use a mild term.

Mr. LASH. No one has said yet that the American Student Union was a union of Socialists and Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are interjecting that. I am speaking of this effort to amalgamate the two organizations.

Mr. LASH. But it was an amalgamation of more than Socialists and Communists. It was comprehensive, because there were so many thousands of students involved that we wanted a liberal organization. The National Student League felt we ought to try to have a unity of organization on the campus and therefore that united organization would not be a common denominator between Socialists and Communists but all liberal elements of all kinds and classes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Nevertheless, in this article you are dealing with the amalgamation of two organizations into a united student movement. That is correct, is it not? You are not considering any other thing in this particular editorial. You are speaking about bringing together an organization under the leadership or domination of the Communists and Socialists. I think we would have no difficulty whatever in understanding if the merger came about that it would represent a radical attitude toward American society, or let me use the words of your editorial. You say on page 4 of this issue of the Student Outlook, "We believe that the profit system is the basic evil of modern society." Now, I take it that that is properly described as a radical view of American society, is it not, and by radical I mean a position which aims at a basic change?

Mr. LASH. Is my testimony as to whether this is a radical view necessary in this particular instance?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I am trying to get at the political character of the participants in the negotiating for a merger in an effort to understand just what political objectives the groups applied themselves to in the movement; that is my purpose in making the inquiry.

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Witness, that is one of the most important points of this investigation. You can understand that; you are an

intelligent man. You can understand that if we change from our present capitalistic system of government to one in which there is no profit that we have brought about a complete change in our whole system of living in this country.

MR. LASH. Mr. Voorhis, would you say, or do you think the profit system has been——

MR. STARNES (interposing). You are not permitted to ask questions of the members of the committee.

MR. LASH. Well——

MR. STARNES (interposing). Mr. Lash, you are not permitted to interrogate members of this committee, to address interrogations to them. If you have any statement address it to the Chair or to the counsel. Now, proceed, Dr. Matthews.

MR. VOORHIS. I will be very glad to answer the question.

MR. STARNES. I am willing to rule, Mr. Voorhis, that that is improper.

MR. LASH. Mr. Chairman, I want to explain my purpose in that. I think that a good many of the difficulties and of the problems of America inhere in problems growing out of the profit system. I believe that today, and I believed it at that time.

MR. STARNES. In other words, you do not believe in the profit system?

MR. LASH. But I do not think that is incompatible with loyalty to the American Government or with loyalty to the framework, the laws and the Constitution and the Bill of Rights under which we operate, and I do not believe that anywhere in the Bill of Rights is the profit system incorporated or in the Constitution.

MR. VOORHIS. I would like to comment on that statement, Mr. Chairman.

MR. STARNES. Just a moment. As an American citizen you are entitled to that belief, but, at the same time, I think as an intelligent man you will admit that it is absolutely in contradistinction with what this Government has believed in as a nation since its inception.

MR. LASH. Mr. Chairman, I cannot believe that——

MR. VOORHIS. Well, Mr. Lash——

MR. LASH (interposing). I just cannot believe that Americanism is incompatible with disbelief in some of the elements of the profit system.

MR. VOORHIS. Just let me make one suggestion, Mr. Lash. I do not believe that the American constitutional democracy presupposes any particular economic structure of the country. Neither do I believe that it is the job of this committee to inquire into people's views, but I do believe there is an essential and a deep difference between people who are willing to abide by the methods of constitutional democracy in trying to arrive at what they believe in and people who are not trying to do that.

MR. LASH. Isn't that a job for the Supreme Court, Mr. Voorhis?

MR. STARNES. Proceed, Dr. Matthews.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lash, I was not interested in the question of whether this view would be called one which is wholly disloyal to the American system, but whether or not it, among other things, was the basis for a possible cooperation between the National Student League on the one hand and the Student League for Industrial Democracy on the other hand. You had to have some common ideas and some sympathetic approach to each other through which to achieve some common denominator, and my inquiry was directed

to that question as to whether your common belief, to which you are perfectly entitled, so far as I am concerned, that the profit system is the basic evil of modern society could account for your attempts to get together at all?

Mr. LASH. No. Our common belief that brought us together was our fear of the growth of fascism, and that agitated us more greatly than anything else. You are perfectly aware of that, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. I am not trying to point out that this reference to the profit system was the only thing which you contemplated in uniting. I think it is made clear in subsequent discussions that common hostility to fascism was also a basis for the projected amalgamation of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Mr. LASH. Hostility is not the word, Mr. Matthews. It was just the terrible experience of the victory of Hitler in Germany. Now, you know how that affected our generation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, this amalgamation did eventually take place, did it not, Mr. Lash?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did the amalgamation occur?

Mr. LASH. At Columbus, during Christmas week, 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been in a position of leadership since the amalgamation?

Mr. LASH. I have been national secretary of the American Student Union; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The name of the amalgamated organization was the American Student Union from the beginning, was it?

Mr. LASH. Yes; to aid liberal groups, aid and assist student groups that were interested in one organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have remained in a position of leadership since the beginning of the amalgamated organization?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you came into the amalgamation as the outstanding leader of one organization, the Student League for Industrial Democracy; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. LASH. Yes. Mr. Matthews, do you think we ought to say something about the Student League for Industrial Democracy, as it was also a constituent of that amalgamation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was coming to that. I was going to ask you if you could give the relative figures of the groups which came into the amalgamated organization. First, how many members of the National Student League came into the organization, Mr. Lash?

Mr. LASH. About 600; 600, or 700.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that an estimate of yours, or how do you arrive at that figure of 600? Was that number claimed by the National Student League?

Mr. LASH. This was the list turned over to us of members in that organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The list turned over to you by the National Student League carried approximately 600 names?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members of the Student League for Industrial Democracy came into the amalgamated organization?

Mr. LASH. Between 2,000 and 2,500; I do not recall the number exactly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately how many members of other local, independent campus organizations came into the amalgamated organization?

Mr. LASH. I could not answer that question because most of them did not have individual memberships, and they did not function the way the National Student League functioned. For example, take the Harvard Peace Society, it never turned over to us a membership list, to the American Student Union. It merely went into the American Student Union chapter, so, we never received lists of these other constituent groups, but if you want an approximation of the number by me I would say about 1,000 students were represented by those groups.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any other organization, national in scope, which came into the amalgamated organization at its inception?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The only two organizations which were national in scope were the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy in this new organization; is that correct?

Mr. LASH. We never felt that the National Student League was really national in scope, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It had that in its title; it did purport to be, did it not?

Mr. LASH. It had very few representatives outside of New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But, at least, it had chapters in more than one institution?

Mr. LASH. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whereas, the other groups which associated themselves in the amalgamation were all local campus organizations?

Mr. LASH. Except for the Student League for Industrial Democracy, which was national in scope.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but apart from these two national organizations the others were all local organizations, labor clubs, peace groups, and the like?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were the other officers of the American Student Union at its inception?

Mr. LASH. Mr. George Clifford Edwards, Jr., he was national chairman. Mr. James Wechsler, who was director of publication; Miss Molly Yard was treasurer; and Miss Celeste Strack.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was her position?

Mr. LASH. She was in charge of high-school work. I think that is the list. I do not have the material here. If there are any other names we can supply them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were executive secretary?

Mr. LASH. Yes; I was executive secretary.

Mr. VOORHIS. Miss Celeste Strack is a Communist, is she not?

Mr. LASH. Yes; she is a Communist.

Mr. VOORHIS. She says so.

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lash, can you tell us from which of the two national organizations Mr. Edwards came?

Mr. LASH. Mr. Edwards came from the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Mr. Wechsler?

Mr. LASH. From the National Student League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Miss Yard?

Mr. LASH. She came from the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Celeste Strack?

Mr. LASH. From the National Student League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were from the Student League for Industrial Democracy?

Mr. LASH. Yes; correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the five national officers the Student League for Industrial Democracy had three, and the National Student League had two?

Mr. LASH. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that correct?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have, in addition to these national officers any governing body, national in scope, such as a board of directors or national committee?

Mr. LASH. Yes; we had a national committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members were there on that national committee, do you recall, Mr. Lash?

Mr. LASH. I believe 30.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Thirty members?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any agreed division of representation in that national committee, between the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy?

Mr. LASH. I think that 8 people were supposed to be nominated by the National Student League, and 12 by the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and 10 people by the various unaffiliated groups that were coming into the organization at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The National Student League received a somewhat higher proportion than it was entitled to on the basis of its members, did it not, according to your statement?

Mr. LASH. I am trying to figure out the mathematics of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The mathematics, according to your figures given a moment ago, show that the Student League for Industrial Democracy had four times as many members as the National Student League, so that the National Student League did receive a considerably larger proportion of representatives on the national committee, and also among the officers than they were entitled to by virtue of their membership. That appears to be correct, does it not?

Mr. LASH. If you want to think of it in those terms; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any way of knowing, Mr. Lash, how many of these representatives of the National Student League who became members of the national committee of the American Student Union were members of the Young Communist League?

(The witness shook his head.)

Mr. STARNES. Your answer is you do not know?

Mr. LASH. I do not know. I am sorry. I forget the stenographer all the time.

Mr. STARNES. Do not forget the stenographer, please. He cannot take down those head shakes; he has to hear your answers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It has been your experience, has it not, Mr. Lash, that Communists sometimes conceal their membership in the Communist Party or in the Young Communist League?

Mr. LASH. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that organizations set up and controlled by the Communist Party sometimes disavow their origin, is that correct also?

Mr. LASH. Would you mind repeating that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has it been your experience that organizations set up by and/or controlled by Communists sometimes disavow this phase of control and origin?

Mr. LASH. I think they do sometimes, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that it is also within the scope of your experience that individuals have been misled into associating themselves with a communistically dominated organization because of the Communist tactics of disavowing control, is that correct? If you want to examine something there I will just suspend for a moment while you do so, Mr. Lash.

Mr. LASH. It seems to me that individuals who join organizations on the basis of their confidence in the integrity of individuals deserve to be misled. They ought to join organizations on the basis of their program and activities, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me repeat the question, and I think, perhaps, you can answer it categorically. Has it been your experience that individuals were misled in the matter of whether or not an organization they joined was controlled by the Communists?

Mr. LASH. I have never personally met such an individual.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lash, didn't you testify at the very outset this morning that you yourself were precisely in that category, that you joined the delegation to Harlan, Ky., under the auspices of the National Student League, that you were misled as to its character, and that only when you went to Kentucky and subsequently did you discover that it was a Communist organization?

Mr. LASH. I said that I was misled with respect to the sponsorship of the trip, but I have no regrets for having taken the trip, and I justify all the purposes of the trip.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not talking about whether you regret taking the trip, or liked it, or enjoyed it, or anything about it. You testified at the beginning of the hearing this morning, or near the beginning, not only with reference to the auspices of that particular delegation, but to the fact that you did not know when you went to Kentucky that the National Student League, as such, was a Communist-controlled organization.

Mr. LASH. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you yourself were to some degree, for some purpose, misled?

Mr. LASH. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that you have met at least one person, in yourself, who has been misled in that respect?

Mr. LASH. Misled not with respect to the objectives of the expedition, Mr. Matthews, or the purpose of the expedition.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not talking about the purpose of it at all. I am talking about the National Student League. I think your testimony will show, Mr. Lash, that you also testified that you did not know at that particular time that the National Student League was under the control of the Communists, wholly apart from this delegation to Kentucky.

Now, Mr. Lash, subsequent to the amalgamation of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, what were your general activities on the campus? Can you summarize those briefly, and can you give us the principal lines of activities in which the new organization engaged?

Mr. LASH. On Monday, I believe, this committee received a very lengthy report from Major Wilson with respect to the activities of the American Student Union, based on his conversations with deans of colleges, presidents, and so forth, and on his conversations, as far as can be made out, with officers of the American Student Union. I would like to find out if, at this point, we would have permission to introduce into the record an equivalent account of our activities based on our knowledge of those activities, and meanwhile I will summarize those activities for the benefit of the committee.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead and make your statement and then if you have any documentary evidence or statements to submit here you may introduce them. As I understand it, you want to put into the record your statement as to the activities of the Student Union?

Mr. LASH. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Your purposes, and your ideals?

Mr. LASH. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You can do that, of course.

Mr. LASH. Thank you.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed with your questioning now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were the lines of activity in which the new organization engaged?

Mr. LASH. Our lines of activity were concerned with the preservation of civil liberties within the educational system by safeguarding the rights of teachers who may be victimized in local communities for expressing views that were not consonant with the opinions of some groups in that community. We are concerned with defending the interests of our student generation. That is, the problem that many college students were being compelled to drop out of college because of lack of funds, and so forth. We were concerned very much with the problem of peace, and we held sessions and organized forums and organized activities in connection with our peace program.

We were very much concerned with the problem of having the Government meet human needs in this country, in terms of legislation that would meet the needs of our people for housing, for health, and for education, and so forth.

We were very much concerned, and this, I think, is the basic principle of our program, that irrespective of what students think,

they should concern themselves with social problems, and we tried in every way possible to stimulate young people to think about social issues.

Now, characteristic of activities that our chapters would carry on would be surveys of housing conditions. For example, our Vassar chapter made a survey of conditions of housing of Negroes in Poughkeepsie.

At Harvard our chapter there cooperated with Tom Elliott in his campaign for Congress in order to get practical experience in politics, because Mr. Elliott represented ideals in which the A. S. U. believed.

Our chapters also organized cooperative eating houses, and they organized cooperative book exchanges, and cooperative laundries, and every manner and variety of cooperatives in order to enable students to live more cheaply, and the very experience of cooperation was an important thing for them.

Then, another aspect of our work was in connection with cultural activities. I notice you have the Harvard Progressive there, put out by the Harvard Student Union, and our various chapters put out publications which are generally very highly regarded on the campus, and which call in the best talent on the campus and bring out the capacities of people for thinking about social problems and using their skill as poets, writers, and dramatists in connection with the real needs of our people. For example, our Harvard Student Union chapter recently put on a production of *The Cradle Will Rock*, which the author said was one of the best amateur productions of it that he ever saw, and for which all Harvard turned out.

Our New York chapters have just put on a production called *Pens and Pencils*, a production which played to two capacity audiences on two nights running, with very great talent there. I think the committee would be interested in the sentiments expressed on that same subject. I did not sing so well in Spain, but to show I can sing one of the ballads went this way:

If you see an un-American come lurking near,
Why, alkalize with Martin Dies and he will disappear!

MR. STARNES. I see the statement which you made that you cannot sing with a tune is true.

MR. LASH. That is correct; yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lash, will you state whether or not there was any one outstanding event of the year in the work of the American Student Union to which you attach particular importance?

MR. LASH. Yes; our spring peace demonstration, peace strike.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you hold that in the spring of 1935?

MR. LASH. It was held in the spring of 1936. The American Student Union was formed at Christmas, 1935, so that our first strike activity could have been only in 1936.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you call it a peace strike?

MR. LASH. Yes; we did.

MR. MATTHEWS. In 1936?

MR. LASH. We did.

MR. MATTHEWS. How many students participated in the peace strike that year, do you recall?

MR. LASH. I believe about 6,000,000.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you have one in 1937?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how many participants were there that year?

Mr. LASH. I believe that the United Student Peace Committee which organized that peace strike, not the American Student Union, said it roughly was about a million or more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say United Student Peace Committee in what respect did that differ from the American Student Union?

Mr. LASH. We were one organization in question on that committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the American Student Union take credit for setting that up?

Mr. LASH. The Student Peace Service connected with the Quakers claimed credit for setting up the United States Peace Committee, and also the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. claim credit for it. There have been many arguments as to who should have credit for it. It has been such a good thing in fact that everybody wanted credit for it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the American Student Union claims credit?

Mr. LASH. Yes; certainly we do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you call the 1937 demonstration a peace strike?

Mr. LASH. I believe the United Student Peace Committee did call it a peace strike; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1938 was there a demonstration of the same character?

Mr. LASH. Is that this year?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; this is 1939.

Mr. LASH. There was a strike, peace demonstration, I think it was called a strike; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1938?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know how many students participated in that demonstration?

Mr. LASH. I think the United Student Peace Committee said about 1,000,000 students.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was there one this year?

Mr. LASH. Yes; there was a strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you changed the name this year, did you not, from strike to something else?

Mr. LASH. The language was explained by the committee when they sent out the call urging the students to get together. We all felt it was very inadequate, and there was a big controversy in the committee as to what it should be called, and since there could be no agreement we finally agreed on a common denominator and called it a "get-together."

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1939 you had a spring get-together?

Mr. LASH. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how many of the students got together on that occasion?

Mr. LASH. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About a million or so?

Mr. LASH. You see, peace activities in the clubs have now become so traditional that in a university everybody there participates in those demonstrations, so that you can estimate practically the entire college population takes part in these things—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just what did you mean by peace strike?

Mr. LASH. A prominent demonstration about what the students were feeling about the growing imminence of war, and something that would give the impression of everybody acting at one time so that it would come to the attention of people. Everybody knows the value and the influence of getting publicity, and we were trying to think of terms of action that would get the attention of the American people. So, we hit upon the use of the word "strike." The "strike" was never in fact a strike against the college authorities. We always invited the college authorities to support the actions and participate, and in many cases they did, but the general idea of the strike was a unified, national demonstration of the sentiments and wishes of the young people in the country for peace and for American action on behalf of peace.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In any one of these demonstrations, which were usually called peace strikes, did you favor the so-called Oxford pledge?

Mr. LASH. I believe not, because we always found it very difficult to get support for the Oxford pledge among our groups of students, and in the interests of getting unified demonstrations we did not urge the support of the Oxford pledge in connection with the peace strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you spoke of peace as one of the major departments of the activity of the American Student Union, Mr. Lash.

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please tell us when the Oxford pledge was adopted as the view of the American Student Union?

Mr. LASH. It was incorporated in our program at the Columbus convention in 1935, not without controversy, but it was incorporated in that program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the margin by which it was placed in the program of the American Student Union?

Mr. LASH. No; I do not remember. In the vote there was a compromise worked out, and everybody agreed it should be in the program.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, the Oxford pledge, as I understand it, is one taken to the effect that the pledger will not participate in any war of any kind on behalf of his government if called by his government to do so?

Mr. LASH. It was our way of implementing our government obligations under the Kellogg-Briand Pact where the Government undertook to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. It never had any more significance than that, even though Communists and Socialists tried to give it much greater significance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was a case of renouncing war as an instrument of personal policy rather than national policy?

Mr. LASH. That is right. It was a personal pledge, consistent with the pledge of our Government not to revert to war under the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you state in your program it was intended to implement the Kellogg Pact?

Mr. LASH. I don't know. Do you have it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was not so stated. I thought it should be clear for the record, if it was your interpretation. In these peace

strikes, did you include high-school students, as well as college students?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there any high schools that participated in these demonstrations?

Mr. LASH. No; we felt it was incorrect to ask high-school students to strike, because they didn't have any knowledge of what it meant. High-school students protested very vigorously. They said we were patronizing them; that they had as much right to think and act in ways they thought desirable as anyone, but we felt a meeting sponsored in the school by the principal and the student speakers was a desirable form of action in the assemblies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the high schools?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that work under the direction of Celeste Strack in the Student Union?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated Celeste Strack was in charge of the high-school work.

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Celeste Strack, who is an admitted Communist, in charge of your high-school work for peace?

Mr. LASH. In the year that the American Student Union alone sponsored the peace strike, which was in 1936. After that it was carried out by the United Peace Committee. I should say she left the Student Union after the first year, as soon as we could get leadership that was non-Communist.

Mr. STARNES. You mean she was not associated with it at all after that?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As an official or in any other capacity?

Mr. LASH. In no other capacity, no. She may have been a member of our national committee for another year. I am not certain about that. But she was not an active officer of the American Student Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like just to refresh your recollection on that particular point. This first letterhead in 1936 lists Miss Strack as national high-school secretary; in 1938 Miss Strack is listed as a member of the executive committee of the American Student Union.

Mr. LASH. May I see that, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. LASH. That is correct, yes; and she was no longer on our national committee after the 1938 convention.

Mr. STARNES. Miss Strack was with them until 1938?

Mr. LASH. Not as an active officer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a member of the executive committee. Mr. Lash, when was the Oxford pledge abandoned as a policy of the American Student Union on the question of personal participation in war?

Mr. LASH. At our convention in Vassar College, Christmas week, 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that for 2 years the Oxford pledge was the official view of the American Student Union?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When the Oxford pledge was abandoned at the Vassar convention in Christmas week of 1937 was there a spirited, or you could say perhaps, a heated debate on the question of abandoning that view?

Mr. LASH. Oh, there certainly was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lash, did you personally lead the fight, or would you consider it immodest to say that, in the abolishment or abandonment of the Oxford pledge?

Mr. LASH. I was one of those who spoke on the subject.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were for the abandonment of the Oxford pledge?

Mr. STARNES. What year was that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Christmas week of 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Was that just before you went to Spain to fight?

Mr. LASH. No; it was after I had returned.

Mr. STARNES. You had already been fighting some years?

Mr. LASH. I didn't do any fighting in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did what you could to support those who were fighting in Spain, however, on the side of the Loyalist forces?

Mr. LASH. Absolutely. I have no regrets on that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the question of the Spanish civil war have a bearing on the position of the American Student Union in abandoning the Oxford pledge?

Mr. LASH. Mr. Matthews, I notice you have a copy of my speech at the convention, in which I explained my personal reasons. I don't have it myself. I think that would be the best way of explaining why I changed my own opinion about the Oxford pledge. It is very brief.

Mr. STARNES. When did you go to Spain?

Mr. LASH. I went to Spain in May 1937.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you stay?

Mr. LASH. I will try to get my dates straight. May 1937, yes. I stayed 3 months.

Mr. STARNES. Who paid your expenses?

Mr. LASH. Well, people that were sending volunteers to Spain.

Mr. STARNES. The Communist Party?

Mr. LASH. I don't know about that.

Mr. STARNES. You do know the Communist Party was recruiting volunteers for Loyalist Spain?

Mr. LASH. Yes; I know that.

Mr. STARNES. And you do know, if you kept up with the proceedings of the committee, through the press, that Communist leaders have admitted that they not only solicited volunteers, but they helped finance the movement. Isn't that true?

Mr. LASH. I don't recall the testimony on that in that respect.

Mr. STARNES. You don't recall the testimony?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. STARNES. You didn't pay your own expenses?

Mr. LASH. No; I didn't pay my own expenses.

Mr. STARNES. You don't know the organization that did pay your expenses, other than that it was the same organization that was soliciting funds from the American public to send volunteers to Loyalist Spain?

Mr. LASH. It was an educational society that one went to when one wanted funds, or when one wanted to go as a volunteer to Spain.

Mr. STARNES. Did your organization, as an organization, vote to abolish with reference to the Spanish war?

Mr. LASH. Our organization never supported sending volunteers to Spain. It had nothing to do with it at all.

Mr. STARNES. Did you urge others to go and fight for what you deemed to be democracy in Spain?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. STARNES. You merely went yourself?

Mr. LASH. I went myself.

Mr. STARNES. Did your organization take any attitude with reference to lifting the embargo upon Spain?

Mr. LASH. It favored it.

Mr. STARNES. It favored it?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any reference with respect to placing an embargo upon Italy, Germany, and Japan?

Mr. LASH. We favored our Government using every effort to restrain aggression.

Mr. STARNES. By the use of embargo, if necessary?

Mr. LASH. Yes; by use of the embargo, if necessary.

Mr. STARNES. Were you willing to go along in this fight against what you call fascism and nazi-ism, so far as to be willing to have your country use armed force if necessary for what you deemed to be democracy?

Mr. LASH. No; our organization's general policy was that it was in the interest of keeping America out of war that our Government work to prevent wars from breaking out, but that once war broke out, our whole effort had to be to see that this country stayed out of that war. We felt an ounce of prevention was the thing that was necessary. One of the reasons why we felt so strongly, Mr. Starnes, about Republican Spain, was that we felt if our Government lifted the embargo it would not involve us at all in this European war, and it would enable the Spanish people, who to us were the spokesmen of democracy, to win that war, and in that way discourage further aggression. We thought that was in the interest of the American people.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead with your examination, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could there be any question what attitude your organization would take with regard to Russia's present invasion of Finland?

Mr. LASH. I don't feel that I can commit my organization—

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't want you to commit it. Is there any doubt that they would denounce that action?

Mr. LASH. I hope not. I think the action should be condemned.

Mr. VOORHIS. But what do you think the organization would do?

Mr. LASH. You put me in a very embarrassing position. You ask me to commit my organization before this committee—

Mr. VOORHIS. No; I don't want you to do that.

Mr. LASH. If I say before this committee that our organization should condemn this particular action, then our convention cannot

discuss it objectively and honestly, because I have already made a statement in the press, et cetera, and I feel that our organization should discuss this on a basis that has no outside pressure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you came back from Spain in advance of your national convention, didn't you make a statement to the effect that you thought the Oxford pledge should be abandoned?

Mr. LASH. In advance of the convention?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. LASH. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you were not squeamish then.

Mr. LASH. No. Mr. Voorhis' question was did I think the organization would do something this coming Christmas. If Mr. Voorhis asked me if I would recommend at our convention the condemnation of the violence against Finland, I would say, "Yes."

Mr. MATTHEWS. You also know that the Communist members of the American Student Union will be compelled to defend the aggression against Finland.

Mr. LASH. Well, they will have to defend it with argument.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know they will have to defend it, don't you? You know enough about Communists to know that.

Mr. LASH. They will have to defend it with argument.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you know the Communists in the American Student Union will maintain that the United States Government is a party to this perfidy by which Finland tried to make aggression against the Soviet Union.

Mr. LASH. I don't see how that is relevant to the thing we are discussing here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is relevant to the constituent members of the American Student Union.

Mr. LASH. That is an expression of your own opinion. If you want to get it on the record, all right. Everybody knows your opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is in the Daily Worker to the effect that Mr. Roosevelt has already placed a memorandum with the State Department to use Finland as a basis for war by the United States upon the Soviet Union. I ask you if it is not true that the members of the American Student Union who are members of the Communist Party or who are Communists will be compelled to defend that view if it is set forth in the official organ of the party, the Daily Worker?

Mr. LASH. Why don't you ask the Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have had experience with that; you have been dealing with that for years.

Mr. LASH. I will make the statement that Communists, as long as they remain Communists, will defend Communist policies. There is nothing startling about that.

Mr. VOORHIS. But doesn't it make it quite difficult to pursue a consistent policy with regard to peace when you have a group in your organization whose ideas about peace and foreign policy are going to be determined in the last analysis not on the basis of reason, or on the basis of what somebody says?

Mr. LASH. It is easy to say, "Let's not have anything to do with these people," but I find the interesting thing in life is to meet with people with whom I disagree and talk those things over and establish a point of view.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all right, if you can predict what they are going to think.

Mr. LASH. They can't predict what I am going to think, either.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do the Communists in the American Student Union also take the position that the Oxford pledge should be abandoned?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, it was a bloc led by the Communists, was it not?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That pushed through the abandonment of the Oxford pledge at Vassar?

Mr. LASH. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Communists in the convention of the American Student Union at Vassar take a leading role in that fight to abrogate the Oxford pledge?

Mr. LASH. They played a part.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you have brought about the abandonment of the Oxford pledge without a change in the party line on that subject, the Communist Party line?

Mr. LASH. It would have been more difficult. I believe I would have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Didn't you say at one time that you doubted whether or not you could have brought about the abandonment of the Oxford pledge if the Communist Party line had not changed on that subject?

Mr. LASH. That is what I am saying. It would have been much more difficult, but I believe we would have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the position of the Communists in the American Student Union was at least influential enough to make it easier to abandon the Oxford pledge than otherwise would have been the case.

Mr. LASH. There are Communists in the American Student Union. They have democratic rights like everybody else. They argue at conventions; they argue at our meetings; we argue with them. When we are able to convince them that our position is correct they adopt it. What is sensational about that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did I say it was sensational?

Mr. LASH. You seem to spend a lot of time on it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will come back to the question you haven't answered yet. Did you say at one time that the abandonment of the Oxford pledge was expedited or made easy or made possible because the Communist Party line had changed in accordance with your view on the Oxford pledge?

Mr. LASH. I said it this morning; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So the Communists did have not only a democratic right in the American Student Union but they had a position sufficiently influential to make it easy for you to develop a policy in accordance with the Communist view?

Mr. LASH. Now, look, Mr. Matthews, I am considering the problem of a statement on foreign policy at the coming convention with respect to the Finnish aggression. I write to some of my friends at Harvard and ask them how would the Harvard delegation feel about a statement on this thing; I write to a couple of other places and ask them how they would feel. Obviously we do it. Others do it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lash, did the American Student Union participate in the May day parades under the control of the Communist Party in New York?

Mr. LASH. The American Student Union local chapters have the right to. Our New York chapters of the American Student Union have taken part in May Day parades. As to who controls the May Day parades, I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lash, you know very well, do you not, that the May Day parade called under the sponsorship of the United May Day Committee was controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. LASH. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no views about that?

Mr. LASH. I haven't examined the records or anything, Mr. Matthews. I didn't know I was coming down here to testify about May Day, or whatever May day you are talking about.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is an activity of the American Student Union.

Mr. LASH. An activity of one of the groups of the American Student Union. We don't control all the chapters. They have the right locally to undertake any action they desire.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Daily Worker, May 1, 1939, page 2, Mr. Chairman, there is a list of the organizations participating in the United May Day Committee. I ask that this entire list be incorporated in the record. The division No. 13 is headed by the American Student Union.

Mr. STARNES. It may be made a part of the record.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

1ST DIVISION

Assemble 10:00 A. M.—56th St., between
8th and 9th Avenues.

1. United May Day Committee.
2. Building Trades.
 - a. District Council No. 9 Painters.
 - b. All Council No. 9 Painters' Locals.
 - c. District Council No. 18 Painters.
 - d. All Council No. 18 Painters Locals.
 - e. Painters Auxiliaries and Clubs.
 - f. Mural Artists Guild.
 - g. Lumber Yard Workers.
 - h. Masons and bricklayers.
 - i. Marble and Tile Workers.
 - j. Other Building Trades Workers.
 - k. Motion Picture Operators.

2ND DIVISION

Assemble 11:00 A. M.—56th St., between
9th and 11th Aves.

- Fur, Dress, Cloak, etc.
- a. Furriers Joint Council.
 - b. All Fur Locals.
 - c. Cleaners and Dyers.
 - d. Journeymen Tailors.
 - e. Button Hole Makers.
 - f. Other Amalgamated Clothing Workers.
 - g. I. L. G. W. U. Dressmakers.
 - h. I. L. G. W. U. Cloakmakers.

Fur, Dress, Cloak, etc.—Con.

- i. I. L. G. W. Knitgoods Workers.
- j. Millinery Workers.
- k. Other Needle Trades Workers.

3RD DIVISION

Assemble 11:30 A. M.—55th St., be-
tween 8th and 10th Aves.

Food.

1. Hotel, Restaurant, and Cafeteria Joint Board.
 - a. Cafeteria.
 - b. Hotel and Restaurant.
 - c. Hotel and Club.
 - d. Pastry Cooks.
 - e. Cooks and Countermen.
 - f. Waiters and Waitresses.
 - g. Luncheonette and Fountain.
 - h. Delicatessen Countermen.
 - i. Dining Car Employees.
2. Bakers Joint Board.
 - a. All Bakers Locals.
3. Amalgamated Meat Cutters.
4. Fish Workers.
5. United Sandwich Workers.
6. Other Workers of Food Industry.

4TH DIVISION

Assemble 12 noon—55th St., between
10th and 11th Aves.

- Marine, Communications, Transport,
Railroad.
- a. National Maritime Union.

- b. Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Union.
- c. Scandinavian Seamen's Club.
- d. Other Workers in Marine Industry.
- e. Transport Workers.
- f. Railroad Workers.

5TH DIVISION

Assemble 12:30 P. M.—54th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.

- Furniture and Shoe.
- a. United Furniture Workers Joint Council.
- b. Furniture Workers Locals.
- c. United Shoe Workers Joint Council No. 13.
- d. Shoe Workers Locals.

6TH DIVISION

Assemble 1:00 P. M.—54th St., between 9th and 10th Aves.

- Electrical, Radio, Novelty.
- a. U. E. R. M. W. A., District No. 4.
- b. All U. E. R. M. W. A. Locals.
- c. Watch and Watchcase Workers, Local 47.
- d. Jewelry Workers.
- e. Novelty Mirror Workers.
- f. Pocketbook Workers.
- g. Suitcase and Bagmakers.

7TH DIVISION

Assemble 1:30 P. M.—54th St., between 10th and 11th Aves.

Wholesale and Retail Clerks.

- a. Wholesale Clerks.
- b. Department Stores.
- c. Retail Clothing.
- d. Dry Goods.
- e. Retail Stands.
- f. Retail Drug.
- g. Radio Sporting Goods.
- h. Retail Paint and Hardware.
- i. Other Clerks' Locals.

8TH DIVISION

Assemble 2:00 P. M.—53rd St., between 8th and 9th Aves.

- Miscellaneous Unions.
- a. United American Artists.
- b. United Association Plumbers, Auxiliary No. 463.
- c. Electrical Workers, AFL.
- d. Glass and China Decorators.
- e. United Beauty Culturists.
- f. United Cigar Workers.
- g. United Mine Workers.
- h. United Paper Workers.
- i. Paper Box Makers.
- j. Window Trimmers.
- k. Iron and Steel Workers.
- l. Printing Trades.
- m. Butchers.

- n. Domestic Workers.
- o. Other miscellaneous Unions and Trade Union Groups.

9TH DIVISION

Assemble 2:30 P. M.—53rd St., between 9th and 10th Aves.

- Political Organizations.
- a. Communist Party.
- b. Young Communist League.

10TH DIVISION

Assemble 2:30 P. M.—53rd St., between 10th and 11th Aves.

Veterans Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

11TH DIVISION

Assemble 3:00 P. M.—39th St., between 9th and 11th Aves.

- Professional and Office.
- a. Teachers.
- b. Psychologists League.
- c. Lawyers.
- d. Architects and Engineers.
- e. Advertising Guild.
- f. Social Service Workers.
- g. Office Workers.
- h. Photographers.
- i. Newspapermen.
- j. Cultural Workers.
- k. New Theatre League.
- l. Musicians.
- m. All other Professional Workers.

13TH DIVISION

Assemble 3:45 P. M.—38th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.

- Youth Organizations.
- a. American Students Union.
- b. Adult Educational Student League.
- c. Alumni Hebrew Nat'l Orphan Asylum.
- d. Vanguard Community Center.
- e. Youth Council (Bronx House).
- f. Young American Artists.
- g. Other Youth Organizations.

14TH DIVISION

Assemble 4:00 P. M.—38th St., between 9th and 11th Aves.

- Fraternal Organizations.
- a. International Workers Order.
- b. Italian May Day Committee.
- c. United Ukrainian Organizations.
- d. Russian May Day Committee.
- e. American Friends of the Soviet Union.
- f. Workmen's Circle Branches.
- g. Jewish Lathers' Relief Society.
- h. Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund.
- i. German Organizations.

1. Federation German American Clubs.
2. German American Relief Committee.
3. Deutscher-Arbeiter Club, Inc.
4. Arbeiter Saengenchor.
5. Nature Friends.
6. Other German Organizations.

15TH DIVISION

Assemble 4:30 P. M.—37th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.

- Peace, Relief, Civil Rights.
- a. American League for Peace and Democracy.
 - b. International Labor Defense.
 - c. Polish Patronati.
 - d. Icor.
 - e. American Friends of the Chinese People.
 - f. Chinese Organizations.
 - g. Japanese Organizations.
 - h. Korean Organizations.
 - i. Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
 - j. Spanish Organizations.
1. Club Obrero Espanol.
 2. Comites Femeninos Unidos.
 3. Comite Pro-Democracia Espanola.
 4. Grupo Mexico.
 5. Other Spanish Organizations.

16TH DIVISION

Assemble 5:00 P. M.—37th St., between 9th and 11th Aves.

Language and Cultural Organizations.
(With the exception of I. W. O. language branches marching in the 14th Division).

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lash, I would like to recapitulate some of these matters, but before I do that, I think I intended to have you identify this pamphlet, and I was interrupted. You asked for it yourself.

Mr. LASH. Yes; this is the speech I made at the Vassar convention of the American Student Union, in which I explain why I personally feel that the Oxford pledge should be dropped from the program. I don't want to take up the time of the committee, but I would like this particular section incorporated in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That will begin on page 21 and include page 22, and down to the heading on page 23.

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Those are statements made by the witness himself?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right, they may be included in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

- a. Freiheit Gezangs Farcin.
- b. Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra.
- c. Lithuanian Organizations.
- d. Greek Workers Club.
- e. Bulgarian Macedonian Club.
- f. Croatian-American Singing Society.
- g. Serbian Workers Club.
- h. Finnish Organizations.
- i. Armenian Organizations.
- j. Estonian Workers Club.

17TH DIVISION

Assemble 5:30 P. M.—36th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.

Tenants, Civic and Miscellaneous Organizations.

- a. Sign Writers.
- b. Government Employees.
- c. W. P. A. Research and Clerical Workers.
- d. Amalgamated Plumbers.
- e. City-Wide Tenants Council.
- f. Yorkville Tenants League.
- g. Citizens Civic Affairs Committee.
- h. East New York Community Center.
- i. East Side Dramatic Group.
- j. American Artist School.
- k. Hamilton Heights Good Neighbors.
- l. Middle Bronx Workers Center.
- m. Putnam Park Colony.
- n. Workers Fellowship of Ethical Culture.
- o. Parent-Teacher Association.
- p. Jedevisto Singing Society.
- q. Late Relief Society.

MAKE AMERICA A FORCE FOR PEACE

Up to this point in this section on peace there has been general concurrence by the national staff. What we will say now, we believe, represents the

sentiments of a large section of the A. S. U., of many members of the staff. It represents my own position.

We can no longer subscribe to the Oxford Pledge of nonsupport to any war which the government may undertake. We consider it not only valueless in the present circumstances but actually a deterrent in the campaign for peace. Our concern is to keep America out of war; this demands a positive peace policy now. The Oxford Pledge talks fatalistically about what we will do when war comes. Our concern is with how to prevent war from spreading; how to maintain the peace we have; how to restore the peace that has been shattered by fascist aggression. The Oxford Pledge demobilizes this immediate struggle for peace.

With the fascists madly brandishing their war torches, the Oxford Pledge assumes that the main instigator of war today is the United States. Directing itself solely against the U. S. government it breeds the illusion that we can separate the struggle to keep the United States out of war from what is going on in the rest of the world. The fact that the advocates of the Pledge can laboriously reinterpret it to mean everything from opposition to militarism to freedom for colonial peoples only testifies to the Talmudic skill of its upholders.

The primary task of the peace movement today is not to intone sanctimoniously what it will do when war comes—making advance reservations for martyrdom—but to take action to forestall the conditions in which we have to choose between donning a uniform or marching off to a concentration camp. The Oxford Pledge has literally kept thousands of students out of the A. S. U. If it represented some rare vision of truth, there might be arguments for retaining it, but when it diverts attention from our real task, we say out with it.

We believe and the American student body believes that our country *can* be kept out of war if it snaps out of its isolationist dream world and acts to stop war now. It can do so along the lines indicated by President Roosevelt in his clarion call to action against the war-makers. At the present moment to make our basic objective—as some would have us do—to resist President Roosevelt's moves toward international cooperation against fascist aggression is tragically to underestimate the war-making role of the fascist war alliance: is to strengthen the camp of isolation; is to lead inevitably into that world war which we all fear. Only one policy can prevent our being involved in war and that is collective action to halt aggression. We have supported the international people's boycott against Japan. We must support an immediate embargo upon Japan. Every obstacle must be placed in the way of fascist aggression in the Far East.

In this hour so crucial to world peace, let us not be theologians arguing over texts.

We stated last year in the case of Spain and we repeat it in the case of China; retreat before aggression does not enthrone goodwill in the world, does not insure peace, does not pave the way for justice. Only the creation of an international anti-fascist peace front, in which the leadership of the United States is essential, can assure these ends.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lash, with reference to claims made by various organizations for the achievement of certain ends, you are aware of the fact, are you not, that Mr. Earl Browder has claimed the major credit on behalf of the Young Communist League and the National Student League, working jointly, for the setting up of the American Student Union?

MR. LASH. Mr. Matthews, do you remember I came to you and asked you to go to Mr. Thomas and ask Mr. Thomas to intervene and support amalgamation? Do you claim credit for the American Student Union?

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, I don't know whether it is credit or not, but the record is already clear on that point, Mr. Chairman. I testified before this committee last year.

MR. LASH. The point I want to make—

MR. MATTHEWS. I testified that I supported the amalgamation, and as a responsible member of the board of directors for the League of Industrial Democracy voted for the amalgamation.

Mr. LASH. In other words, a lot of people claim credit for it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. But I haven't ever claimed credit for the setting up of the American Student Union, nor did I ever claim credit for having any part whatsoever in the organization of the American Youth Congress, about which there was given false testimony before this committee yesterday on that particular subject.

Mr. CADDEN. Mr. Chairman, that is——

Mr. STARNES. Will you be seated, and not interrupt the proceedings of this committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I want to read for the record Mr. Browder's statement on the character of the National Student League. On page 43 of Mr. Browder's book, entitled "Communism in the United States" we have the following:

Another auxiliary movement of great importance that has appeared as a serious factor only in the last 2 years is the revolutionary movement among the students. In the student movement we are also dealing with a mixed class composition. The movement began principally in the higher institutions of learning, with predominant middle class composition. It has rapidly spread to the secondary schools and involves a large number of proletarian students in its activity, led and organized by the National Student League. This movement has established a base in hundreds of high schools, colleges, and universities. It has become national in scope. It has exerted a great influence in all intellectual circles. In the beginning it has been revolutionary in its program and activities.

Miss REYNOLDS. Mr. Starnes, I wonder if I might say something there.

Mr. STARNES. After the conclusion of Mr. Lash's testimony we will be glad to have you make a statement if you have any information to give us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now I come back to the question which the witness did not answer, whether or not he is aware of the fact that Mr. Browder has claimed on behalf of the Young Communist League the major credit for the setting up of the American Student Union?

Mr. LASH. During the last 2 years Mr. Browder has claimed credit for the development of every democratic development in this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you aware of the fact that Mr. Browder went on the stand before this committee and designated the American Student Union as one of the "transmission belts" used by the Communist Party?

Mr. LASH. I know that he said that, and the only sense in which that can be true is that there are Communists in the American Student Union. I would say in that connection that Communists join the American Student Union for pretty much the same reason that Republicans and Democrats join fraternal organizations, benevolent associations, and so on, to make contacts, make friends, increase their influence, et cetera.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lash, there would be substance given to Mr. Browder's claim by the fact that the national high-school secretary of the American Student Union was Miss Celeste Strack, an admitted member of the Communist Party; is that not the case?

Mr. LASH. Well, to the extent that Communists have positions of influence in the American Student Union, and to the extent they have members in the American Student Union, they have influence; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have admitted that Miss Celeste Strack is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LASH. No; that was your statement, and I agreed to it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You agreed with it?

Mr. LASH. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, that concludes the questions.

Mr. LASH. I would like to put a statement in the record, if I may.

Mr. STARNES. You may hand them to the reporter, who will see that they are incorporated in the record.

(The statements referred to are as follows:)

WHY AN ASU

There was a time when the opportunities and freedoms afforded by our democracy in a world at peace seemed as inevitably part of the American landscape as familiar rivers, mountains and plains. And students like everyone else took these things for granted.

A cyclone has devastated that peaceful landscape.

What undergraduate now prepares for a career with the old assurance that there will be a job?

Does anyone believe that democracy as a way of life is unchallenged even in the United States?

And can anyone assume that the moving finger of aggression which in seven years has brought horror and devastation to one-third of the world may not point at our country?

Small is the number of undergraduates who any longer make a virtue of their indifference to these issues. In swelling numbers students are demanding that education deal with these issues, clarify them and point to their solution. Increasingly students are accepting their responsibility as citizens to use their energies and abilities to help make democracy work.

The American Student Union offers itself to the individual student as a channel through which he can be effective. Alone the individual student is almost impotent. By banding together in an organization which gives each an opportunity to express his opinion and help form a common program of action, American students can be a bulwark of democracy.

The aims of the American Student Union are described in detail in the following pages. Summed up they are:

To voice the student's concern for his own and his country's welfare;

To shape education as a more sensitive instrument in the service of democracy;

To protect our democracy from attacks within by helping it meet the human needs of *all* its citizens through wider utilization of the resources of government;

To protect our democracy from attacks without by avoiding any action which will encourage, build up and assist an aggressor.

Because of its concern with these problems the American Student Union has become a training-ground for the future leaders of American democracy. In this respect it has frequently been compared to the famous undergraduate societies at Oxford and Cambridge.

Within the American Student Union there is no adherence to slogans for their own sake nor any dogmatic embracing of conclusions. Rather the endeavor is at all times to "Think as men of action; and act as men of thought." The Union as a whole as well as its chapters by common consultation, inquiry and debate undertakes constantly to review its procedures in light of its aims and changing circumstances.

The President of the United States in his annual message to Congress concluded with an affirmation that should serve as a clarion call to action to the student body:

"Once I prophesied that this generation of Americans had a rendezvous with destiny. That prophecy comes true. To us much is given; more is expected.

"This generation will 'nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth . . . The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which if followed the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.'"

We are not a leftist or anti-capitalist organization. At no time have we made any declarations against private property. I am sure that no one in the American Student Union would advocate the socialization of tooth brushes. Neither is there anyone who would propose that the post office be turned over

to private enterprise. We are concerned, however, that the amount of social control be determined by the needs and welfare of all the people, not any small privileged group.

The American Student Union is not anti-religious. We recognize piety, charity, the needs of spirit, and humility in the face of our vast ignorance, find expression in religious worship and we stand for the freedom of such worship. Some people have accused us of being anti-religious because of our ardent devotion to the cause of democracy in Spain. We have no apologies to make for our efforts on behalf of Spanish democracy. But we do not identify Loyalist Spain with opposition to religious freedom, and we point to the decree of December 9th which re-established normal freedom of worship in the Spanish republic. It has become increasingly clear that it is fascism and not democracy that spells the destruction of religion.

We have been accused by the Dies Committee of being Communist, and being agents of a foreign principal. At least, that is what we learn from the papers. We categorically deny both these charges. We are not and have never been the agent or representative of any foreign principal. We are not dominated by Communists nor have we ever expressed any belief in or sympathy for Communism. We are not a "front" or blind for any person, any organization or any ism. Our only concern has been to awaken students from thoughtlessness and apathy to a concern for having democracy serve human needs. We have often stated that there were Communists in our organization, and as long as they adhere to the rules and principles of our organization they will remain. American democracy was founded and has flourished on the principle that everyone was welcome who plays the game according to the rules.

MR. STARNES. Have you been sworn yet?

MISS REYNOLDS. No.

STATEMENT OF MISS AGNES REYNOLDS

(The witness was duly sworn.)

MISS REYNOLDS. My name is Agnes Reynolds.

MR. STARNES. I believe a moment ago you asked permission to make a statement with reference to this claim of Mr. Browder that the Communist Party was responsible in large degree, if not solely responsible, for the formation of the American Student Union, and controlled its policies and used it as a transmission belt.

MISS REYNOLDS. Yes, sir; I was one of a large group who never heard of the National Student League or the Student League for Industrial Democracy. If Mr. Browder wants to claim credit for the formation of the American Student Union he may do so, and if Mr. Matthews wants to, he may do so. I don't see that it makes any difference at all. I know there are many people that never heard of either of those two organizations and who had a great deal to do with the formation of the American Student Union.

MR. STARNES. Any questions by the members of the committee?

If not, the committee stands adjourned until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:05, p. m., the committee adjourned to 10 a. m. Saturday, December 2, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTI-
GATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes, Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, chief committee investigator.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order.

The Chair wishes to make a short statement: At the conclusion of the hearing yesterday, Mr. Cadden came to my office and asked the right to make a further statement before the committee. I arranged for him to appear this morning for that purpose, but later I received a telegram from him in which he explained that since certain records would not be available for him in time to make his statement this morning, he asked that the hearing be deferred. Therefore, the hearing of Mr. Cadden's further statement before the committee has been deferred to some future date.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, would it be proper at this time to introduce into the record the letter of resignation from the Socialist Party of Mr. Lash, to which reference was made yesterday?

Mr. STARNES. All right, you can do that before we begin with the testimony.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We did not have it yesterday, but the witness stated that if we had the letter, he would be glad to have it read. Now, in the *New Masses*, issue of October 19, 1937, the letter of resignation from the Socialist Party of Mr. Lash appears. I would like to point out that Mr. Lash stated that he returned from Spain on September 17, and about 2 months later resigned from the Socialist Party. That letter of resignation appears in the *New Masses*, issue of October 19, 1937, and it reads in part as follows:

Party loyalty must be based on something more than affection for individuals and veneration for the source and parent of one's socialist convictions. I am persuaded that the present position of the party is tragically out of step with the organized working class, both here in the United States and internationally. One group in the party decides all its policies with an eye to the discredited Trotskyites: "We must take no position which that outfit can attack as 'reformist.'" Another group decides its policies with an eye to the Communist Party: "We must take no position which will coincide with or approximate that of the 'Stalinists.'" * * *

In every country the struggle for collective action has become a struggle of the labor movement of that country against the capitalist class. Under the vigorous leadership of the Soviet Union (whom we are quick to berate but slow to praise), the world labor movement today is rallying around the concept of collective action against the aggressor. The Socialist International, the Communist International, all the forces of peace and decency have now united on an international policy for the pacification of the world. And in the United States, in the very name of internationalism, we assume a posture of hostility to collective action! * * *

Another matter that has troubled me deeply has been our attitude toward the progressive political movement that is spreading like wildfire over the country. A long time ago I heard Harry Laidler make the shrewd comment that what the country needed was not socialist education, but devices for canalizing organizationally the vast reservoirs or "production for use" sentiment that already existed. Technocracy, Upton Sinclair's vast vote, your own splendid reception in the 1932 campaign indicated how widely socialist sentiment had pervaded the thinking, not only of farmers and workers, but of youth and middle-class people. I was thrilled by the Continental Congress that the party organized precisely because it seemed to indicate our awareness of the need for other than strictly party channels to canalize the breakaway from the capitalist parties.

But our flexibility and adaptability of those days seems to have disappeared in the interim. Because the breakaway from old habits of political thought and action has not been under our auspices and control or according to our prophecies, we view it with suspicion and hostility. Instead of following Marx's injunction of never separating ourselves from the working class, we seem to have done our best to isolate ourselves * * * I cannot help but feel that the unrealistic approach of many of our comrades and especially of the Socialist Call, to these parties (Commonwealth Federation, American Labor Party, etc.—Ed.) is a reflection of our hostility to the peoples' front and that our hostility to the latter arises chiefly because of its Communist origin. * * *

Concerning Spain, having just returned from there, I cannot agree that Caballero and the Anarchists are the spearhead of the popular revolution. The Negrin government is working as effectively as possible to win the war and is not compromising any of the essential social gains of the popular revolution. * * *

Such are the considerations that have moved me to this action. I suppose I shall be denounced up and down the land as a "Stalinist." I have the scant comfort of knowing that were I in Europe, I would be considered as loyal a Socialist as Harold Laski, or Jean Zyromski, or Alvarez del Vayo.

You may remember that Mr. Lash could not recall that he made any reference to his being spoken of as a Stalinist. In that connection, the witness also stated that he did not contribute any article to the New Masses on the subject of Spain at that time, and I should like to have it made a matter of record that in the same issue of New Masses, October 19, 1937, there is a three-page contributed article entitled "Time Works for Us—Spain, 1937," by Joseph P. Lash.

Mr. STARNES. The letter you referred to will be made a part of the record before going into the testimony.

TESTIMONY OF JAY LOVESTONE, SECRETARY, INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed with the examination, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Please state your full name for the record.

Mr. LOVESTONE. My name is Jay Lovestone.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask if it would be permissible, in view of the time consideration today, for us to have

the routine questions and answers concerning the personal affairs of the witness submitted in writing.

Mr. STARNES. He may file that information with the committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, are you appearing here this morning under subpoena?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I have a subpoena in my pocket.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder, Mr. Foster, and other leaders of the Communist Party appeared here and volunteered their testimony. Perhaps you have some explanation of why you have not volunteered to supply this committee with the voluminous information with which your experience has provided you with reference to the Communist Party or Communist movement.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Frankly, I was almost shocked to hear that Messrs. Browder, Bedacht, Foster, and other recognized paid official spokesmen of Stalinism in this country appeared before you voluntarily, or that they volunteered to testify. I have refused to volunteer for the following reasons: First of all, I did not associate myself with a great deal of the procedure of the committee. I think that a good deal of the problem which the committee handles can be best handled by the labor movement. Secondly, I would like for the committee and everyone else to know that it is the last thing in the world I would want to do, in the light of my present political position, to be found in the neighborhood, the area, or district where even the dust of the Stalinist machine in this country would fall on me, or where in the slightest way somebody might connect me up with them politically. I hesitated, and did not want to come before the committee for those reasons I have given.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What are your business connections?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I am at present secretary of the Independent Labor League of America, with headquarters in New York, and with branches in the principal other industrial sections throughout the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask you something more about the program of that organization later. Will you please state what is the salary of your present position?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Statistically, my salary is \$35 per week. That is, I am supposed to get \$35 per week when I get it. Sometimes we do and sometimes we do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been active in the trade-union and socialist movement in the United States?

Mr. LOVESTONE. In one form or another, I have been organizer politically, as we say, since 1912. I have been giving my full time to the labor movement for more than 20 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you tell us briefly what you have done during that period of time in the terms of the activities in which you have been engaged?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I was in the Socialist Party, and very active, and then became active with the organizers of the left wing of the Socialist Party back in 1916. Later on, I was one of the organizers of the Communist Party. It was apparent, as a result of the split in the Socialist Party in 1916, that we were to have a Communist Party. I have held every office, from branch secretary to general secretary, of that party. I might say that I have received or been

subjected to the highest honors of the Communist Party in my time save one, and that is liquidation by a firing squad.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you one of the founders of the Communist International?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I was one of the founders of the Communist International, and of the American section, which was among the first to be organized in the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States immediately before or approximately immediately before the assumption of that office by Earl Browder?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I was the last general secretary of the Communist Party before Earl Browder was appointed general secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there any other offices that you have held that you think are proper to introduce in the record at this time?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I have been a member of every Central International Committee of the Communist Party as long as I was active in the Communist Party. I have been a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for a number of years, and was a member of the confidential committees. I was also a member of the committee of elders at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend the Sixth World Congress?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I attended and reported on this Congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that held in the summer of 1928?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That was held for a good part of the summer of 1928 at Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you made other trips to Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I reckon I made quite a number of trips to Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have an approximate idea of how many trips you have made?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I would have to estimate it. Approximately, I would say that I must have gone over there 8 or 10 times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, what are your principal writings?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I have written some books, I have written a lot of pamphlets, and I have been the editor of a paper at one time—that is, of a Communist paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean the Daily Worker?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I was editing that for a while, and I edited monthly magazines. It would be quite a job to tabulate them from memory, giving the names of my writings. Of course, you know that better than I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have a number of your writings that I would like to have introduced later on. Were you the author of any special party documents of importance?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I was one of the authors of the first program of the Communist movement in this country, and for a number of years I reckon I was the author of most of the political documents that the Communist Party issued.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Lenin personally?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I never met him in the sense of knowing him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever met Stalin?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had private conferences with Stalin?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Many, many of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever met Molotov?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had any conferences with Molotov?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Very many.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been personally acquainted with other top leaders of the Communist International or the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I have been, without question, but most of those I have been acquainted with are dead now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did they come to their deaths?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Through liquidation by firing squads.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is what you referred to when you said that you had had every other honor conferred on you except liquidation by a firing squad?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is what I underscored—not what I referred to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you break with Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Officially in 1929—in July or June 1929; but in my mind I have been doing a lot of thinking, which is a difficult job. Officially, the conditions in the Communist movement culminated in an open break in 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In enumerating the reasons for your break with Moscow, what, in your mind, was the principal issue at stake?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It would be hard to say that one issue was the principal one. There were quite a number of very important questions over which we were developing quite serious differences. If I may be permitted to enumerate some of them as they come to me after 10 years' time, and attempt to forget a great deal of it, I would say they were the following: First of all, we had a very violent conflict over the question of how the party's international should be run, managed, or led. We advocated what was known as party democracy, and Stalin and his puppets, while they did not outright reject it, did actually vitiate every concept of party democracy that we once thought had to be in the International. Secondly, we had a vigorous clash with the Russian Communist Party leaders as to the type of leadership for the international organization as such—that is, in the Communist International.

Our position was that the Communist International should have a collective and genuinely international leadership, in which Russia could be first, but the first among equals. We were against a monopoly of leadership by the Russian Communist Party. In the third place, we differed with the Communist International, which, in actuality, meant the Stalin-led Russian Communist Party, over a series of questions involving the American institution. For example, we were denounced as exceptionalists, and that was, by the way, a high crime in the church. That was because we had stressed that there were certain historical peculiarities and industrial conditions in the United States distinct from those in other lands. We denied their claim that in the United States there was as much radicalism or as much radical labor movement as there was in a number of European countries. We differed with the Stalin leadership every time on the entire American economic and political trends. The position of Herr Stalin was that the American economic system was going to pieces,

and that this was the last and final crisis for capitalism in the United States. We said that the Communist Party was headed for a big job in creating a crisis of very grave consequence to capitalism in the United States; that it was far from finished, and that the beast still had a lot of kick in it. For that we were roundly denounced. The theory of Stalin was that the revolution was pretty much round the corner in the United States.

We would have liked to believe that theory, but our mental processes would not allow ourselves to be distorted by wish thinking. Then we differed with the Stalinites over the question of dual unionism. The Stalinites developed a theory that in the United States it was necessary to split the American Federation of Labor and smash it to smithereens, and organize a new revolutionary union that would be simply an appendage to the Communist Party. That we resisted, rejected, and resented. We resented that conception or principle, although, in fairness to the facts, I must say that as a disciplined Communist I did go along with those obnoxious principles for a number of months.

We also differed with the Stalinites over the theory of Social Fascism. At that time the Stalinites had a notion that everybody who did not fully agree with them was at best what they call a Social Fascist.

I felt myself or ourselves a little more mature and wouldn't take that. I am not going into any detail. There may be other reasons, but I reckon they are about the principal issues over which we broke at that time.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I think you have enumerated six issues which lead to your break with Moscow. I should like to ask you some questions about several of them and bring out their nature more clearly. Do you know General Klaber?

MR. LOVESTONE. I know him quite well, from Germany and from contact with him in other countries.

MR. MATTHEWS. Was this the General Klaber who was for a time held as the great hero of the Spanish Civil War?

MR. LOVESTONE. Yes; this is the same Klaber who saved Madrid from the Fascist bandits.

MR. MATTHEWS. Where did you see General Klaber last, in this country?

MR. LOVESTONE. No; not in this country.

MR. MATTHEWS. Have you ever discussed party questions with General Klaber?

MR. LOVESTONE. Yes; indeed.

MR. MATTHEWS. What particular questions have you taken up with General Klaber, or he with you?

MR. LOVESTONE. Well, we discussed the situation in the Russian Communist Party, in the Communist International, the relations between the American Communist Party and the Communist International, and the possibilities of reunification of our organization with the parent organization.

MR. MATTHEWS. In other words, these discussions with General Klaber took place subsequent to your break with Moscow?

MR. LOVESTONE. Oh, yes; I can safely say that now, because General Klaber does not exist any more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has Klaber been liquidated?

Mr. LOVESTONE. He has been liquidated a little, which means finished for good.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever discuss with General Klaber the question of party democracy?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I discussed with General Klaber the question of Communist unity in the United States, and the central issue there was party democracy. We insisted on that as the one prerequisite for unification between our organization at that time and the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was General Klaber's view with reference to party democracy in these discussions?

Mr. LOVESTONE. His personal view was entirely in accord with our emphasis on the need for party democracy in the various sections of the International, but he was practical enough to see that that couldn't be realized as long as Stalin was alive. In fact—I may not be using his exact words—it is a number of years since we had these conferences; but they impressed themselves with sufficient indelible character in my mind so that I have not forgotten their essentials—when I insisted on party democracy as the first prerequisite for unification of the Communist forces in the United States, his answer was, "Party democracy, but what are you going to do with Comrade Stalin?"

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a pamphlet written by Benjamin Gitlow entitled "Some Basic Questions in Regard to Communist Unity"?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I don't know whether that is the exact title, but I recall the pamphlet very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a discussion of this issue as it is seen by yourself and others of a like mind?

Mr. LOVESTONE. To the best of my recollection this pamphlet essentially deals with the unity negotiations as conducted between General Klaber and myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, these conversations between General Klaber and yourself were in the nature of an effort, official or unofficial, to bring about the reunification?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Without question, and I might state, to have the facts in the record, that it was not until some time in 1936 that we gave up our desire for unity with the Communist Party. Sometime in 1936 we changed our minds and said we not only did not want unity, but we didn't want to have anything to do with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean for a period of approximately 7 years there were discussions as to unification of the groups?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; it took us about 7 years to learn the lesson we know now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. You see, Mr. Matthews, it is pretty hard for people who haven't literally been brought up in the Communist movement to understand the type of devotion and loyalty we developed through our ideal and through the organization under whose banners the ideal is supposed to be enrolled. For a number of years many of us gave everything we had toward making the Communist movement a clean, effective, vigorous movement in this country, a movement which

would overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist society. We saw mistakes inside, we went along with a lot of things which in a specific sense we were not in accord with, but out of loyalty to the organization we worked inside in the hope that we could change it from within. A little later we were sort of crowded away from this concept, and, I might say, with the very able and very effective assistance of Stalin, thanks to his expulsion of us. If it had not been for that assistance we would still be floundering in the swamps. But we were expelled with the assistance of Stalin, and, as I have said, for a number of years we were struggling to reform the Communist Party from without, to make it a bona fide, socialist, working-class organization, and we learned from experience, much more than from books, that the Communist Party cannot be reformed from without. So we arrived at the decision that the Communist Party not only could not be reformed from within or without, but that the first job of the American working class is to do entirely without the type of political organization that is now parading as the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know a certain Williams?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Williams?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you tell us who Williams was?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think Williams was one of the Communist International representatives in this country at one time, right after the split in 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you discuss with him any questions of party policy that were involved in your break with Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; I discussed them with him in Moscow and in Paris. I never had the displeasure of meeting the gentleman in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is left in your recollection as to your discussions with him on this question?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, it is pretty hard to give the entire picture, but I think that was the last time we conducted any negotiations looking toward unity with a representative of the Communist International, officially or unofficially, formally or informally. Here I must emphasize again that in my negotiations with Mr. Williams I had been invited to come back to Moscow and I said we would be glad to come back if we had a guaranty that there would be a change in the type of leadership in the International and party democracy in the American organization. The answer of Mr. Williams was not as dramatic as the answer of General Klüber, but the answer of Mr. Williams was nevertheless just as effective; party democracy would never give in to the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew Mr. Williams as a representative of the Communist International?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, yes; I have had experience with him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mentioned as one of the reasons for your break with Moscow the monopoly of leadership in the Comintern by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Do you recall any particular view expressed by Pitcoff on the question of the nature and function of the Communist International?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; first of all, let me say it is quite safe to talk about Pitcoff now. I don't need to hesitate to talk, because he is

also a finished product with the Stalin Communist Party. I had very serious differences with Pitcoff and these differences involved the character of the Communist International. Lenin was against Pitcoff, and I supported the point of view held by Lenin. Pitcoff was of the opinion that the Communist International ought to be merely the agency of the Russian Foreign Office. In fact, he expressed that thought at one of these Soviet party congresses. If I may venture a guess, I think it was the Eighth Party Congress, but I may be wrong as to the exact number. At that congress he proposed that the Comintern should be made an agency of the Russian Foreign Office. His proposition was rejected. It was denounced primarily and most effectively by Lenin himself, who emphasized that the Communist International must be a bona fide, thoroughly independent organization; but the Pitcoff opinion they rejected at that time later on, without a formal vote, became the dominant line of policy pursued by the Russians in regard to the Communist International as such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is your understanding that the Comintern has become a branch of the Foreign Commissariat to the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is not only my understanding; it is my understanding based on experience that the Communist International today reflects nothing but the foreign policies of the Soviet Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There were factional breaks which developed to a very sharp point in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the course of the development of these factional struggles was there maneuvering for the use of the Communist International as a factional weapon?

Mr. LOVESTONE. May I be permitted to go back a bit?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Certainly.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I would say the Communist International, in relation to the Russian Communist Party went through the following stages: In the first days of the October revolution—that is the Bolshevik revolution—the Russians were leaders through prestige, through achievement, through the fact that they conquered one-sixth of the world for socialism. We had an attitude of almost religious veneration toward them, the Russian leaders.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it almost or was it complete?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, the line of demarcation would be very thin. Speaking for myself I would say it was quite complete, and if you want to take the word "quite" out, I would say it was complete. But I must say in fairness to the Russian leaders at that time they did not advocate this; they did not nurture this. Later on, with the death of Lenin and the development of factionalism, sharp, unprincipled factionalism—I would say suicidal factionalism—in the Russian party, the Comintern policies began to be involved in and determined by the factional struggles inside the Russian party, with the result that each faction played for control of the Communist International as a weapon against another faction. We were hesitant to adopt resolutions endorsed by one faction or the other.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean in the United States, Mr. Lovestone?

Mr. LOVESTONE. In the American organization, or the French organization, or any other organization. For a while the Communist

International policies in the respective sections reflected very much the factional struggles in the Communist International, but from that we came to the third phase of our relations, and that is the present one, and that present one did not begin with our expulsion. It set in a little before. That was the moment when the Communist International had been reduced actually to a puppet organization, and its policies reflected through the mechanical transference of tactics from Russia to other countries, and strictly speaking, to be solely Russian foreign policy.

It is necessary to differentiate the stages, because it would be unfair to Stalin and those who follow him today to give the impression that what I once called a running sore in the Communist International, and later a cancer in the Comintern, began with him. It had begun even before.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The headquarters of the Communist Party of the United States were once in Chicago, I believe?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were originally in Chicago?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, at one time they were in New York and then I moved it to Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who moved the headquarters from Chicago to New York, where they are at the present time? Was that done by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Formally, yes; the Central Committee decides where the headquarters are to be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Central Committee have to get permission from Moscow to make that move?

Mr. LOVESTONE. May I answer this question not by a "yes" or "no"?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Certainly.

Mr. LOVESTONE. We have had for a number of years in the American Communist Party a factional struggle, financed indirectly, propagated, and perpetrated by factions inside the Russian Communist Party. When the Central Committee, at that time led by Ruthenberg, now dead—he died a natural death in this country—proposed to move the headquarters to New York, the opposition, at that time led by Foster, was against it, and appealed to Moscow, to the International, and for 2 years we could not move our headquarters until Moscow gave us their approval of the move. Then Moscow decided it would be all right to move the headquarters from Chicago to New York, and that was the end and the settlement of the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I take it, then, your answer is "yes," with embellishments.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; with emphasis, not embellishments.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Communist Party or its Central Committee, in this country, have to obtain permission of the Comintern to hold annual conventions in this country?

Mr. LOVESTONE. To hold them annually or at any time. No convention could be held without permission of the executives of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When Mr. Foster was on the stand here he said that was simply a polite gesture and had not substance to it. Would you say that was the character of this permission?

Mr. LOVESTONE. We don't have much politeness, even in these days, within the Communist International, so that it was neither a gesture nor politeness. It was a matter of painful fact to us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Communist, a monthly publication of the central committee of the Communist Party, issue of January 1929 you had an article, Mr. Lovestone. On examining that article I find that you speak very highly of Bukharin. Do you recall that article?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I don't recall the article, but I recall the speech on which this article was based. I recall that speech very well, because that speech was the occasion for quite a campaign against me in Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the nature and result of that campaign?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Let me say this; I was Secretary of the Communist Party. I reported to the meeting of its National Committee in December 1928. The factional fight in the Russian Communist Party had gone to extremes.

Everybody was rallying to endorse Stalin. I was not only a personal friend of Bukharin, but I had fundamental agreement with him on international questions, though on Russian questions I had agreement with Stalin and not with him. In that meeting I objected to the American Communist Party lining up. I said, "We will wear no Stalin buttons, and we will wear no Bukharin buttons, and we will not engage in gangsterism against Stalin or Bukharin." I said that Stalin was my leader as leader of the Communist Party; that I respected him, had high regard for his opinion and caliber of thinking.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was at that time the official head of the Comintern?

Mr. LOVESTONE. He was at that time the official leader of the Communist International. Saying that, a cable was sent to Moscow. That cable was passed around throughout the International, and that pretty much served as the blot on my political death certificate in my relations with the Stalin leadership.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What has happened to Bukharin?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I guess Bukharin went the way of all Bolshevik flesh in Russia—execution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At least that is the official report, is it not?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think Stalin is telling the truth in this case.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, you mentioned the question of social fascism as one of the reasons for your break with Moscow. Will you please explain briefly what was meant by social fascism?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is a form of lunacy that defies explanation. It was a theory which said in substance that precisely those who stood for advanced social legislation or socialism, as advocated tactically and principally by the socialist parties of the world, that these were the most dangerous people; that actually they were fascists, but they were using Socialist phrases to hide their pernicious objectives. That meant, for example, that in these days President Roosevelt might qualify, in moments of extreme generosity, as a social communist, but Norman Thomas was a social fascist. In these days I can't qualify even as a social fascist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Comintern actually put into effect its rule of social fascism in Germany, let us say for example, by main-

taining that the social democrats of Germany were a greater menace than Hitler?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Without question the most tragic application and the most futile results of the theory of social fascism were in Germany, where the Communist movement was the biggest one. At that time the Communist International, and, therefore, the Communist Party of Germany, pursued a course which said that the most dangerous enemies of the German working classes was the powerful German social democracy, and the powerful German trade-union movement. Both had to be destroyed, and if necessary it was entirely in order to cooperate with the Nazi bands in order to destroy them, because once you destroy the main enemy, the socialist and the trade-union movement, then the Fascist would be easy, and that explains why the Communist Party of Germany cooperated with the Nazi Party in the so-called red referendum of 1931 to throw out the socialist government of Prussia. That explains why the Communist Party of Germany split the trade-union movement in those days. They did everything to defeat Socialists in the elections, pursued in general a policy of criticism but also of fraternization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Might I ask if the German Communist Party carried out this line under instructions from Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The German Communist Party carried it out solely under instructions. It caused a crisis and a split in that organization as well. There was a revolt against Moscow in the enforcement of this policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Communist Party of Germany under the instructions of Moscow support the Nazi strikes and decline to support strikes in which Socialists were in the leadership?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I would say unhesitatingly "Yes."

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mentioned the issue of dual unionism as one of the reasons for your break with Moscow. Will you please explain, if that is explicable as other than a form of lunacy, what the dual unionism was?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is not a specific Russian expression of lunacy. We have had that situation in the original movement in this country for years before the Russians came on the scene. The theory and practice of dual unionism begat the organization of special unions dominated by a political party and led of revolutionary leaders. It was a theory of organizing unions to compete with the existing trade-union movement. On the basis of this theory the American Federation of Labor at that time was written off as an employers' organization, as a company union that had to be broken up. We use the term "dual unions" in the sense of the unions being dual to those in existence at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I will ask you if you can identify this publication.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; that is the official publication of the Profintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the Profintern?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The Profintern, which is no more, when I was there, was the "red" international of labor unions; that is, the international of dual unions organized by the Communist Parties throughout the world.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the Profintern, like the Comintern, under the complete domination of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. If there was any difference, it was even more so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This issue of the magazine is that of February 15—I don't see the date. Do you know what the year would be?

Mr. LOVESTONE. We were not in the habit of putting down the dates. I think it was 1932 or 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have not been able to find the year anywhere in the publication.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think it was 1932.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The title of the magazine is the Rilu magazine. On page 245 of this issue there appears a part of an article on the subject of trade-unions. The article is the speech of Lozovsky. Will you please identify Lozovsky?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Lozovsky used to be head of the Profintern. He is a Russian. He is now Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs in the Russian Foreign Office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Lozovsky?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Very, very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think there has been testimony before this committee to the effect that Lozovsky is related to one George Mink. Are you aware of any such relationship?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Not in any family or personal sense, but that was the prevailing opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should like to read for the record one paragraph from this statement by Lozovsky, which sets forth the position of the Profintern or the Communist trade-unions on the question of destroying the unions.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

There was no need to shout from the housetops, "Destroy the unions," as was done in Germany, but that we want to break up the reformist trade-unions, that we want to weaken them, that we want to, that we want to explode their discipline, that the want to wrest them from the workers, that we want to explode the trade-union apparatus and destroy it; of that there cannot be the slightest doubt.

Mr. Lovestone, does that statement by Lozovsky, the head of the trade-union movement of the Communist International, reflect the facts as you understand them in your own experience in the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That statement is one of the crassest and most honest statements of purpose of dual unionism as we rejected and fought it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say that is far more honest than other statements which have been made by the Communist Party being interested in advancing the cause of trade-unionism and collective bargaining?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; this represents the most honest expression of the purpose of dual unionism as practiced by the Communist International and the Profintern at one time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I wonder if you can give the reasons why—

Mr. VOORHIS. Just one second. What year was that statement?

Mr. STARNES. He stated he couldn't find it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was 1932 or 1931. That, I think, has to be determined by historical criticism, rather than by anything in print in the magazine. I have searched through the magazine and can't find the date.

Mr. VOORHIS. Very well. The point is, it was issued after 1928, was it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; it was issued after 1928, was it not?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is very definitely 1932 or 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are references here to 1929 and 1930 in the text.

Mr. VOORHIS. But it was between 1928 and 1935?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, can you throw some light on the question whether your break with Moscow became a cause celebre in the Communist International?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I never called it such, but it has been called that, and I can only say that in my opinion there was justification for its being called that, and that the following very probably would be the reasons for that appellation being given to our break with Moscow. First of all this was an attack by the Stalin group on the entire party and an entire section of the Communist International. We had had a convention; we had an overwhelming majority of delegates; we had had decisions, and these were all overruled and thrown out. Secondly, the size of the majority attained by our leadership under the democratic processes in the Communist Party was as such as you generally get in plebiscites and not in elections; it was so one-sided.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, in the category of 90 percent?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, yes; and it was genuine. It was not gotten by aeroplanes. Then the leadership of the American Communist Party, myself amongst them, had the longest period of confidence of the dominant Russian leaders, a longer period than any other leadership of any national section, and when the war came on us it was quite a surprise. Beside that, in the fight against us there were introduced a certain number of methods and weapons of struggle which you are reading about in the papers now. I might say I was invited to Moscow 10 years before Esthonia was, and I went, and came back with less than Esthonia has at present, or has left at present. We stayed there a long time. The character of the struggle we waged right inside of Moscow was the most stubborn and the most courageous fight that the Russians ever had on their hands.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Stalin himself speak of your fight as a stubborn and courageous fight?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I recall at the moment the words of Stalin. If we had a bear by the tail, they had something tougher than a bear by the tail, except we didn't realize they could swing from the tail to our throats. That made it quite a cause celebre.

Then there was the way the American party was "enlightened" at that time. The word was not "liquidated" but "enlightened." They enlightened you, and when you were enlightened, you were through.

That also gave a lot of emphasis to the significance of the struggle. But more than that it was a battle which we continued in the Communist International (that is, the American party) which was the

signal for a revolt—to my regret an unsuccessful revolt against the entire regime and policies of the Communist International as dominated by the Stalin clique in the Russian Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you in Moscow during that episode?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I would say—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go over in March 1929?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I left in March, and I—that is, I left the United States in March, and I left Moscow or fled from Moscow in June, I think, sometime in June, the end of June or beginning of July. My dates would not be accurate on that. I have tried to forget them, and therefore I don't remember them in a calendar sense with any mathematical precision.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you speak of your flight from Moscow, do you mean you left by airplane?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I mean a little more. I mean I left by airplane and I had to do some good high flying. I left with formal permission, because as one of the executives of the Communist International I was entitled to go back to my own country and to my own party for a period of 2 months to rearrange my personal affairs before I assumed work elsewhere. But though I had formal permission, I did not have real permission.

I managed with the assistance a number of friends and comrades of mine, most of whom are now executed, to leave Moscow quite successfully, I think because Stalin did not know that I was out until 4 days after I had been out of Moscow, which I consider a major achievement, for myself anyway.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to go back just a little bit. Mr. Lovestone, I wonder if you would go into a little more detail about the majority that your group had in the party, and whether you can give us any details about that. I mean any elections that might have been held or anything like that; what the figures were on them and things of that sort.

Mr. LOVESTONE. May I answer that question in two parts?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. First of all, the method of our securing the majority and its size; and secondly the method employed here in the destruction of the majority. May I?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. We had about ten weeks of discussion in the Communist Party press and Communist Party meetings, general membership meetings, city meetings, branch meetings. There were presented at these discussions what we called theses. That means two statements of policy. Delegates were then elected on a pro rata basis and the delegates were chosen on the basis of which thesis they voted for, the one presented by myself or the one presented at that time by Foster. The Communist International was operating behind the scenes, not yet fully in the open, to support the Foster faction. It was generally known at that time in the American Communist Party that Stalin was manipulating in behalf of Foster. Despite that, when it came to the election of delegates I think we had more than 90 out of a little more than a hundred delegates to the convention.

Mr. VOORHIS. To the party convention.

Mr. LOVESTONE. To the Communist Party convention which was held in March 1929 in New York City.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who elected these delegates? Were they elected by the locals?

Mr. LOVESTONE. They were elected by branches, which choose delegates to district conventions, and the district conventions elected delegates to the national convention.

Mr. VOORHIS. In the branches all members voted?

Mr. LOVESTONE. All members in good standing, which means those members who had paid their dues.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I am after, the election was entirely democratic, everybody participated who was in good standing?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The basis of the election was extremely democratic, because any time anybody was in opposition, he would raise a question and we were ready enough to yield, because we did not want to have issues. More than that, we had complete control of the party apparatus, but we gave the minority at that time equal time and equal space in party press and at party meetings. It was a bona fide democratic party election, as we know it in this country.

Mr. VOORHIS. After the branches had elected delegates, those delegates met in each district; is that right?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Out of that meeting were chosen the delegates to the national convention?

Mr. LOVESTONE. On a pro rata basis of membership strength in the districts.

Mr. VOORHIS. What section of the country did the 10 percent of delegates that you did not control come from?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It would be hard to say. Some came from California, some came from New York. As a matter of fact, I might state very frankly if we at that time were to take all the delegates on the basis of majority versus minority we could have had the entire convention ourselves, but we thought that would be unsound, that it would tend to crush the minority whom we wanted to absorb and work with as comrades in one organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this minority under the leadership of Foster and Beidleman?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Officially the leaders of the minority were Foster and Beidleman; actually the leader of the minority was Stalin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The opposition or the minority has been designated in party publications frequently as the Foster-Beidleman?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, yes; or the Beidleman-Foster, because Beidleman read Russian and that qualified him more for the leadership.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask you if there was ever any dispute on the part of Stalin or the Russian leaders concerning the fact of a majority of the party in this country supporting the policies which you represented?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Never at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Stalin's own speeches before the American commission in Moscow he made frequent reference, did he not, to your group as the majority group in the party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Stalin admitted that consistently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I see here before me in his speech that he even referred to your support as that of 99 percent of the American party.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, he tried to challenge it a bit by bringing it up to 99 percent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes—

Mr. LOVESTONE. Actually we didn't have 99 percent of the membership, but we could have taken, as I said, 100 percent of the delegates. We had, I think, about 85 percent of the rank and file with us in the average voting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How were you treated in Moscow during your dispute with the Stalin leadership of the Comintern?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, when we came in, we had a sort of mixed treatment at the start. We were hailed, and also we were being suspected a bit, and in general we were treated like calves being fattened for the slaughter; treated very well, fed very well. I might say we began our sessions with black caviar, and by the time the issue got hotter we were served only red caviar. But we were treated all right in the beginning in a general way. Later on the temperature went down considerably below the freezing point.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Stalin and Molotov personally intervene in these discussions in Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I might say that it is my opinion that both Stalin and Molotov spoke more often and talked more at length in the American commission handling the American party crises at that time than they had done at—I wouldn't say at any time—all the time in their lives in the International up to that time, plus all the time in their lives in the International since that time. In other words, they spent more words and more time and more energy on our American question in that commission than they have done about it in their entire lives as leaders of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I would like to have you identify this set of documents, if you will, please.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is a stenographic report of the speech of Stalin in the American commission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, there are several speeches here. I will ask the witness to identify them more specifically and explicitly:

Stalin on "The American Question," May 14, 1929.

Stalin on "The American Question," again, May 14, a second speech on that day.

Stalin on "The American Question," May 6, 1929.

And then a speech by Comrade Kuusinen, at the sitting of the American convention on May 12, 1929.

Will you please see if that is the way in which you identify those documents, Mr. Lovestone?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the importance of these, I think we might correctly say the historical importance of these speeches of Stalin and Kuusinen, I should like to ask that they be incorporated in full in the record. •

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think it is correct to say that these speeches, at least in their full form, have never before appeared in print and

they are now not accessible to students of the history of the Comintern.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I don't think anybody else has got them. I would like to have them myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think, Mr. Chairman, wholly apart from Mr. Lovestone's desire to have them, that they are a matter of historical importance to all students of the question of the development of the Comintern.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection they will be incorporated in full in the record.

(The documents in question are as follows:)

FIRST SPEECH AT THE PRESIDIUM

Only for the Minutes

SESSION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF MAY 14, 1929

AMERICAN QUESTION

STALIN: Comrades, we are now confronted with a unique fact which deserves most serious attention. A month has already passed since the American delegation arrived in Moscow. It is already a month since we have been busying ourselves with it, discussing questions which have come to the fore in the American Party, and finding a way out of the present situation. Each member of the Delegation had a chance to use his right of speaking and criticising the comrades with whom he disagrees. You know that all made full use of this right without being in the least molested by the ECCI. You know that Comrade Lovestone insisted that the Russian comrades should express their opinion. You know that the Russian comrades have already spoken on the substance of the matter. Hence the Commission has fulfilled the conditions necessary in order to be able to find a way out and to bring the matter to an end.

But what do we see? Instead of serious attention being paid to the question and readiness shown at last to liquidate factionalism, we meet with a new outburst of factionalism among the members of the American Delegation, new attempts to destroy the cause of unity in the American Party. A few days ago we had no draft resolution of the Comintern on the American question as yet. We merely had an outline of the general principles of the solution of the question, an outline aiming at the liquidation of factionalism. But instead of waiting for the draft resolution to be ready, the American Delegation flared up without much ado with a Declaration of May 9th, an ultra-factional Declaration, an anti-Party declaration. You know the hostility with which that Declaration was received by the members of the Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI. You know that the Commission did not leave a stone unturned in that Declaration. One might have thought that the American Delegation would think matters over and correct its mistakes. However, quite the contrary has been the case. As soon as the Draft proposals of the Commission now distributed to all members of the Presidium of the ECCI and the American Delegation appeared, the American Delegation flared up with a new Declaration on May 14th, a Declaration more factional and more anti-Party than the Declaration of May 9th. Of course you know that Declaration. Comrade Gitlow read it here in his speech. Its main feature consists in the enunciation of the thesis of NON-SUBORDINATION to the decisions of the Presidium of the ECCI. This means that the extreme factionalism of the Majority leaders has driven them to the path of non-submission, that is to the path of struggle against the Comintern.

There is no denial of the fact that the American comrades, as all Communists, have a full right to disagree with the Draft Resolution of the Commission, that they have the right to fight against it. And so long as they confine themselves to the utilization of this right, there is nothing wrong in that. But the trouble is, that the Declaration of May 14th, does not stop at that. It goes further than that, saying that the struggle must be continued even after the Draft will have become a decision of the Presidium of the ECCI. We must, therefore, put the question squarely to the American Delegation, do they consider it per-

missible for themselves not to submit to the decision after the Draft will have been adopted as a mandatory resolution of the Comintern. We have been discussing in the Commission in the course of a month, we had a series of debates, we spent an enormous amount of time on this business which might have been used to better advantage elsewhere, and finally, we have come to the point when the discussion has been exhausted and when we are about to pass Resolutions which should be obligatory for all members of the Comintern. But here is a question, do the members of the American Delegation, as communists, as Leninists, deem it admissible not to submit to a decision of the Presidium of the ECCI on the American question? * * * [Line missing.]

the various right errors and right tendencies in the work of the Party were all pointed out. A study of the Theses of the VI World Congress and of these documents is absolutely necessary for every single Party member in order to really understand the situation in which the Party has to work.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

In view of the rapidly growing possibilities for work for our Party, the tasks of the Party stand out as especially great in the present period. An appreciation of the political and economic situation in this country must lead directly to a real understanding of the basic tasks before the Party.

1. *International Red Day.*—The International Red Day Campaign to culminate in militant mass demonstrations on August 1st is the central campaign for the entire Party, the campaign to which all Party work must be directed and subordinated. It is an international campaign against the war danger and in defense of the Soviet Union and was initiated last year by the VI Congress of the Comintern. In this campaign the work of political clarification of the membership—the explanation of the character of American imperialism, the relations between the war danger and rationalization, and especially the popularization of the Leninist conceptions on militarism and war and the struggle against pacifism must be brought into the foreground. The campaign must be rooted in the factories and the shop papers widely used. The whole campaign must culminate in mass demonstrations and strikes on August 1, 1929, the fifteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War. Factory gate meetings, factory discussion groups, extensive distribution of Party literature and the Party press must be organized in preparation for Red Day.

2. *The Trade Union Unity Convention.*—The preparation for the Trade Union Unity Convention, to be held in Cleveland on August 31st remains a great task. Comrades must remember that it is not just merely "another conference"; it is the establishment of a new revolutionary trade union center in America in opposition to the A F of L, an event of tremendous significance in the history of the working class of this country. Comrades must also bear in mind that the work for the TUUC must be the gathering point and focus of all our activities in the existing trade unions, in the shops, and among the unorganized workers, and only to the extent that we succeed in our work of building shop committees, organizing the unorganized, strengthening the left wing in the existing unions, will the Trade Union Unity Convention be a success.

3. *The Gastonia Campaign.*—From a number of viewpoints the recent events in Gastonia constitute the most significant feature in the American class struggle for many years. It is the duty of the Party to draw the main political lessons of these events and to popularize these lessons among the Party membership and among the ranks of the workers. It is the urgent task of the Party to mobilize the working masses of this country in defence of the victims of the murder frame-up in Gastonia. The campaign of the International Labor Defence is not a mere "technical" matter but is a political campaign of the highest importance and must be given the fullest support by all Party members and organizations.

4. *Work Among the Miners.*—The building of the National Miners Union, which should become the backbone of the revolutionary trade union movement of this country, must be appreciated in all its importance by the Party membership. The growing movement of the miners away from the Lewis "union", the coming struggle in the anthracite (upon the expiration of the five year agreement) for which the operators are already preparing, the spontaneous movements in the unorganized territory, provide great opportunities for the Party which must be utilized. The building of the Party in the mining fields—considerably neglected at all times—should be made a central task.

5. *Colonial work.* The Party must really make a beginning in colonial work. Hitherto our work in this respect has been extremely weak. The coming World Congress against Imperialism and the recent All-American Revolutionary Trade Union Congress held in Uruguay must be popularized among the workers of this country. Work among the Latin American masses in this country must be intensified. The developing activities of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. * * * [Line missing.]

of factionalism and the restoration of Unity, ever since 1925. One only has to acquaint oneself with the Resolutions of the Congresses of the Comintern to convince himself that we have, in the present Majority leaders incorrigible violators of the spirit and letter of the decisions of the Comintern.

As to the 6th Congress of the Comintern, it squarely said in its resolution on the American question, that the "most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife—which is not based on any serious differences on principles". What has the Lovestone group done to execute this decision of the 6th Congress? You can see for yourselves, comrades, that so far it has done nothing. But instead, it has done and is doing its utmost to convert this decision of the 6th Congress into a meaningless scrap of paper.

Such are the facts.

And if, despite all these facts, the Declaration accuses the Presidium of the ECCI of its violation of "the letter and spirit of the line of the 6th World Congress," what does it mean? It means that the authors of the Declaration want to counterpoise the decisions of the Presidium of the ECCI by the line of the 6th Congress, which they themselves have been, and are violating. What do they do that for? They do that in order to combat decisions of the Presidium of the ECCI, while phariseically covering themselves with the banner of the 6th Congress. By doing so, it seems that the authors of the Declaration wish to say: we, the Lovestone group, are for the 6th Congress, but the Draft Open Letter is at variance with the line of the 6th Congress, and therefore, we are going to fight against that decision of the Presidium of the ECCI.

The authors of the Declaration apparently think that by this false "manoeuvre" they accomplish something new and that we are not going to decipher its intrinsic meaning. But that is not so, comrades. Their calculations are quite wrong. The history of the Comintern shows that comrades departing from the Comintern always start precisely with such "manoeuvres". When Zinoviev left the Comintern, he started by counterposing the line of the Comintern to the decisions of its Executive Committee. He was doing so in order to veil his struggle against the Executive Committee, by speaking in the name of the Comintern line. The same thing happened with Trotsky who began his departure from the Comintern by counterposing its line to the decisions of its Executive Committee and the Presidium. This is an old and beaten path of opportunism, as old as the world. It is sad, that the authors of the Declaration have been attracted towards this path.

In counterposing the ECCI by the Comintern, the authors of the Declaration mean just as Zinoviev and Trotsky meant to DIVORCE the Executive Committee from the Comintern. A ridiculous and stupid hope. The authors of the Declaration forget, apparently, that it is the Executive and its Presidium who interpret the decisions of the Congresses of the Comintern, and not they. The authors of the Declaration are mistaken, if they think that the American workers will believe their commentaries more than the commentaries of the Presidium of the ECCI.

Such is the substance of the Declaration of the American Delegation.

The Declaration of the American Delegation is thus a platform of STRUGGLE against the line of the Comintern on behalf of opportunist wavering, on behalf of unprincipled factionalism, on behalf of violation of the unity of the American Party.

Now as to the Draft of the Commission.

What is the Draft of the Commission, now brought to the attention of the Presidium of the ECCI, based upon? It is based on the idea of the defence of the line of the Comintern within the ranks of the American Party, the idea of bolshevization of the American Party, the idea of struggle against deviations from the Marxian position, and especially against the Right deviation, the idea of Leninist unity in the Party, finally and *first and foremost*, the ideal of liquidation of all factions. It must at last be realized, comrades, that factionalism is the *main evil* in the Communist Party of America.

We bolsheviks have not infrequently had to wage a factional struggle against opportunism in the history of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

That was at a time when the bolsheviks and mensheviks belonged to ONE PARTY, when the bolsheviks were obliged to organize a faction in order to undermine the prestige of the social-democrats, to organize a split away from the social-democrats and to create an independent Communist Party. Factionalism was then useful and essential. But now? Now it is quite different. The situation has radically changed. Now we have our own Communist Parties, sections of the Communist International. Now factionalism is dangerous and harmful, for it weakens the force of the onslaughts of Communism against reformism, against social-democracy in the Labour movement.

Why is factionalism harmful in the ranks of the Communist Parties?

First and foremost because factionalism weakens the sense of Party spirit, dulls revolutionary sensitiveness, and blindfolds the Party leaders to such an extent that in their factional enthusiasm they are bound to place factional interests above the interests of the Party, above the interests of the Comintern, above the interests of the working class. Factionalism frequently goes to such lengths that Party leaders blinded by the factional struggle are inclined to regard all facts and all events in the affairs of the Party, not from the point of view of the interests of the Party and the working class, but from the point of view of the interests of their own factional circle, from the point of view of the interests of their own factional kitchen.

Did not Comrade Lovestone and his friends know that one must keep away from Pepper, that one must disassociate oneself from him, lest one be discredited as a revolutionary? Why did they not part with him in good time, notwithstanding the several warnings of the Comintern? Because they acted primarily as factionalists. Because in a factional struggle, each splinter, each string, each soldier, though he be a poor one, each officer, though he be poor, is valuable. Because, even such people as Pepper might be useful in the factional struggle. Because, factional blindness compelled them to place the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party.

Did not Comrade Foster know that one must keep away from the hidden Trotskyists, who were to be found in his group? Why did he not part with them in good time notwithstanding the several warnings? Because he behaved primarily as a factionalist. Because in his factional struggle against the Lovestone group even hidden Trotskyites could be useful to him. Because factional blindness kills the Party sense of people, and makes them indiscriminate in the use of methods. True such a policy is harmful and is at variance with the interests of the Party. But as a rule, factionalists have an inclination to forget the interests of the Party. They see their own factional clan only.

Secondly, because factionalism interferes with the education of the Party in the spirit of principles, it interferes with the training of cadres in the spirit of honest, proletarian, incorruptible revolutionaries, free from rotten diplomacy and unprincipled machinations. Leninism teaches that politics based on principle is the only correct policy. Factionalism, on the contrary holds that factional diplomacy and unprincipled factional machination is the only correct policy. That, in substance explains the reason why an atmosphere of factional strife does not cultivate sound politicians but shrewd factional schemers, experienced rogues and crooks, capable of hoodwinking the "rival" and getting off the scent. True, such "educational" work of the factionalists is at variance with the cardinal interests of the Party and the working class. But that is none of the concern of factionalists, they recognize only their own factional diplomatic kitchen interests.

It is therefore, no wonder that sound politicians and honest revolutionary proletarians are not sympathized with by the factionalists. Instead, factional tricksters and schemers, unprincipled jugglers and masters in the secret art of working behind scenes in the organization of unprincipled blocs, have place of honor.

Thirdly, because factionalism, weakening the Party's desire for unity and undermining the Party's iron discipline, gives rise in the Party to such a specifically factional regime under which all its internal life is exposed to the eyes of the class foe, and the Party itself is in danger of becoming a plaything in the hands of the agents of the bourgeoisie. Usually this happens as follows: Say a certain question is decided upon in the Polit. Bureau of the CC. In the Polit. Bureau there is a Minority and a Majority each of which views that decision from its own, factional point of view. If a factional regime prevails in the Party the schemers of both factions immediately inform their periphery of the given decision of the Polit. Bureau, endeavouring to agitate them in their favour and to work up sentiment in a corresponding manner. This method of information usually becomes systematic. It becomes systematic because each

faction considers it its duty to inform its periphery in its own way, and to keep it in readiness for a fight with the factional opponent. The result is that confidential and important Party decisions become the property of the street. And since the street mingles with the surrounding environments, the agents of the bourgeoisie find access to the secret decisions of the Party which facilitates their possibility of using information on inside affairs in the Party against the interests of the latter. True, such a regime menaces the Party with total demoralization of its ranks. But that is none of the business of factionalists, for the interests of their own groups stand above all.

Finally, because the harmfulness of factionalism lies in the fact that factionalism undermines the basis of all positive work in the Party, kills the desire of Party members to concern themselves with questions of everyday needs of the working class (wages, the working day, the betterment of the material conditions of the working class, etc), weakens the activities of the Party in the organization of the working class for the class war with the bourgeoisie and thus creates a situation in which the Party's prestige must inevitably decline in the eyes of the workers, and the workers, instead of flocking to the Party in whole detachments, are compelled to leave the ranks of the Party. That is exactly what I see in the American Party today. What have the factional leaders of the Majority and the Minority chiefly been doing of late? They were engaged in factional intrigues, factional trivialities, composing of good for nothing platforms, big and little, making tens and hundreds of big and little amendments to these platforms. Weeks and months are squandered, in order to catch the factional rival, to drag him out, to dig up something out of his personal life, and if there is nothing to dig up, then to concoct something out of nothing. It is obvious that in such an atmosphere real work must suffer, Party life must become nil, the prestige of the Party must decline, and the workers, the best and revolutionary minded workers, who want deeds and not intrigues, have to leave the Party.

That is in substance, the harm of factionalism within the rank of the Communist Parties.

The major task of the Communist Party of America, therefore, is to put a stop to factionalism and to cure itself at last of this disease.

The Commission's draft brought to our attention, is based precisely on that.

A few words about the boastful manner of Comrade Lovestone's group, in speaking here in the name of the whole Party, in the name of 99% of the American Party. They never speak in any other way, but in the name of 99% of the Party. One could really think that they have 99% of the Party membership in their pocket. That is bad style, comrades of the American delegation. I should remind you of the fact that Zinoviev and Trotsky also at one time trumped with percentages, assuring everybody that they have, or at any rate, will have 99% of the Party membership. You know comrades how farcically Trotsky's and Zinoviev's boastings ended. You assure us, that you have a sure majority in the American Party, that that majority will be with you under any conditions. That is not true, comrades of the American delegation, it is absolutely untrue. You had a majority because the Communist Party of America saw in you until now staunch supporters of the Communist International. And just because it beheld in you friends of the Comintern, you had a majority in the ranks of the American Party. But what will happen when the American workers find out that your intentions are to break up unity in the ranks of the Comintern, and that you mean to conduct a struggle against its executive bodies—that is the question, my dear comrades. Do you think that the American workers will follow you against the Comintern, that they will give preference to the interests of your factional group rather than the interests of the Comintern? The history of the Comintern knows a series of instances, when popular leaders, more popular than you are, became isolated, just as soon as they raised their banner of revolt against the Comintern. Do you think that you will be luckier than those leaders? No hopes, comrades! Now you still have a formal majority. But tomorrow there will be no majority for you, and you, and you will be hopelessly isolated if you try to fight against the decisions of the Presidium of the ECCI. You can be sure of that, my dear comrades.

Comrade Lovestone is spoken of as a gifted leader, as the founder of the Communist Party of America. They say that the American Party cannot do without Comrade Lovestone and that his removal may ruin the Party. That is not true, comrades. Moreover it is not sincere. Woe to a party which could not do without one or another of its leaders. The Communist Party of America is not as weak as some comrades think. At any rate, it is much stronger than

they image. Parties are created by the working class and not by the individual leaders. It would be preposterous to assert the contrary. Added to that, Comrade Lovestone is not such a wonderfully great leader. Of course he is a capable and gifted comrade. But how has he used his talents? On factional intrigues, on factional machinations. Comrade Lovestone is unquestionably an able and talented factional schemer. You cannot deprive him of that. But one must not confuse factional with Party leadership. A party leader is one thing—a leader of a faction is quite another. Not every factional leader is destined to be a Party leader. I very much doubt Comrade Lovestone's fitness to be a leader of the Party, in the present phase.

This is how matters stand, comrades.

What is the way out, you will ask. In my opinion the way out lies in the adoption of the Commission's draft, a rejection of the Declaration of the American delegation, and compelling all members of the American Party unreservedly to carry out the decisions of the Presidium. Either the American comrades will unhesitatingly submit to the decisions of the ECCI, and actively work for their enforcement,—which will mark a great step towards the annihilation of factionalism, towards the establishment of peace in the Party,—or they will adhere to their Declaration and refuse to submit to the decisions of the ECCI, which will not mean peace but war against the Comintern, war in the ranks of the American Party. We propose peace and unity. If the comrades of the American delegation accept our terms—good and well, if they don't, so much the worse for them. The Comintern will take its own under any circumstances. You can be sure of that, dear comrades.

Finally, a couple of words on the new processes of bolshevisation of the Comintern sections, taking place at the present moment.

The other day, Comrade Lovestone in a conversation with me said that his expression about the "running sore" in the apparatus of the Comintern was just a slip. He assured me that this phrase was used accidentally and had nothing to do with the questions concerning his attitude towards the Comintern. My answer was that if that phrase was really nothing but a slip, then it wasn't worth while taking any notice of it, although in itself it was absolutely wrong and mistaken. However, some time after that I made myself acquainted with Comrade Lovestone's speech at the 6th Convention of the American Party, in which he referred also to a "running sore", this time not in relation to the apparatus of the Comintern, but in relation to world capitalism. Apparently, the "running sore" expression is not a chance phrase of Comrade Lovestone's vocabulary. The "running sore" in relation to world capitalism one should think means the crisis of world capitalism, the process of its decay. But what could Comrade Lovestone have meant by the "running sore" in relation to the apparatus of the Comintern. Apparently, the same crisis and decay in the Comintern apparatus. What else could that phrase have implied? What was it that should have made Comrade Lovestone speak of a "running sore" or a crisis in the apparatus of the Comintern? Apparently, the same thing that induces the Right wingers in the ranks of the CPSU to speak of a crisis and demoralization in the Comintern. Speaking of demoralization in the Comintern, the Right wingers usually refer to such facts as the expulsion of the Rights from the Communist Party of Germany, the demolition of the Right wingers in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the isolation of the Right wingers of the Communist Party of France, the struggle for the isolation of incurable factionalists in the Communist Party of the United States, and so forth and so on. Well, perhaps these facts are indeed a sign of serious illness of the Comintern, a sign of its demoralization, a sign of a "running sore" in the Comintern? Of course not, comrades. Only philistines and mediocrities in the Party can regard matters in this light. In reality it is a beneficial process of purging the sections of the Comintern from Right wingers and Conciliators, a beneficial process which cleanses the Communist International from opportunist and wavering elements. The Parties are being bolshevised and strengthened by ridding themselves of bad elements. That is the meaning of the recent events in the German, Czechoslovakia, American, French and other communist parties. The philistines in our parties see in that a sign of demoralization of the Comintern because they cannot see further than their noses. But revolutionary Marxians know that this is a beneficial process of bolshevisation in our parties, that without this beneficial process the parties and the proletariat cannot be prepared for the forthcoming class combats.

Many are of the opinion that nothing has recently changed in the international situation, that everything is just as it was. That is wrong, comrades. The fact of the matter is that we are witnessing an accentuation of the class struggle.

in all capitalist countries, a growing revolutionary crisis in Europe, development of conditions of a new revolutionary upheaval. This was signalized yesterday by the General Strike in Lodz. The other day we had a signal in Berlin. Tomorrow new signals will come from France, Great Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, America, India, China. Soon the earth will be too hot for world capitalism. The task of the Communist Parties is to begin right now with the development of mass preparatory work for the imminent class combats, to prepare the working class and the exploited masses for the coming revolutionary battles. The struggle against reformation and social democracy must be intensified. The struggle for the capture of the millions of the working class for communism must be strengthened. The struggle for the forging of genuine revolutionary cadres and for the selection of genuine revolutionary party leaders, people capable of going to war and leading the proletariat with them, people who will not retreat before the storm and will not be panic-stricken, but will face that storm, must be increased. But in order to do that we must right now, without a moment's delay, for time does not wait, cleanse the communist parties of Right and Conciliatory elements who are objectively the agents of social democracy in the ranks of the Communist Parties. And this must be done, not in the ordinary way, but at an accelerated rate, for, I repeat, time does not wait, and we cannot afford to let events find us unawares. A year or two ago, it might not have been necessary to hurry, counting on the Parties' gradual ejection of the right and vacillating elements, all the Brandlers and Thalheimers, all and sundry factional schemers, etc., etc., in the molecular process of their bolshevization. Then it was not necessary to hurry, as there was no danger of being late. But now, it is another matter. To go slowly now, means to be late, and to be late means to be caught unawares by the coming revolutionary crisis. Therefore, the process of cleansing the communist parties of unstable elements now going on, is a beneficial process of consolidation of the Comintern and its sections. Philistines are afraid of this beneficial process and in their fright they blabber about the demoralization of the Comintern, simply because they are Philistines. Revolutionaries on the contrary will always welcome this beneficial process, because it is a constituent part of the great work of preparation of the working class for the coming class combats, which is now the main task of the Communist Parties of the world.

It is a merit of the Commission's draft, by the way, that it facilitates the American Party in the fulfillment of this main task.

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[Strictly confidential]

SECOND SPEECH AT THE PRESIDIUM

Not for Publication. Only for the Minutes.

SESSION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF MAY 14TH, 1929

AMERICAN QUESTION

STALIN: It seems to me, comrades, that some American delegates do not fully appreciate the situation which has been brought about by the adoption of the Commission's project by the Presidium. Apparently the comrades do not fully understand that to defend one's convictions prior to the passing of a resolution, is one matter, and nonsubordination to the will of the Comintern after such resolution has been passed, is quite another. One could and should have criticized and combatted the project of the Commission to the extent that the members of the delegation considered it fallacious. But now that the Commission's draft has become a resolution of the Presidium, the American delegates must muster sufficient manhood in order to submit to the collective will, the will of the Comintern, and to undertake responsibility for its execution.

The stubbornness and tenacity of the eight out of the ten American delegates displayed here in their fight against the Commission's draft should be appreciated. But the fact that these eight comrades refuse to submit to the will of the highest authoritative body, the will of the Presidium of the ECCI, after their ideas have met with utter defeat, cannot be approved. Genuine courage does not consist in placing one's individual will above the collective will, above the will of the Comintern. Genuine courage consists in finding sufficient

stamina in fighting against oneself, in restraining oneself, and in subordinating one's will to the collective will, to the will of the highest Party authority. Without this, there is no collective will. Without this there can be no collective leadership.

I think that you will not deny the manfulness, firmness and ability of the Russian Bolsheviks in defending their ideas. How did the various groups of Russian Bolsheviks behave when they were found to be in the minority? Not wishing to infringe upon the iron discipline of the Party, the minority usually submitted to the will of the majority. There have been tens and hundreds of instances in the history of our Party when one group of Bolsheviks, convinced that the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party passed a wrong resolution, nevertheless declared after a discussion, after heated debates, after a fight for their ideas, that they are fully prepared to submit to the decisions of the highest leading body and to carry them into effect. I could refer for instance to such a fact as the case of 1907, when one part of the Bolsheviks advocated a boycott of the Duma and a greater part stood for a change of policy in favour of participation in the Duma, and when the minority unconditionally submitted to the will of the majority. The Russian Bolsheviks would have defeated the cause of the Russian Revolution if they had not been able to submit the will of individual comrades to the will of the majority if they had been incapable of concerted action. That is how we Russian Bolsheviks, the same Bolsheviks who have overthrown the bourgeoisie, established a Soviet Government, and are now upsetting the foundations of world imperialism, have been trained. Ability of concerted action, readiness to submit the will of individual comrades to the collective will, that is exactly what we call genuine Bolshevik manliness. That is so because without such manliness, without the ability of being able to overcome, if you like, one's own egoism, and of subordinating one's will to the collective will, without these qualities, there is no collectivism, there is no collective leadership, there is no Communism. That is true not only in respect to Parties and their Central Committees. It is particularly true in relation to the Comintern and its executive bodies which unite all Communist Parties of the world.

Comrades Gitlow and Lovestone have declared here with self-confidence that their conscience, their convictions, do not permit them to submit to the decisions of the Presidium, and to carry them into effect. But only anarchists, individualists, and not Bolsheviks, not Leninists, who must regard the collective will above their individual will, can speak thus. They speak of their conscience and convictions. But the members of the Presidium of the ECCI also have their conscience and their convictions. What is to be done if the conscience and convictions of the Presidium of the ECCI clash with the conscience and convictions of individual members of the American delegation? What is to be done if the American delegation received only one vote in the Presidium in favour of its declaration, the vote of Comrade Gitlow, while all other members of the Presidium have unanimously expressed themselves against the American delegation's declaration and in favour of the Commission's project? Do you, comrades of the American delegation, think that Comrade Gitlow's conscience and convictions are higher than the conscience and convictions of the overwhelming majority of the Presidium of the ECCI? Does it not dawn upon you that if each one of us will begin to act his own way, refusing to reckon with the collective will, then we shall never have any decisions, we shall never have a collective will or a collective leadership?

Let us take some mill or factory as an example. Suppose a majority of the workers of a factory are inclined to strike, while a minority, based on its convictions, is against the declaration of a strike. A struggle of ideas begins, meetings are called, and at the end, the great majority decides in favour of a strike. What would you think of the ten or twenty workers who constitute the said minority of the factory, if they declared that they cannot submit to the decision of the majority since they disagree with that decision? What would you call them, my dear comrades? You know that such workers are usually called scabs. Is it not clear that strikes, demonstrations and other concerted mass actions would be absolutely impossible if the minority would not submit to the majority? Is it not clear that we should never have any kind of decision or collective will, neither in the Parties nor in the Comintern, if individuals or minorities would not submit to the majority, to the higher collective will?

This is the turn that things have taken, comrades of the American Delegation.

Finally, a couple of words on the fate of the Communist Party of the United States of America in connection with the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. The comrades of the American delegation see the thing in too tragic a light. They assure us that as a result of the adoption of the Commission's project, the American Party is doomed or at least is at the brink of a precipice. That is not true, comrades. Moreover, it is absolutely ridiculous. The American Party lives and will live in spite of the prophesies of the comrades of the American Delegation. Moreover, the American Party will grow and prosper if only it will drive unprincipled factionalism out of its midst. The significance of the decision of the Presidium lies precisely in the fact that it facilitates the liquidation of unprincipled factionalism in the American Party, that it will bring about unity within the Party and that the Party will at last be in a position to enter upon the highway of mass political action. No, comrades, the American Party will not be ruined. It will live and prosper to the horror of the enemies of the working class. Only a small factional group will be ruined if it will persist, if it will not submit to the will of the Comintern, if it will hold on to its mistakes. But the fate of a small factional group is by no means identical with the fate of the American Party. From the fact that a small factional group may be politically ruined, it does not at all follow that the whole American Party will be ruined. If that small factional group is destined to ruin, let it be ruined for the sake and development of the Communist Party of America. Yours is too pessimistic an outlook, my comrades of the American delegation. Mine is a more optimistic perspective.

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[Strictly confidential]

Not for publication. For the Minutes only

AMERICAN COMMISSION. MAY 6TH, 1929

STALIN: Comrades, Since many speeches have already been delivered and the political position of both groups of the Communist Party of the United States of America has been made sufficiently clear, I shall not expatiate on the subject. I shall not deal with the political position of the Majority and Minority leaders. I shall not deal with that because both groups, as has been discovered in the course of the discussions here, are guilty of the principal error of exaggeration of the specific features of American capitalism. You know that this exaggeration is the basis of all the sundry opportunist errors both of the Majority as well as the Minority groups. It would be a mistake to leave out of account the specific peculiarities of American capitalism. The Communist Party must reckon with them in its work. But it would be even more incorrect to base the activities of the Communist Party on these specific features, since the basis of activity of any Communist Party, including the Communist Party of America, are the general features of capitalism, features which in the main are the same in all countries and are not the specific characteristics of the given country. It is this that determines the international character of the communist parties. Specific features merely supplement the general features. The mistake of both groups is that they exaggerate the importance of the specific features of American capitalism and forget thereby the fundamental features of American capitalism which are also the attributes of world capitalism. That is why when the leaders of the Majority and Minority mutually accuse each other of elements of Right deviations, there is no doubt that these accusations contain a grain of truth. There is no denial of the fact that American reality provides a favourable environment for the Communist Party to blunder and to exaggerate the strength and firmness of American capitalism. It is this situation that causes our American comrades, both of the Majority and of the Minority, to commit mistakes of a Right wing character. It is this situation that is the cause of the fact that now one and now another section of the Communist Party of America in one degree or another fails to see reformism in America, underestimates the radicalization of the working class and is in general inclined to regard American capitalism as something standing outside of and above world capitalism. That is the basis of the unsteadiness on methods of principle, on the part of the one as well as the other section of the American Party.

After these general remarks we shall proceed with the practical political issues.

What are the main shortcomings in the work of the Majority and Minority leaders?

They consist, firstly, in the fact that they, especially the Majority leaders, are prompted in their daily work by considerations of unprincipled factionalism and that they place the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party.

They consist, secondly, in the fact that both groups, and especially the Majority group, are to such an extent infected with the malady of factionalism that they take as the basis of their relations with the Comintern, not the principle of confidence, but a policy of rotten diplomacy, a policy of diplomatic play.

Let us take a few examples. I take such a simple fact as the speculation on the divergencies in the C. P. S. U., practiced both by the Majority as well as the Minority leaders. You know that the one as well as the other section of the Communist Party of America in vieing with each other, overtaking each other as if at the races, strenuously try to speculate on the existing and non-existing differences in the C. P. S. U. Why do they do that? Is that in the interests of the American Party? No. Of course not! They do this for the benefit of their own particular faction and to the detriment of the rival faction. Foster and Bittelman see nothing criminal in declaring themselves to be "Stalinites" so as to demonstrate thereby their loyalty to the CPSU. But this is downright indecency, my dear comrades! Don't you know that there are not and there should not be any "Stalinites"? Why this indecency on the part of the Minority? In order to pinch the Majority group, Lovestone's group, in order to show that Lovestone's group is opposed to the CPSU and hence opposed to the main kernel of the Comintern. This, of course, is not true and not serious. But that is not the Minority's business. Its chief object is to pinch and discredit the Majority in the interests of the faction of the Minority.

And how does the Lovestone group behave in this respect? Is it perhaps more decent than the Minority group? Unfortunately not. Unfortunately it behaves even more indecently than the Minority group. Judge for yourselves. Foster's group demonstrates its proximity to the CPSU, declaring itself as "Stalinites." Lovestone sees that his faction loses something by that. Ergo, to be out of debt, his group suddenly performs a "hair-raising" stunt and produces at the Convention of the American Party a resolution about the Comintern's removal of Comrade Bucharin. The result is a race game on the principle of who will outwit the other. Instead of a struggle of principles, we thus meet with a most unprincipled speculation on dissensions in the CPSU.

Such are the results of a policy which places factional interests above the interests of the Party.

Another example. I have in mind Comrade Pepper's affair. All of you are more or less familiar with the history of that affair. The Comintern twice demanded Comrade Pepper's recall to Moscow. The CEC of the American Party resisted and essentially infringed upon a series of ECCI decisions concerning Pepper. The Majority of the American Party has, by doing so, demonstrated its kinship with Pepper whose opportunist waverings everybody knows. Finally, the ECCI delegation comes to the Convention of the American Party and again demands in the name of the ECCI Comrade Pepper's immediate recall. The Majority, headed by Lovestone and Gitlow, again resisted, finding it unnecessary to carry out the decision of the ECCI. Foster's group utilizes this affair against Lovestone's group, declaring that the Majority of the American Party goes against the Comintern. Lovestone's group finally begins to feel that it may lose out from the point of view of the interest of its faction, if it will be found to be in opposition to the Comintern, and, therefore, performs another "hair-raising" stunt and expels Comrade Pepper from the Party, the same Pepper whom it but yesterday defended against the CI. Again, we see a struggle for first place—who will beat the other. What explains the fact that the Majority resisted and did not carry out the Comintern decision concerning Pepper? Of course, not the interests of the Party. It is to be explained exclusively by the interests of the Majority faction. What explains the fact that suddenly the Majority turned the other way round and unexpectedly expelled Pepper from the Party? Is it perhaps the interests of the Party? Of course not. It is to be explained simply by the interests of Lovestone's faction which did not want to leave an extra trump in the hands of its rival, the Foster, Bittelman Factional Group. Factional interests above all!

The Foster Group wants to display its loyalty to the CPSU and proclaims itself as "Stalinites". Good and well. We, Lovestonites, will go further and

the Foster group and will demand the removal of Comrade Bukharin from the Comintern. Let the Fosterites try and beat us on that! Let the Muscovites see how we Americans play on the Exchange!

The Foster Group wants to demonstrate its closeness to the Comintern and is playing for the carrying out of the Comintern decision concerning Pepper. Good and well. We, Lovestonites will go further than that. We will expel Comrade Pepper from the Party. Let the Fosterites try and beat us on that! Let the Muscovites know how we Americans can play on the Exchange!

Such are the fruits of the Majority and Minority factionalism.

But comrades, the Comintern is not an Exchange. The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. The Comintern must, therefore, not be taken for an Exchange. EITHER we are Leninists and our relations toward each other as well as the relations of the Sections towards the Comintern, and vice versa, must be built on mutual trust, must be as clear and as transparent as crystal, in which case there must be no rotten diplomacy in our midst, OR we are not Leninists, in which case rotten diplomacy and unprincipled factional struggle have full sway in our relationships. One or the other. One must choose, comrades.

To characterise the manner in which pure Communist morals are perverted and besmirched in the course of the factional struggle, one might refer to such a fact for example, as my conversations with Comrades Foster and Lovestone. I have in mind the conversations which took place during the CI Congress. It is characteristic that in writing to his friends Comrade Foster refers to that conversation as something mysterious, as something about which one must not speak aloud. It is also characteristic the Comrade Lovestone in presenting his indictment against Comrade Foster in connection with this conversation, refers to his own conversation with me, boasting that he, Comrade Lovestone, unlike Foster can keep a secret and will, under no condition, make public the substance of his conversation with me. From whence this mysticism, and what is it wanted for, my dear comrades? What could there be so mysterious in my conversations with Comrades Foster and Lovestone? Listening to these comrades one might get the impression that I spoke with them concerning matters which one would be ashamed to talk of here. But that is absurd comrades. Why this play in mysticism? Is it not clear that I have nothing to hide from the comrades? Is it not clear that I am always ready to tell my comrades, at any moment, the substance of my conversation with Foster and Lovestone from beginning to end? What then becomes of the mysticism so diligently spread here by Foster and Lovestone?

What did Foster speak to me about? He complained of the factionalism and unprincipled character of Comrade Lovestone's group. What was my answer? I admitted that Comrade Lovestone's group is guilty of these digressions but immediately added that Comrade Foster's group is equally guilty of them. From this, Comrade Foster comes to the strange conclusion that I sympathise with the Minority group. The question arises, why? What grounds has Foster to think that I see no shortcomings in the Minority group and that I even sympathize with it? Is it not clear that that which Comrade Foster WISHES, seems to him to be REALITY?

What did Comrade Lovestone speak to me about? Of the unfitness of the Foster, Bittelman group. What was my answer? I told him that both groups suffer from vital defects and advised him to take steps towards the liquidation of factionalism. And that is all.

What mystery was there in that, concerning which one might not speak aloud? Is it not strange that out of these simple and clear facts the comrades of the Majority and Minority groups should have made a mystery which can only evoke laughter among serious people? Is it not clear that there would have been no mystification, and there been no factional atmosphere which poisons the life of the American Party and degrades the most simple and pure communist ethics?

Or, for example, let us take another fact. I will take my interview with Comrade Lovestone which has taken place RECENTLY. It is characteristic that Comrade Lovestone circulates absurd rumors also concerning this conversation of mine with him, and makes a secret of it. What an incomprehensible passion for "mysticism". . . . What was the subject of our conversation? He spoke to me on the subject of rescinding the decision of his recall from America by the Presidium of the Comintern. He said that he, Lovestone, undertakes to carry out the proposed decision of the Presidium of the ECCI, if it will not be accentuated against the Majority leaders of the American Party..

He said that he promises to be a loyal soldier of the Comintern and to prove it in action if only the Comintern would give him a chance. He said that he is not looking for any high position in the American Party, but he only wants to be tested and that he be given an opportunity to prove his loyalty to the Comintern. What was my answer? I replied that the Comintern has been experimenting on Comrade Lovestone's loyalty in the course of three years, but nothing good has come of it. I replied that it will be advantageous for the American Party and for the Comintern if Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman remain for a while in Moscow. I replied that the mode of action devised by the Comintern is one of the best methods of curing the American Party of factionalism and of the danger of demoralization. I replied that regardless of my opinion I agree to hand over his proposal for consideration by the Russian comrades, and that I undertake to let him know the result.

That seems clear. Nevertheless, Comrade Lovestone is trying to shroud these clear facts in mystery, circulating all kinds of absurd rumours on my conversation with him.

It is clear that there would be no mystification and that ordinary things would not be metamorphosed into mysterious legends if there had been no policy of regarding factional interests above the interests of the Party, and diplomatic play, above the interests of the Comintern.

To put a stop to this outrageous business and to put the American Party on the path of Leninist policy, one must first of all put a stop to factionalism in that Party.

That is the conclusion that the enumerated facts lead to.

What is the way out?

Comrade Foster has shown one way out. From his motion it follows that the leadership must be handed over to the Minority. Can that be accepted? No it cannot. The ECCI delegation made a mistake when it sharply disassociated itself from the Majority by not disassociating itself JUST AS SHARPLY from the Minority. It would be sad if the Commission of the Presidium would repeat the mistake of the ECCI delegation. I think that the Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI must disassociate itself in its draft both from the mistakes of the Majority, as well as the mistakes of the Minority. And precisely because it must disassociate itself from the first as well as the second, it cannot be in favor of handing the leadership over to the Minority. Hence Comrade Foster's motion with all that it implies, falls to the ground.

The American delegation proposed another way out which is diametrically opposed to that of Comrade Foster. The proposal of the American delegation, as you know, contains 10 points. Its substance amounts to a total rehabilitation of the Majority leadership, a recognition that the factional work of the Majority is correct, a withdrawal of the decision of the Presidium of the ECCI to recall Comrade Lovestone, and, therefore, a sanctioning of the policy of throttling the Minority. Can that be accepted? No, it cannot. It cannot because such a way out would mean, not the liquidation of factionalism, but its adoption as a principle.

What then, is the way out?

It is as follows:

(1) The activity and proposals of the ECCI delegation must, in the main, be approved, with the exception of the points which resemble Comrade Foster's proposals.

(2) An open letter should be sent in the name of the ECCI to the members of the Communist Party of America, giving an outline of the mistakes of both sections of the Party, and accentuating the point of the necessity for eradication of all factionalism.

(3) The activities of the Majority leaders at the Convention of the American Party, especially on the Pepper question, should be condemned.

(4) The present state of affairs in the American Party, whereby questions of positive work, questions of the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, questions of wages, the working day, trade union work, the struggle against reformism, the struggle against the Right deviation, are kept in the shade and prominence is given to insignificant questions of factional strife between the Foster and Lovestone groups, must be liquidated.

(5) The Secretariat of the C. E. C. of the American Party must be altered and people added to it, who are capable of recognizing the class struggle of the workers against the capitalist class and not only the factional struggle, who are capable of placing the interests of the Party and its unity above the interests of individual groups and leaders.

(6) Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman must be recalled and placed at the disposal of the Comintern so that the leaders of the American Party may realize at last that the Comintern is in real earnest about combatting factionalism.

That is the way out, in my opinion.

A few words concerning the tasks and mission of the American Party. I think, comrades, that the Communist Party of America is one of the few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has placed tasks of decisive importance from the point of view of the international revolutionary movement. The power and might of American capitalism you all know. Many seem to think that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. This, of course, is wrong. It is absolutely wrong, comrades. The crisis of world capitalism is rapidly growing and it cannot fail to involve American capitalism. The 3 million unemployed in the United States, is the first sign that a crisis in America is brewing. The accentuated antagonism between America and Great Britain, the struggle for markets and raw material, finally, the colossal growth of armament, these are another sign indicating the approach of a crisis. I think that the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will be unleashed in America; when that revolutionary crisis comes in the United States, it will mark the beginning of the end of world capitalism. The Communist Party of the United States must be aimed to be able to meet that historical moment and to head the forthcoming class combats. Preparation is necessary for this, comrades, a preparation of all forces. For this the American Party must be improved and cleansed. For this all factionalism and all deviations must be liquidated in that Party. For this it is necessary to establish unity in the American Party. For this it is necessary to forge out real revolutionary cadres and genuine revolutionary leaders of the proletariat, who would be capable of leading the many millions of the American working class towards their class revolutionary battles. For this it is necessary to throw aside all and sundry personal feelings and factional considerations, making the revolutionary education of the working class of America the foremost issue.

That is why I think, comrades, that we must most seriously consider the proposals of the commission of the Presidium of the ECCI, submitted for your consideration, as these proposals are intended for curing the Communist Party of America, for the annihilation of factionalism, for the establishment of unity, for the strengthening and bolshevisation of the Party.

COMRADE KUUSINEN'S SPEECH AT THE SITTING OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION ON
MAY 12, 1929

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Comrades, The sub-commission proposes to you to adopt the draft Open Letter to all members of the American Party, which has already been distributed among the comrades.

It is not for the first time that the Executive has to deal with the question of the factional strife in the American Party. But it is for the first time that such a big delegation from the American Party Congress is here. We have listened in the Commission to the extensive arguments of all the members of the delegation, and after a thoroughgoing analysis of the question, we have arrived at the proposals contained in the Open Letter. The delegates who have arrived here have done a good deal to elucidate the question, but I must say that they have done so from a one-sided point of view, or to be more exact, from two factional points of view. Properly speaking, the delegation as a whole does not exist. The comrades have now been here for over a month yet if I asked them how many delegate meetings they have had during this time, I believe their answer should be, none. This is already a highly characteristic fact. A delegation from the American Party Congress comes to Moscow, and not once do all the members of the delegation meet while in Moscow. Even here in Moscow the comrades behave themselves only as two factions. Precisely in the manner that the factional strife was carried on in America both before and during the Party Congress, it has been continued here in Moscow.

The American Party convention had to solve two problems. These problems had been put before the Party both by the VI World Congress and by the Open Letter of the ECCI. What were these two problems? 1) The Party had to mobilize the membership for the fight against the Right danger; 2) For the liquidation of the factional strife. Did the Party Congress seriously attempt to

solve these problems? No. Yet these two problems are insolubly bound up. No successful struggle against the Right danger can be waged in the American Party without disposing of the factional strife, and without the elimination of the lack of principle which is inseparably associated with factionalism. On the other hand, one cannot imagine a proper and serious fight to get rid of factionalism without waging a fight against the Right danger.

The two problems which had been put to the Party Congress by the VI World Congress through the Open Letter of the Executive were entirely misplaced on account of the factionalism existing in the Party. Naturally, a really correct solution of the most essential political questions is impossible as long as such a state of affairs prevails. The factional adherents accept without criticism the slogans and proposals of their leaders and the factional leaders are not fully responsible for their slogans and proposals, because they are working without the control of the Party comrades. This leads to the intensification of political deviations in both factions. Of this we have many instances. Whenever the factional leaders of one group or the other commit political mistakes, their adherents endeavor to explain away such mistakes by the flimsiest arguments. I shall cite here only a couple of instances.

All the members in the Politbureau of the American Party were agreed that Comrade Zimmerman, a leading comrade in the clothing workers' strike of January-February 1929, who nevertheless committed serious Right mistakes and a grave breach of discipline, should be put upon the CC, and there was not a word of criticism against it. Furthermore, Comrade Amter, an adherent of the majority group who wrote an article on "good and bad mayors" in which he opined that good mayors were those who carried out the laws of the bourgeois state, and bad mayors were those who trespassed against such laws, was also put on the CC without a word of criticism. Further the Minority did not criticize Comrade Wagenknecht who had called for three cheers for the "Vorwärts" newspaper. Did they wage a fight against his mistakes? If a member of the faction commits ever so serious Right mistakes, no fight is made against him, but rather an effort is made to protect him.

The Minority comrades, Foster and Bittelman, have said that they have carried on a fight against the Right danger in the American Party. Yes, they did carry on a factional fight against the Majority group. The Majority group sees the Right danger in Trotskyism and in the Minority. The Minority sees the Right danger only in the Lovestone-Pepper group. On our part, we cannot support this factional point of view. Our thesis is to the effect that the Right danger is very much increased in the American Party precisely by serious Right mistakes committed by both factions, that both factions have committed serious deviations towards the Right of the proper Leninist line, and thus the danger of open crystallization of the opportunistic Right deviation has been created. This is the thesis which we recommend to adopt. The American comrades must recognize that the Right danger has increased very much in the whole Party, in both groups, and that this fact urges the fight against the Right danger, against the increased Right danger in both groups.

In a similar manner, the thesis about liquidation of factionalism has been misplaced by both groups of the American Party. Properly speaking, what could both groups do in a practical way in the spirit of the Open Letter? Had they earnestly desired to carry out the instructions, then they should have directed their chief efforts to getting rid of factionalism in their own camp. Yet what they have done was the very opposite.

Comrades Lovestone and Pepper said to themselves upon receiving the Open Letter: Now that the Executive has pronounced against our faction, now there is danger, now we must even further consolidate the faction and carry on the fight against the Minority group.

What did the Foster-Bittelman group do upon receiving the Open Letter? They said to themselves: Yes, these instructions concerning the liquidation of factionalism in both groups are naturally diplomatic instructions of the Comintern. It could not say openly that it supports our group, but this is how we are to understand it, and we must pursue our factional fight with even greater energy.

We have been asked here by the Majority comrades that the Comintern should treat them as the Party. Yes, dear comrades, this demand would have been proper if you had acted yourselves as a Party, but so far you have not done so. During the Party Convention you thought it necessary to organize caucus meetings. The Majority claims to have had 95% of the

delegates behind it. If so, why was it afraid of the decisions of the Party Convention that it considered it necessary to discuss them previously at caucus meetings? If they had 95% of the Party Convention behind them, there was no need for caucus meetings. The only reason was that they wanted to mobilize the whole faction against the organizational measures of the ECCI. They were not sure that the Majority faction, without caucus meetings, and if given the opportunity to consider the decisions on organizational measures for themselves, would not vote against these decisions. They were to be denied the opportunity of independent thinking on these resolutions, but they were to be tied by the instructions of the caucus.

What is the way out that is proposed by both factions? I cannot conceive the Majority proposals otherwise than that they want the Comintern to give them a free hand to organizationally exterminate the Minority group. In the opinion of the leading comrades of the Majority group, the Comintern only hinders them in getting rid of the factional strife. If left to themselves, they would be quite able to dispose of the factional strife. Their solution would be simply in entirely destroying the Minority group, if the Comintern had given them a free hand in the matter.

If you want to go on in this way, you would have to expel one third of the Party. But is this a solution? Is this the way for the unification of the Party? No, this proposal cannot be accepted.

What is proposed by Foster and Bittelman?

Their proposals amount to this: A new Convention within three months. At the new Convention they hope that their faction will become stronger. They hope that in two or three years they may win a majority in the Party. And what then? Then the organizational destruction of the present Majority group. Thus, comrades, if we take up this prospect of development, it means that in two or three years, at best, if Comrade Foster's and Bittelman's plans will materialize, then we are going to have a situation similar to the one we have today, only with a reverse co-relation of forces. The present Majority would turn into a Minority. Would this be a solution of the question? Not at all!

But is it necessary to put an end to the factional strife?

If Comrade Lenin wrote after the March action of 1929 in regard to the German Party: "Now no more internal fighting, now must be an end to factional strife," how much more reason have we now to give these instructions to the American comrades. If things are to go on this way in the American Party, there is the danger of the political dissolution of the leading cadres of the Party, such a dissolution as will undermine the whole activity of the Party. The factional strife has already led to a certain stagnation as regards the growth of the Party. There is fluctuation going on the Party. Workers come and go, because they become disgusted by the factional strife which goes on in the Party. Instances of this kind might be cited without end. Even in labour fights the detrimental effect of the factional strife becomes quite noticeable. If one faction firmly holds the leadership of the fight in its hands, the other side obstructs, sabotages, and puts difficulties in the way. It is absolutely impossible to allow things to go on in this way. The Comintern has tolerated this situation altogether too long.

We are told here that the factional strife has already a history of six years. Nay, even more than that. Not only does this factional strife exist for six years, but it has existed already from the very beginning, since 1919-20. This factional strife has a history of 10 years behind it. The first fight was waged with Fraina. I have requested Comrade Reinstein to write an article on this subject. It will be very instructive for the American Party. It is the opinion of the Executive of the Comintern that it is necessary now to do everything to compel the American Party to put an end to this factional strife.

Whence shall this compulsion come?

From the membership of the Party. It is our expectation that the membership of the American Party will help the Comintern in doing away with the factional strife. The comrades in the Party are tired of the factional strife. We feel sure that the best elements of the Party will work hand in hand with the Comintern in waging this fight. Our hopes are based upon this.

In the discussion here the majority delegation has levelled its bitterest attacks against the comrades who have spoken unreservedly for the proposals of the Open Letter, for the proposals of the ECCI, against the comrades Weinstone, Wicks, and others. In the United States there is a whole number of such comrades. Formerly it was said about these comrades that they are excellent

Party workers. But no sooner did they decide for the policy of the Comintern than they became the target for the most reckless attacks.

If these comrades commit the only mistake of supporting the proposals of the Executive, there is no ground for attacking them. I could only urge these two comrades to keep rigidly apart from both factions. It would be the greatest mistake for them to join either of the factions.

The sub-commission has had fairly long conversations with the Comrades Gitlow, Wolfe, Bedacht, Lovestone, and Pepper. What did we find in the course of those conversations? That these comrades have already far advanced along the road of factionalism. We hope it is not yet too late for these comrades to turn back from this road. We hope for the same from Comrade Foster. In the discussion here, as well as during the Party Congress in America, there was a campaign against Comrade Foster on account of his past mistakes, of his articles of 1913-16. Comrades, you know what Foster is now politically. Such campaigns can only compromise the whole Party in the eyes of the working class. We know what Comrade Foster politically is. We have seen during many years that he has been developing all the time ever closer to the policies of the Comintern. But he is factionally inclined, that is his weakness. In the instructions of the Presidium of the ECCI Comrade Foster was ordered to play an objective part in the new Party leadership. Comrade Foster has preferred to continue the road of factionalism, and he has also interpreted the Comintern line of organizational instruction in a factional way. He is too intimately associated with factional friends who give him factional advice. I tell Comrade Foster quite plainly that anyone who advises him to go on with the factional strife, be he ever so much a good friend of his, is rendering him a very bad service, whether it be Comrade Bittelman, Comrade Zack, Comrade Browder, or anyone else.

I must also take it as a sign of factionalism on the part of Comrade Foster that he did not early enough and clearly enough take a stand against the Trotskyists. It should have been his duty, above all, to expose the Trotskyites and to tackle the most reckless Cannon and the others. If Foster is now constructing a whole theory that it was not his group, but the group of Lovestone or Ruthenberg which had from the very beginning, on the question of the Labor Party and other questions, represented the opportunistic standpoint while Foster had represented the proper standpoint, we must say to Foster: You had better give up these constructions, as they will lead nowhere. Both Foster and Lovestone should earnestly think of what is the big difference between the method of a good group leadership and of a good Party leadership. I believe in our Parties we should elucidate this subject more than has been done hitherto. A good group leader must possess the ability for astute political manoeuvring; but he need not represent firm principles and a firm policy, he need not possess the political courage to speak against his own adherents in the interest of the Party if they commit mistakes. The Party leader must be able to place the Party interest above the group interest. He must realize that the Party interest coincides with the interest of the revolutionary working class. This ought to be his highest consideration. I urge the leading comrades of both groups to study the history of the Russian Party. Already during the time of Lenin you will find a great many examples of the difference between Party and group leadership, and even such examples you will find in the experience of the Russian Party in recent times.

A word or two about Comrade Pepper. We have had a conversation with him in the Sub-Commission. He figures that the only purpose was to keep him away from the Party Convention and that for this reason he was called back to Moscow. The comrades know that he had already been called back in September, when we did not yet know when the Party Convention would take place. For many months he resorted to sabotage. The leadership of the American Party, the Politbureau, have defended him in his sabotage towards the Comintern. Finally, about the beginning of February, it was decided that he shall depart. He asked then for a couple of weeks more to make his preparations for the journey. Then he ostensibly departed. Comrade Lovestone assures us that he had given him the money for the journey. Lovestone called that the decision of the Comintern was carried out. From that time on, that is, since February 20th, and until the end of March, Comrade Pepper disappeared. Where he was during that period, is hard to tell. I know only of two versions, which are hardly compatible with each other, at all events.

Comrade Pepper said he had left for Moscow. He did not wish to take the direct route. He had gone to Mexico, and waited there for a boat. A boat

came, but it was not found suitable by Pepper. It was a slow-going vessel, and as the Comintern had waited so long, he could not make up his mind to take a slow boat. So he waited for a fast boat. But no fast boat came. He could only board the steamer six weeks later. Sea transportation must be in a very backward condition in some countries on the Pacific! Comrade Pepper learnt then that the other boat was also a slow one. So he went back to New York. He had found no Communists in Mexico. I am not going to say any more about Comrade Pepper's explanation. In Mexico there was a reactionary upheaval during his stay. But Pepper had spoken to no Communists. We were here very much worried that we had no representative of the Comintern in Mexico. The leader of the American Party was there, he was only engaged in inspecting ships, but spoke to no Communists. Eventually he got bored, and he went back to New York.

As to the second version, we have two testimonies about it. Comrade Gilbert Green, a supporter of the Majority group, has seen with his own eyes, during this time that Pepper was supposed to be in Mexico, that he was in New York. It may have been a "double" whom Gilbert Green saw as Pepper, as well as Lovestone and Stachel in whose company he is alleged to have been seen. Maybe it was a double of Comrade Pepper, that is quite possible. I have personal experiences of this kind. My own double is in Finland. He was killed, and it was asserted by the Government that it was me. Therefore, I do not implicitly put my faith in Comrade Gilbert Green's testimony; but there is yet another testimony, by Comrade Gannes, the shorthand typist. To wit, a representative of the Comintern in a mass organization cables from America that it was stated by the woman comrade in question that she had worked with Pepper during the Party Congress.

Comrades, the sub-Commission was no ICC. We could not so far investigate the question. But we must assume that these comrades do not lie when they tell us that Pepper was seen by them in the company of Comrades Lovestone and Stachel, and perhaps also Minor. It may perhaps be said that it was a Mexican conspiracy during the Party Congress in America. The Majority faction believed itself to be the Majority caucus, yet at the same time the little caucus was holding its sittings.

At all events, to Pepper, when going back from Mexico to New York, as he said, it was a question of his life whether he was to travel to Moscow or not. On this question, to travel or not to travel, he had hesitated for a long time. Until April 1st. On April 1st any strange thing may happen. Comrade Pepper made a political statement, and the Secretariat expelled him from the Party. (Interjection: That was an April joke.) Why did Pepper make a political statement? We have put this question to Comrade Lovestone in the Sub-Commission. Comrade Lovestone said he believed that Pepper had the intention of taking advantage of the absence of Lovestone, Bedacht, and other leading comrades, to get into his own hands the leadership of the Party. This has been asserted by Lovestone two or three times. (Hear, hear.) We believe this to be nonsense. Personally, I know of another explanation. Comrade Pepper had no prospect to gain the leadership of the Party. The time he is alleged to have spent in Mexico is also evidence that he possessed no particular courage for this step. I believe he hesitated between carrying out the instructions of the Comintern and a third party. With one leg he was still standing inside, but with the other leg he was already outside of the Party. He wanted to give his political statement for the event of quitting. Who helped him eventually decide to proceed to Moscow, I do not know. Perhaps Comrade Minor, perhaps also other comrades. Naturally, it would have been very inconvenient, had Pepper blurted out everything. Comrades, I must apologize for having at all touched upon the Pepper case. It is a case for the ICC. I have mentioned it only after even Comrade Stalin has spoken here and demanded that the relations of the leading comrades with the leaders of the Executive should be clear and crystallically pure. I fail to understand why such things, such fairy tales are brought up in the Sub-Commission.

The Majority of the American Party has centered the factional question upon one single question, upon the Lovestone question. This has been particularly done so by Comrade Lovestone. Comrade Lovestone is a very able, a very gifted comrade, but an exceedingly factional group leader. Already the last time that the factional question was discussed here, I believe in 1927, we told him that he had not yet learned the difference between a group and a Party leader. I admit what has been said here by the other comrades about Comrade Lovestone, but I beg to differ when they want to identify Comrade

Lovestone with the leadership spoken of by the VI World Congress. I say, this is too much. The VI World Congress said that the Communist Party of the United States had shown itself as a firm leader in many strenuous class fights. This was said by the VI World Congress about the Party, but not, as thought by Comrade Wolfe, about the CC Majority, or particularly about Lovestone. Comrade Wolfe has said even a good deal more in the Sub-Commission about Lovestone and other comrades. He opined that this was the very best that had been produced by the American working class for many years. This is a little too much, this is an exaggeration.

If Comrade Lovestone should agree to our proposal and spend a certain length of time, not in the American Party, but in some other work in the International, we believe this would not mean political death for the comrade; on the contrary, this might mean his political betterment, if he only wishes to be better. At any rate, this is a test for him. The rest depends on himself. I only consider it a bad sign, the threat which he uttered at the close of his speech:

"Whatever work is given me I will do. But we have a deep conviction that such an organizational proposal as the one aiming to take me away from our Party today is not a personal matter but a slap and slam in the face of our entire leadership. Go to the membership and you will be convinced. We know that if the new opposition bloc were to take the leadership away from the present comrades it would absolutely lead to ruin and wreck the Party. And it is our duty to come here and tell you that if you insist on taking some of these organizational measures against our Party you will create a situation in our Party under which thousands of workers will be disgusted and totally demoralized. We say to you comrades: Criticise, condemn but don't take any measures that will pull our Party out by its roots. Take no steps which will weaken and wipe out our Party as an effective force for years."

What does this mean? Is this not a concealed threat? Still clearer were Lovestone's threats after Comrade Stalin had addressed us here on the organizational plans which we should apply and which are incorporated in our draft. The comrades Lovestone, Bedacht and the others said: "By accepting this draft letter we would only further the demoralization, collapse, and chaos in the Party".

Comrades, have we ever before listened to such tones? That we are now listening to such tones in discussing the American question, is something striking, something new in connection with this question, yet nothing new in the history of the Comintern. Such tones we have already heard before from some of the Right opportunists, on the eve of their departure upon the road of splitting policies—from Hoglund and the others.

This we have characterized in our draft letter as an attempt at preparing the ground for the violation of the Comintern decisions, for the splitting of the Party. We call upon the comrades to turn back from this road unconditionally. We have told the Minority group that they are wrong when they say that the Congress was an anti-Comintern Congress: we have said that it was wrong to assert that the Majority of the Party consisted of anti-Comintern elements. We have characterized this as a harmful untruth, and I wish to remind Comrade Foster that we have told him that we have seen a deplorable anti-Comintern wing in their ranks, too, that those living in glass houses should not start throwing stones, that the words contained in the last statement of the Majority of the delegation were of ill omen. Our sub-commission deems it necessary to call quite definitely upon the delegation as a whole, and upon every individual member of the delegation, to state with absolute clearness whether they are prepared to submit to the decisions of the Comintern on the American question and to carry them out implicitly and without reservations. Yes or no? It will substantially depend upon your answer, what character the measures of the Comintern upon the American question shall eventually assume.

From your declaration we see plainly that it is no longer a question of factionalism of the leaders of the Majority of the CC against the Minority group, but it is already a factional attitude towards the Executive of the Comintern.

Do you really wish to enter upon the path of splitting? A clear answer to this question must be given here, in Moscow. We are fully convinced that the Party will march hand in hand with the Executive. This is not the question; the question is about the leadership of the Majority faction and about the leadership of the Minority faction. Will you help the Comintern in the fight for the elimination of factionalism, or will you hinder the work of the Execu-

tive? Will you take up a fight against the Executive upon this question, or will you submit unconditionally and without reservations? Will you urge your own supporters, the whole of the membership, to carry out unconditionally the decisions of the Comintern? Yes or no?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I would also like to have you identify this particular document.

Mr. VOORHIS. As I understand it these speeches were made by Stalin about what the American party ought to do and what it ought to be?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. LOVESTONE. This appears to be the principal speech, or one of the principal speeches, of Molotov in the American Commission, telling us what we ought to do and what we ought not to do, and how we ought not to do it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Molotov is at present the Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is one of his titles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should like, Mr. Chairman, to have this also incorporated in the record. These documents are marked "confidential," and "not for publication." but under the circumstances I think that may be ignored.

Mr. STARNES. They deal with the American situation?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They deal with the American situation; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection, it may be incorporated in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[Confidential]

Not for publication

SPEECH IN THE SESSION OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION

Comrade MOLOTOV'S: Comrades, the draft letter on the situation in the Communist Party of America was handed out yesterday. It has been in the hands of the delegates about twenty-four hours. The object of this draft is to direct the Party, the forces of both sections of the Party, towards the struggle for the liquidation of factionalism, a struggle for the unanimous carrying out of the line of the Comintern. However, what we have heard just now from Comrade Gitlow as a representative of the Majority group clearly indicates that that Group is by all means trying to keep its faction intact, to keep its faction as a separate group.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Commission and Comrade Kuusinen as the reporter appealed to the delegates here, asking them to answer as to whether they accept the draft letter as a basis after having closely studied it, as to whether they undertake unconditionally to submit to the decisions of the Comintern, as to whether they will carry these decisions into operation, even to this question which is elementary for each communist, we see that the comrades give no answer, that they want to make first clear their factional position, that they want to secede as a group, that they want to unite first so that the line of their group, the line of their faction may be more sharply counterposed to the line defended by the Comintern.

It seems to me that this is a bad sign, that it shows that the comrades do not go along the path desired by the Comintern, the path which must be followed by the Communist Party of America in order to fulfill the great tasks which confront it at the present time.

Recording this fact it seems to me that the Commission must decide today whether the draft letter is adopted as a basis and then proceed with the consideration of the various amendments that some of the comrades will make.

The question of the struggle against factionalism, the question of struggle for the main line of the Comintern, is so clear that each of the comrades here

must declare openly and sincerely before taking the matter up in their caucus, before elaborating the question in their faction, as to whether he is in favour of combating factionalism which corrodes the Party, which menaces the development of the American working class. We must get a clear and concise answer to this question right here at this Session.

Comrades, I have very little to add to what Comrade Stalin has said. I fully agree with his estimate of the situation in the American Party and his estimate of the various Sections of that Party.

I will take up only one question, the question which was of particular importance during the Convention of the American Party.

The comrades of the Majority, and partly also the comrades of the Minority, attempted to draw a distinction between the political and the organizational sides of the decision of the Comintern. This is true also of Comrade Foster who defended the position of waiting—with the consideration of the question concerning the adoption of the political proposals of the Comintern until its organizational proposals will be known. By this Comrade Foster stressed his factional attitude towards Comintern decisions.

On the other hand, what the Majority faction did in relation to the Comintern proposals at the Convention of the Party has shown once more that the Majority leaders do not want to reckon with the will of the Comintern and that they are concerned in turning the Comintern decisions into something that is favourable for their faction and not to take them as given by the Comintern. I said that an attempt was made to differentiate the organizational from the political proposals. Why is it necessary to speak of that? Because even now the representatives of the Majority still hold this position. Therefore, even if the Open Letter of the ECCI were adopted "unanimously" both by the Majority and the Minority, that would be absolutely insufficient guarantee that the desired progress will be made in the struggle against factionalism in the Communist Party of America. It is not for the first time that the Comintern categorically demands the cessation of the factionalist struggle in America. Not only the Executive Committee and not only its Presidium, but also the Sixth Congress of the Comintern categorically demanded from the factional leaders to stop the factional fight which is ruining the Party and which does not allow the Party to occupy the place of honour in the American Labour movement and the Labour movement of the world which it should hold, and which it will unquestionably hold in the near future. The development of antagonisms in the system of American imperialism, and the changes which are now taking place in the American Labour movement, speak in favour of that. It is clear now that what has happened at the Convention of the American Party has fully confirmed the correctness of the Open Letter and the principal organizational conclusions which were drawn by the Comintern. The carrying out of these decisions of the Comintern (with the exception of the motion to make Comrade Foster General Secretary, which has already been withdrawn) must now be guaranteed so as to make it possible to shift the Party onto new rails.

Without organizational measures strengthening the position of the Comintern, the Communist Party of America will get into an intolerable situation. And yet the Party is confronted with great tasks.

Take the question of growth of the Communist Party. Has that Party become a mass political Party? No, it would be too early to speak of that. Many facts that have been cited here indicate that the workers are attracted to the Party, that the workers do want to take active part in the work of the Communist Party. However, not very many workers join the Party. The Party does not cope with its tasks in this sphere. The numerical growth of the Party is insignificant and, apart from that, there is great fluctuation in the membership. Not much has been accomplished as yet in making the American Party a mass Party.

It is still more important to touch upon the ideological development of the Party. If we take the principal parties of the Communist International, say the CPSU or the CPG, the process of ideological differentiation in the struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunists has taken place. This is shown by many facts in the development of these Parties in the recent period. Take any big Communist Party and you will find that there is no confusion on such questions as that of the struggle against Trotskyism. Moreover, it may be stated that in most Communist Parties the struggle against Trotskyism has in the main, already ended. Trotskyism has lost its influence in the Communist Parties, and stands exposed as an anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary tendency. Trotskyism is smashed.

As to the Communist Party of America, this is not yet the situation there. The Minority representatives, trying to defend the line of the Comintern, have not yet succeeded in purging themselves of Trotskyist elements and only recently have certain Trotskyist elements broken away from them and are now openly fighting the Communist Party. The process has not yet quite ended here and it is obvious that we must take into account the misdoings of the Minority in this respect. The struggle along these lines is at the present time of vital importance in the American Party.

But this is even much more so with regard to the Right Danger. The Sixth Congress raised the question of struggle against the Right danger as the central question for the Communist Parties. What is the situation in the American Party with reference to that? Here we see the clearest example of how far the process of formation of the Communist Party of the United States as one of the strongest forces of the Comintern, as a mass Communist Party, is still far from completion. To say for example, that the question of the struggle against the Right danger is not clear in the German Party would be ridiculous. However, it is quite different with regard to the American Party. The factional struggle in that Party has assumed such a character that it is still unclear as to what will be the line of division between the Rights and the Party. The opportunist mistakes of the Majority in the past period give a great number of examples showing that the Right danger is really of tremendous significance in the American Party. This, by the way, is to a certain extent true also of the Minority. The question of fighting the Right danger confronts both factions. But whereas the Open Letter of the Comintern says that the struggle against the Right danger must become of greatest importance in the American Party, the recent Convention of that Party did not do anything towards the carrying out of this line. The struggle against the Right elements, the struggle against deviations in the American Party is overshadowed by the factional group struggle.

The unprincipled factional struggle, the subordination of the practical revolutionary tasks to group interests, to factional interests, shows that opportunism in America is attired in motley colours. It is trying to don clothes which would prevent the membership from seeing the full danger of that deviation in the American Party. But the seriousness of the situation is obvious. With regard to the Right danger in that Party, the process is not yet completed but we must at any rate see that at the present time the struggle against the Right danger in the American Party, more than in any other, is very important owing to the fargone unprincipled factionalism in its ranks which savours of petty-bourgeois trickery and politicianism. But the time is near when the Party will understand what is going on, and then it will not go well with the Rights.

A few illustrations relating to the conclusions to be drawn from the above. In order to characterize the line of the leaders of the American Party a few instances will suffice.

It seems to me that one of such instances is the Pepper instance. Pepper played a very important role in the leadership of the American Party. For the Comintern it has been clear for some time that Pepper expresses opportunist tendencies, that he represents unsound Communist elements. However, Pepper until recently occupied one of the most prominent positions in the leadership of the Party, especially in its ideological leadership. The history with reference to Pepper's work, on the one hand his leading role in the organization of the Convention, and on the other the stubborn struggle for Pepper together with the struggle for Lovestone, has clearly revealed the ideological kinship of the Majority leaders with Pepper. Finally, that which happened after,—the decision of the CEC of the American Party to expel Pepper and the subsequent decision of the same CEC to reinstate him, these machinations show to what extent principles are subordinated to group interests, to factional interests. The Majority leaders have shown by this how prone they are to fall for Pepper's opportunist tendencies. This reveals the ambiguous position of the leaders and the lack of clarity in the Party which has as yet been unable to discover that the position held by its leaders is intolerable.

Another example. The Russian question and the question of the attitude towards Comrade Bucharin. The Majority leaders (Lovestone, Gitlow and others) passed a resolution at the Convention calling for Comrade Bucharin's removal from the Comintern, and later without giving new motives disavowed that decision in their statement on behalf of the American delegation at the Plenum of the Central Committee. All this goes to show how unsound, how unprincipled is the attitude of the leaders of the American Party to the line of the Comintern.

Yet in the given case it is not only the interests of the American Party but the most vital interests of the whole Comintern that are involved. From this it is clear that the Comintern is confronted with the task of establishing a fundamental line in the American Party. What we have in America now is unreliable and unsound. A ruthless struggle is necessary for Comintern principles, persistent work must be conducted for the ideological consolidation of the Party. We must see to it that on important political issues the Party should not pass one decision today and an absolutely contradictory one to-morrow.

From the point of view of the attitude to the Comintern, we see a position which it is doubtful as to whether we had anything like it in any other Communist Party in the last few years. Comrade Lovestone's reference to the "running sore" in the Comintern, or what he now calls the "cancer" in the Comintern, this shameful attack on the Comintern is no accident. To make the Convention of the Party believe that the policy of the Comintern (and the organizational measures of the Comintern are its policy as they are inseparably bound up with its policy) is decided on the American question by the temporary correlation of forces in the Comintern and to instigate the Party against the Comintern by means of false manoeuvres, urging the Convention to take no notice of or even to openly violate the decision of the Comintern and to wait until the situation in the Comintern will become more favourable from the point of view of the interests of a certain group, means to fight against the Comintern, to make the Party hostile to the Communist International.

If we add to this all that we know concerning the attitude of the Party leaders to the Comintern Delegation which found expression during the Convention in most brazen-faced mockery of the Delegation, going so far as the organization of disloyal caucus meetings of the Convention (95 out of 104 delegates) behind the back of the Delegation, then it becomes clear how far the Majority factionalists have gone in their struggle against the Comintern. To train the Communist Party in this manner means to train it not in the spirit of the Comintern, but in the spirit of absolute hostility towards the Comintern. Such training of a Party which is about to become a powerful factor, which is about to develop into one of the most important parties of the Comintern, is of course, inadmissible. No mass Communist Party will be organized in America in this manner. Is it not clear that the present leaders of the Party who absolutely fail to understand their most elementary duties towards the Comintern have gone too far?

As to the factional character of both sections of the American Party, enough has already been said about that here. I fully agree with what has been said here concerning the excessive group and factional division in the American Party. This is at the present time the most dangerous thing because the American Party is now confronted with stupendous tasks. The radicalization of the workers gives rise to most favourable conditions for the development of the Communist Party as a mass political organization, as one of the most important sections of the Comintern. Under such conditions a most vigorous struggle against factionalism in the ranks of the American Party is absolutely necessary and cannot be postponed.

The Comintern would be no Comintern if it were not to effect at the present time a decisive change in the struggle against factionalism in the American Party. The struggle against factionalism now, in the present phase, must be different from what it was in the past. That is why it would not do to stop merely at the sending of an open political letter without taking certain organizational measures, measures mapped out by the Comintern prior to the Convention. The carrying out of these decisions is absolutely necessary in order to stop the factional fight in the Party. The time has come for the Communist Party of the United States of America to get on a new track, and, with the support of the Comintern, to ensure the proper development of the Party, ensure the liquidation of factionalism not in words but in deeds, and to ensure the transformation of its organization into a real leading force in the labour movement of America capable of playing a leading role in the mass labour movement and occupying an outstanding position in the ranks of the Comintern.

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Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I see there is a great deal of what appears to be blood on these documents. Do you know what that is, by chance?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I am not an expert on that. I haven't been purged.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should like to call attention to several characteristics of these speeches of Stalin.

I see Stalin has outlined in there five points, a rather complete program for the Communist Party of the United States. This section is headed "The Tasks of the Party."

Is it true that Stalin went so far as to outline in some detail precisely what the American Party should do?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; he went into very great detail and spent a lot of time and energy in his efforts to determine our tactics and strategy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The subheads of this program of Stalin for the American party are entitled "International Red Day," in which he sets forth a program for holding mass demonstrations on August 1; the second is entitled "Trade-Union Unity Convention"; a third is entitled "The Gastonia Campaign," which has to do with the matters testified to here by the leading figure in the Gastonia strike, Fred Beal; the fourth is entitled "Work Among the Miners," which has to do with the building of the National Miners' Union, about which there has also been considerable testimony, and the fifth has to do with "Colonial Work by the American Party."

Mr. VOORHIS. Colonial work?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Colonial work.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That has to do with the work of the Communist Party in the colonies of the United States. Is that correct?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Quite correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Despite the fact that there may not be technically any such thing as an American colony?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, dependencies, and free places like Cuba.

Mr. STARNES. Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico seems to be the object of special concern to the party.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Puerto Rico, Cuba, Philippine Islands, Hawaii—

Mr. STARNES. Alaska.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Alaska.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a matter of fact, I see that Stalin includes among the colonies of the United States the whole of Latin America.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes. That was our conception then. Is that wrong geography or wrong history?

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the second speech made by Stalin on May 14, I will read a sentence or two, which confirms some of the testimony that has been given.

Stalin said:

The stubbornness and tenacity of the 8 out of 10 American delegates here in their fight against the commission's draft should be appreciated.

I might call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that when portions of this speech of Stalin were published officially by the Communist Party in this country, that tribute was deleted.

But the fact that these eight comrades refused to submit to the will of the highest authoritative body and will of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, after their ideas have met with utter defeat, cannot be approved. Genuine courage does not consist in placing one's individual will above the collected will, above the will of the Comintern; genuine courage consists in having sufficient stamina in fighting against one's self and in subordinating

one's will to the collected will, to the will of the highest party authority. Without this there is no collected will; without this there can be no collected leadership.

Mr. VOORHIS. That doesn't mean collective will?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That means the collected wills as they gather them up, and they were no longer wills.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you and Mr. Gitlow considered the leaders of this group, acting in defiance of the collected wills in the hands of Stalin?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I see there are references through here to yourself and to Gitlow as the leaders of this defiance.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 14 of this second speech—no; this is the May 6 speech—Stalin said:

The Secretariat of the central executive committee of the American Communist Party must be altered and people added to it who are capable of recognizing the class struggle of the workers against the capitalist class and not only the factional struggle * * *

Do you know, Mr. Lovestone, how Stalin proposed to alter the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in any manner other than through the processes which you have described in answer to Congressman Voorhis' question?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think Stalin's arithmetic is slightly inaccurate here. Before he added, he subtracted. I was subtracted and Browder was added. The Secretariat, if I recall correctly then was given a new majority. That is, the minority of yesterday, by a process of Stalinist political alchemy was transformed into a majority since then, and continues now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did Stalin propose, at least formally, to do with you, Mr. Lovestone, after subtracting you from the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is an embarrassing question, but it is not as embarrassing to answer as it would have been if carried out. Well, I was first of all, not to go back to the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By the way, before you answer that, I think perhaps the words of Stalin himself on this point might serve as a basis for your answer. Stalin said:

Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman must be recalled and placed at the disposal of the Comintern.

Where did Stalin mean you should be recalled from?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Recalled from the United States and recalled from my home and recalled from the American Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Recalled to Moscow and there placed at the disposal of the Comintern?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I might give you a little more detail on that. First of all, I was not to go to any country where the English language was spoken, because if I could get a chance to talk the English language I might do some damage. Secondly, I was to stay an indeterminate period in Moscow, and Stalin said, "I sit there, you sit here. We are both old Bolsheviks and good friends." Even then I was a little suspicious of friendship in the political sense in Moscow. And after I had been sort of politically sterilized I would then be sent

to a very exciting place like Afghanistan or Prussia to start a revolution in the desert; a sort of foundation of sand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean that was actually proposed for you?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That was proposed to me; yes. I might say this: I didn't like it. I also must confess I didn't want it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who was going to do this recalling. That is what I would like to know. I mean practically. I understand about it, but I mean what machinery, what was to be gone through in this process of recalling you from your own country?

Mr. LOVESTONE. You must know, even in those days Russia didn't lack machinery. It didn't always work very well. There was the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and that Executive Committee had a working committee called the Secretariat. In that Secretariat were the representatives of the leading sections or parties of the Communist International. That Secretariat would be the one, formally, to make the decision. But actually the decision would be made for it in the Russian Political Bureau, and then the members of the Russian delegation to the Secretariat of the Comintern would make the proposal, or they would get somebody else to make the proposal and then they would endorse it. And once that was proposed or endorsed, you could apply addition, subtraction, multiplication, or division—the decision was made.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I want more particularly to get at is, you were an American.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was it generally accepted practice that if a decision was made in the way you have just described and you received a communication to that effect, that it was then up to you; that you had to go and obey what they said?

Mr. LOVESTONE. If I wanted to play ball in the International I did.

Mr. VOORHIS. If you didn't, what happened?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Then in my case concretely, I would be put out of business, which I was.

Mr. MASON. He would have to give up his membership and affiliation and so forth if he didn't obey orders.

Mr. STARNES. To make a long story short, in communism your first loyalty, of course, was to the International, the International of the Soviet Government, and the head of that Soviet Government made the policies and therefore the head of the Soviet Government could recall you.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Our first loyalty was to the Communist International as dominated by the dominating head of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To make this more concrete, don't you know that on more than one occasion, the Comintern has recalled to Russia citizens of other countries and there shot them?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well——

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me ask you specifically about Hans Neimeyer. You knew him, didn't you?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a matter of fact you once gave me a letter of introduction to him.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I had forgotten that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that Hans Neimeyer was the German leader of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that he was recalled to Moscow and shot?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; he among others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that practically the entire leadership of the Polish Communist Party was recalled to Moscow and shot?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The press reports reveal that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that it isn't just a matter of agreeing to go along or getting out of the Comintern and going into some other line of business.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, let me say this: In those days the shooting practice and process was not as extensive as today. What it would have meant for me probably would have been sort of a living tomb, of course created with the tempo of the first 5-year plan, which was quite some tempo for those who run up against it. It would have meant being ostracized, it would have meant being isolated from my country and my comrades and friends of the labor movement in which I was brought up. It might have meant that I could take a trip on the Volga and there would be an accident on the boat.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were threats ever made against you?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Stalin himself said, "You had better watch out; you know what happened to Trotsky, and Zinoviev." In fact, I might say when I was in Moscow, particularly after everybody was allowed to leave and I was not, I had the feeling of being in a locked trunk. You can imagine yourself being put in a trunk, and the last sound of life you hear from the outside is the snapping of the lock.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 5 of Stalin's speech of May 12, I see that he reminds you:

You know, Comrades, what happened to Trotsky and Zinoviev.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, he reminded us a little more crudely than that stenogram would indicate, much more so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what way?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, the last talk I had with Stalin before leaving was a sort of an attempt to subject me to peasant generosity of a very simple kind. And a very questionable one. Then the shaking of a fist and a threat. A warning that I had better watch out what I did. For example, at the last moment, the very last moment I had with Stalin was quite painfully impressed upon me. I told Mr. Stalin that I was determined to leave Russia and go back home, and I was not going to take any responsibility for the new line forced on the American Communist Party. Well, he rose to his feet, quite erect, banged his fist on the desk and said, "Well, there is one request I want to make of you. When you go back to America see that your friends don't commit any stupidities," and he looked at me quite strongly. It took me a moment or two to get what he was driving at, and then I answered him, "Comrade Stalin, my friends, even I can't prevent their committing stupidities; and your friends, not even you can prevent them."

When he got that answer he banged on the desk, turned about and slammed the door. Then I waited until I was escorted to the outside. That was my last and final contact with Mr. Stalin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You made reference, Mr. Lovestone, to the "enlightenment campaign" as the predecessor of the liquidation tech-

nique. Will you please describe what happened after you returned to the United States in this enlightenment campaign?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I returned to the United States, and in 3 days, without a trial, without a call from the committee for hearing, I read a political decree, my tombstone as an official Communist in the form of a declaration of expulsion, without a trial or a hearing. Then that declaration was taken to every branch of the organization, and if you consult the files of the Daily Worker, which in those months contained practically nothing else except Russian Holiday declarations and American party funeral declarations, you will find what the enlightenment campaign was.

I might give you just one illustration of the type of political arithmetic which is a model for totalitarian practice. For example, you go to a branch where there are 27 members present and you say, "Here is the expulsion of Lovestone. We are taking a vote on that." In favor, 15; opposed, 12. Fine. I am expelled. The branch recognizes my expulsion by a vote of 15 to 12. Then the 15 say those 12 who had voted "no" were disloyal, because they were against my expulsion, and they are immediately excluded from any further voting; and of these 15 votes there are quite a number who voted for my expulsion who are not ready to vote for the expulsion of rank-and-file members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, the 12?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Of the 12. A motion is made to expel those 12, and by a vote of 9 to 6 those 12 are expelled. That is 9 to 6 of the 15 left. Then those 6 are disloyal. By a vote of 5 to 4 of the 9 remaining the 6 are expelled. There we have a situation in some branches where there were 2 left out of 30, and those 2 were the representatives of party democracy and the new party line. It sounds silly today, but it was quite tragic in those days.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are actually describing, are you, what did take place?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, I gave you just an instance. That must have occurred by the dozens throughout the country.

Mr. VOORHIS. But suppose the vote had been 12 to 15—15 against your expulsion?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Those 15 would have been automatically expelled by that vote. That has also happened. There were branches where the majority were against expulsion. Those branches were reorganized and the majority thrown out.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then the Central Committee, I suppose, would recognize the new branch?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that what happened?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is precisely the way it worked.

Mr. VOORHIS. And did they get control of the new Executive Committee then?

Mr. LOVESTONE. You mean the National Executive Committee?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. First of all, before I was allowed to come back, and before others were allowed to come back, there was a vicious campaign of misrepresentation here. Secondly, a number of our second-line people were sort of pushed into the first line for the moment and in this way they changed their political position—that,

not their minds. I draw that distinction very heavily. Thirdly, a lot of them were terrorized; fourthly, I reaped a harvest of my own sowing. I was largely responsible for that mechanical concept of loyalty to the Communist International, and it came home to roost with its claws in my eyes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there discussion in these branch meetings? I mean what actually could be called discussion of these issues?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I hope I make myself understandable to the committee. There is discussion and discussion. The only type of discussion in the Communist Party that persisted, beginning with our expulsion, and since our expulsion, is the following: Revelation from above; dissemination of orders from below. It was revealed to the membership meeting that this, and this, is the decision. The only thing debatable was how to get the maximum effectiveness in carrying out that decision—not whether that should be the decision but how to carry out the decision. There was a revelation from the man above and they couldn't change that. It would be easier to get away with violating the Ten Commandments all at once than in violating a party order.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask you this question: Didn't you know any better than to go to Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is again a quite embarrassing and unpleasant question, but I will tell you quite frankly I was not brought up that way. I was brought up in school, college, athletics, sports, to believe that if anybody wanted to fight me, and he wanted to fight on his own ground, I would say, "Sure, let us go and fight it out." And I went over there. Besides that, I was so sure that we had such an overwhelming majority, which hitherto had been sacred in the Communist International, that they wouldn't change it. Besides that, I had an illusion in which I was wrong—that I could change them, or convince them, over there, not to declare war on us; and I had the further illusion that when I came back I could mobilize an organization to beat them—to defeat them. I felt, out of loyalty and out of devotion to the Communist International, that when I got an order to go there I had to go there, and it was in strict obedience that I brought myself over to Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When Mr. Browder, Mr. Foster, and others still in the leadership of the Communist Party were on the stand they testified that Stalin has never sent instructions to the American Communist Party, instructions to be obeyed implicitly: is that true, Mr. Lovestone?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is not true. Stalin, except on two occasions, never sent signed instructions to the American Communist Party, but on two decisive occasions he did send them in writing. The first one was when we had our convention. Stalin, for the first time in his life, intervened personally and directly and sent a cable to the convention, in which cable he sent us, what we call flowers—praise compliments. We were always suspicious of those. We said, "Flowers for those about to die." Then there was the heart of that instruction, which was that I was no longer to be general secretary of the party, that I was to be taken away by the Communist International for very important work. That cable came up for consideration by the delegates, and by a vote of—I don't know,

if you have Molotov's speech there, he mentioned it—by a vote of 95 to something. Stalin's cable was tabled.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was 95 to 9.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Ninety-five to nine. The cable was tabled, which meant the American way of putting it in the wastebasket. Well, that was an affront which Stalin never got before and for which we had to pay.

The second time the direct intervention was indicated in the speech that you have just introduced in the record.

Except for these two occasions I think Browder and Foster told the truth. But actually it didn't work that way. It wasn't necessary. Suppose somebody had a chat with Stalin, and Stalin said, "I think you ought to do this." Well, not only a thought, but a hint, dropped by Stalin became party dictum, party law. That is the way the machinery worked at that time. And while I can't speak in any detailed sense since my expulsion, the evidence in the sense of results would indicate it has become infinitely worse since 1929.

Mr. MASON. This cablegram to the convention was in 1929?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; March 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When the Executive Committee of the Communist International reached its decision on the American question, were you ordered to endorse that decision?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, sir; do I have to answer that yes or no? When the decision was first made official, we were prepared, and when I say we, I mean the majority of the delegation, Mr. Gitlow said he was going back to fight; but all except Mr. Gitlow, in the majority of the delegation, had agreed to make the following statement: "Despite the fact that we disagree with the decision, we are prepared to submit as discipline Communists."

That was not accepted by the Communist International, although officially that was the formal practice and procedure in the International.

For a number of weeks I was kept in Moscow negotiating for a type of statement from me that would satisfy them. They wanted from me especially, since I was secretary, a type of statement that they could use in this country so that the resistance to the line of the Communist International would be broken.

At one meeting of the secretariat of the Communist International in early June 1929, there occurred an incident which I have not forgotten, which illustrates the essence of Stalin's totalitarianism. A delegate, I don't know his name—he was an Italian—a member of the secretariat, made a motion that I should be instructed to endorse the new policy of the Comintern in America. I knew I was on the spot, but I had had a little experience with being on the spot, and after a few minutes I got up and made a declaration that I was prepared to issue the following statement:

Under instructions of the secretariat of the Communist International I hereby endorse the new decision.

My proposal was almost accepted; then Molotov intervened and said, "No, we can't accept that, because the first part of it would indict us for resorting to questionable practices." and that proposal was rejected. When they tried to get me to endorse it in their own official, formal way, I refused. That was the end.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have here, Mr. Lovestone, a document which I will ask you to identify for the record. Please state briefly the nature of this document?

Mr. LOVESTONE. When the delegation to Moscow came back to this country in 1929, we found ourselves in a very difficult position. The entire press of the party, particularly the foreign-language papers were in the hands of, and we wanted to get all the facts and documents to the members so we printed this huge "bedspread," known as An appeal to the Comintern. It is our delegation's official compendium against the new line of Stalin in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to ask for the inclusion of this entire document in the record, but there are some important paragraphs in it.

Mr. STARNES. Any pertinent excerpts you may insert in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So without taking the time to read them now, these pertinent paragraphs will point out the issues involved in this split in the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

(The excerpts referred to are as follows:)

[Appeal to the Comintern—July 10, 1929]

RELATIONS TO THE COMINTERN

The Comintern has time and again criticized our Party, corrected its shortcomings, cleared up certain political misconceptions, set the Party straight in the trade union field, brought pressure to bear for re-organization along Leninist lines, etc. This is the duty of the Comintern which represents the collective, centralized Communist will based on the experiences, capacities and composite qualities of what is best in all its sections in the various parties.

The Comintern is the world Communist Party with every one of its sections an organic part. Hence, the Comintern deals with the basic problems confronting the various sections. The ECCI has never set itself the task of dealing with the *smaller* inner Party matters of the various sections. It is the task of the ECCI to strengthen and help develop the initiative of the various sections as a means of strengthening the different parties and thereby the world Party and its center. The Comintern deals with the main line and guides carefully the political line of the various sections. An examination of the attitude of the Comintern towards the American Party reveals that *since 1923 the Comintern has consistently supported the main political line of the former Majority leadership.* Thus if Stachel and Bedacht are correct in saying that the former Majority's political line has been a right wing line, then, not only Comrade Lovestone's but the entire previous Central Committee's line has been a Right wing line and the Comintern itself has, therefore, been pursuing a Right wing line toward the American Party all these years.

Up until the last Address the Foster Opposition has fought against, criticized and disagreed with every Comintern decision on the American question. The comrades must keep in mind that our Party membership has never yet understood and has even to date not been let into the mysteries of why the Comintern never condemned or stopped the former Opposition's campaign of *reservations to the line of the Comintern, to the political line of the Sixth World Congress*—not on a technical question, not on a question of formal discipline.

The former leadership of the Party has been and will continue to be very energetic in loyalty to the CI, not as a matter of factional expediency, diplomacy, speculation or formality but on the basis of Communist determination to build an ever-stronger American section and an ever-better world Party. Our conception of loyalty to the Comintern is the Leninist conception—not a meaningless repetition of declarations concerning its perfections and infallibility but upon a consciousness that it depends upon every section to make it (the CI) constantly better and more able to cope with its tasks. This is the right and duty of every Communist. Whoever does not have this attitude is

no Communist. Any other conception of discipline is a Jesuit and not a Leninist conception.

We believe that there have been some serious errors committed by the Comintern in its treatment of our Party. If every Party of the Comintern is to be an *organic* part of the Comintern, then the parties should be treated as *Parties* and not as a collection of groups and factions—as the American Party has been treated. Especially since the Sixth World Congress, the Petrovskys, Losovskys and Mingulins have been given too much of a free hand in maneuvering and manipulating in the pettiest phases of the inner affairs of our Party. For details, we refer the comrades to the documentary material we presented to the last American Commission. This gave rise to a situation where the American Party was “suspended on cables”. We could not handle even the smallest organizational or technical matters without fear that some member of the international caucus (of which Foster and Bittleman were an organic part and of which the “Corridor Congress” was an international expression) in the Comintern apparatus, would not overrule us.

As a result of this system, party democracy, an essential part of Leninism, has been thrown on the scrap heap. The overruling of our last Party convention—without any political basis whatsoever and in utter violation of the line of the Sixth World Congress—a convention speaking for over 90% of the Party and its best and most tried proletarian ranks was only the logical, inevitable outcome of not treating our Party as an *organic* section of the Comintern, *as a Party*.

Comrade Bedacht in a letter to Comrade Wolfe, then Party representative to the Comintern, on February 20, 1929 expressed in the sharpest form burning indignation against this state of affairs. We quote from Bedacht's letter signed “Max”.

“The pity of the situation is that just at the moment when we have the whole outfit on the run, when the factional fight promises to end, because of the exhaustion of one of the forces then the danger arises of the application of a pullmotor to revive the dying Opposition and to encourage it to further unprincipled factionalism. Of course we are not silent partners to such a crime. On the contrary, our plans are to exploit the present exhaustion of the Opposition and to throw the whole pack on the scrapheap . . .

“Another aspect of this matter is the question of Party democracy. We are living in an almost impossible atmosphere. After we were told to fight it out, at the World Congress, and after we fought it out to live in constant expectation that some Goldfarbian cable will nullify the whole history of the last few months and will declare that the membership of our Party proposes and God Goldfarb disposes.

“I have told you in my last letter and I repeat here that the role played by the Goldfarbs creates a most impossible relation with the Comintern. No edict of any person or any body can establish confidence of our Party members in the face of the Comintern if this face is that of an old Menshevik whose outstanding contribution to American Party history is his alliance with Abe Caban and his right wing gangster tactics in the struggle against the Left wing. No matter how loud he hollers now about Bolshevism, he cannot drown the sound of his past tirades against the Left wing in the American SP and he cannot eradicate his history. It is a bitter experience for us who have gone thru the struggle against the Goldfarbs here, against his counter-revolutionary Menshevik conceptions and tactics, to be now treated like schoolboys by the same Goldfarb, posing as a school master of Bolshevism. That makes not only a cat laugh but also makes angels weep.

“Unlike most of the Parties of the Comintern, our American Party has no internal crisis. Whatever there was of a crisis the last Party discussion and vote solved 90%. Yet, we are faced with a persistent effort to create a crisis. In the face of the incurable social-democratic tendencies of the Czecho-Slovakian Party, of the English Party, of the French Party, etc., we find that every dog is let loose in the publications of the CI, not to criticize the social-democrats of Czecho-Slovakia, the opportunists of Great Britain, the reformists of France, but to criticize the American Party. During the last two months there hasn't been a publication that didn't contain an attack against us. This becomes absolutely unbearable and will cause bitter resentment. Here is Mingulin's article. It is an open revision of the line of the Sixth Congress. Who is Mingulin anyway, that he should take the American Party to task for following the Sixth Congress line? His article is being mimeographed and distributed in America as the latest and highest wisdom of the CI. We are told that Bukharin

is an old Right winger and that Trotsky had to be expelled because of the danger that Bukharin would form an alliance with him. We resent not only ideologically but will fight against the revision of the Sixth Congress line and the tactic that we should be condemned for not following the Sixth Congress line because we do not follow the line of the reservationists to the Sixth Congress.

"Deceit and hypocrisy are not yet recognized Bolshevik methods and we refuse to use them, as well as we refuse to be made victims of them. Isn't there any sane person left in the Comintern to see that these tactics and policies lead to a crisis on our Party which can only end in disintegration and weakening of the Comintern itself?"

"I know that you can do little in the matter and that my outbursts of moral indignation can have no decisive effect, except that they give you a picture of my own reactions, but I can assure you that these are not only my reactions but are those and will be those of thousands of our members."

Such a condition as above indicated by Comrade Bedacht does not lead to the development of virile Communist leaderships, leading cadres with Revolutionary, with Bolshevik self-confidence, self-assertiveness, integrity of principle and initiative in the various sections of the Comintern. Communists have a right to express disagreement with CI decisions while submitting to them. In fact, it is a more decisive test of discipline and loyalty to submit to decisions when one disagrees with them than when one agrees with them. It is not necessary to lie to the Comintern and the membership, to say that you agree when you do not agree. This is precisely what Bedacht, Stachel and Minor are now themselves doing and demanding of the entire Party and Young Communist League on the pain of expulsion. This is "rotten petty-bourgeois diplomacy." *This is disloyalty and not loyalty to the Comintern.* Here is a sample of the kind of loyalty the present would-be leadership professes and where it leads. Comrade Ballam is one of the main figures in the Stachel-Bedacht-Minor-Foster leadership. He is now denouncing Gitlow, Wolfe, Lovestone as enemies of the Soviet Union, as renegades. But at a caucus meeting at which there were present Minor, Stachel, Lifshitz, Ballam, Mindel, Radze, Rubinstein, Poyntz, Plott, Engdahl, Miller and others, Ballam declared that it is his belief that the leadership of the Russian Communist Party is interested in weakening the leadership of the CPUSA, in order that the Soviet Union might secure credits, recognition and trade advantages from the American capitalist class.

Such talk is out and out counter-revolution. The Comintern should drive such individuals and such Polcoms as protect and shelter such individuals out of the ranks of the C.I. This is a specimen of the acutest factional degeneracy. It is these self-same individuals who are leveling the charge of renegade and counter-revolutionist against Comrade Lovestone on the basis of his having left Moscow allegedly without permission.

What are the facts? First of all we must state categorically that the Comintern has the full right to order any comrade for work anywhere. But we are against the practice resorted to in recent months in the Comintern of withdrawing outstanding, leading comrades from their Parties against the wishes and demands of their Parties, without any political justification, not for the purpose of assigning them special Communist tasks but for the express or concealed purpose of helping a faction in the Party against the Party leadership, for the purpose of undermining and destroying leaderships for years endorsed by the Comintern itself. This was so in the case of Comrade Lovestone.

But Comrade Lovestone had agreed to submit even to this unprincipled and destructive procedure for the sake of preventing difficulties in the American Party. The Comintern granted Comrade Lovestone the right to two weeks' stay in the United States in preparation for his assuming a most responsible and difficult task outside of the United States and the Soviet Union. This is the customary practice of the Comintern in dealing with ECCI members when they are taken out of their Parties for special work in other countries. We quote from the official decision of the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern of May 31, 1929, 37th Session (Folio No. 3435).

"Decision: Not to object to the trip of Comrade Lovestone to the United States for two weeks relative to personal matters. The question when Comrade Lovestone can begin this two weeks stay depends on the opinion of the ECCI delegation and on the ICC investigating the Pepper case in which Comrade Lovestone is involved."

In the same meeting of the Political Secretariat, Comrade Lovestone prepared a declaration to the American Party membership. *The Political Secretariat of the CI accepted this declaration* which reads as follows:

"While still maintaining my disagreement with the Open Letter and its organizational instructions and my conviction that they will not prove helpful to the Party, I hereby condemn all resistance to Comintern decisions and call upon the Party membership to take no steps to resist or hinder the execution of the decisions of the ECCI. In this connection, I, therefore withdraw my previous declaration of non-submission in the Presidium as incorrect and impermissible in the Comintern and offer this statement of my submission to the decisions of the ECCI as supplanting my previous declaration.

"I strongly urge all comrades to drop factionalism and to dissolve the groups.

With Communist greetings,

JAY LOVESTONE."

Thereupon the Communist International cabled as follows on May 21st to the American Party:

"Lovestone requests permission to go to America for personal affairs for two weeks in America beginning June 12th after which he consents to remain at the disposal of the ECCI for work in the CI. He withdrew his declaration made in the presidium regarding insubordination as incorrect and impermissible in the Comintern. He declared that he submits to ECCI and in this connection he pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of the CPUSA. *The political secretariat permitted him to go for two weeks but date departure will be fixed if you don't object to his going America now. Communicate your opinion immediately.*

(Signed) SECRETARIAT ECCI."

But, then, what happened? Comrades Stachel, Bedacht and Co. thought that this gave them their much sought-for chance to show their "loyalty" to make more secure their hold on the Party apparatus. In the name of the Party Secretariat and without the knowledge or authority of the Political Committee they sent the following cable to the CI on June 4th:

"Your May 31st cable received: Unanimous opinion Secretariat is: Lovestone unceasingly acted against the line of the decisions of the CI. Secretariat possesses factional cable dated Moscow, May 15th giving detailed technical instructions preparing split Party. Secretariat therefore doubts the validity of the alleged personal reasons for Lovestone's voyage. Secretariat asks ECCI to demand from Lovestone a written political declaration for American publication accepting the decisions, the line of the CI and openly avowing and condemning his previous splitting tactics and activities of those of his associates still following him. Only thereafter does the Secretariat consider possible a consideration of Lovestone's visit but only after the completion of the Enlightenment Campaign and not before the beginning of July.

"SECRETARIAT CPUSA."

Both of these cables have been hidden not only from the membership but even from the Political Committee and Central Committee members.

Comrade Lovestone's declaration accepted by the Comintern was suppressed by Stachel, Minor, Bedacht, Foster and Co. and was not published in the Party press as desired by the Comintern. They rejected the declaration of Comrade Lovestone which the CI accepted. They interfered with and stopped the execution of the Comintern decision granting Comrade Lovestone permission to return. Comrade Lovestone could never write a declaration of submission satisfactory to the Stachels, Bedachts and Minors in their present unprincipled role. Thereupon, Comrade Lovestone left for the United States, with full knowledge of the Comintern, on the basis of the CI Political Secretariat decision of May thirty-first and availing himself of his rights as an ECCI member—rights hitherto never before denied to any ECCI member. Stachel, Minor, Bedacht and Co. then expelled Comrade Lovestone in a manner flying in the face of every CI and Party statute and violating the most basic rules of Communist procedure. Since this expulsion, Comrade Lovestone has cabled the following appeal to the Comintern:

"Political Committee suppressed my declaration of submission and expelled me without even a hearing and launched campaign wholesale removals and threat expulsions. I left Moscow basis permission May 31st. I am prepared to accept Comintern work according my previous letters (May 22nd and May 30th). Expulsion, reckless persecution policy against comrades submitting ECCI deci-

sions despite disagreeing is destroying party morale and undermining most elementary confidence, disrupting Party work, driving out hundreds of the oldest and best comrades, and ruining Party. I am appealing against this expulsion and demanding immediate reinstatement. I am rushing detailed appeal to the 10th Plenum.

“(Signed) LOVESTONE.”

We herewith condemn this expulsion as an act of deliberate Party disruption, as only the first step in a series of removals and expulsions, as a conscious effort in the direction of splitting and destroying our Party under the fake slogan of “fighting the splitters”.

In this connection, we refer the comrades to the remarks of Comrade Lenin in a letter he wrote to Comrade Zinoviev:

“If you are going to expell all the not very obedient but capable people and retain only the obedient fools you will most assuredly ruin the Party.”

The policy of removals, the expulsion of the healthiest elements and the elevation of knaves and fools to the highest Party posts is a policy of ruining the Party. It is this policy that is responsible for the Party's rapid loss of prestige among the non-Party proletarian masses, for the frittering away of the new unions, for the weak and ineffective manner of handling the Gastonia cases, which afford our Party a splendid opportunity comparable only to the Haymarket Affair, for the deplorable condition of the Party press (non-appearance of the Daily Worker for the first time in our Party's life), for the collapse of the Party's morale, for the atmosphere of suspicion, fear and distrust pervading the Party's ranks. *All of this is the natural unavoidable outcome of the Address to our Party. We propose that this Address be withdrawn and that the line of the Sixth World Congress toward our Party be re-established. We are unreservedly opposed to the maintenance of any Party factions. There is no principle basis for factionalism today.*

We have a firm faith in the essential soundness, in the future of our Party and in the immediate opportunities for building our Communist Party into a mass Communist Party, deeply rooted in the American proletariat—as it real leader. We are mindful of the repeated warnings of Comrade Lenin against despair and indifference. It is precisely because we have faith in the Comintern, faith in our Party, that we are not indifferent to the problems and difficulties and critical conditions confronting our Party today. We are determined to do all in our power to help extricate the Party from the swamp into which the present would-be leadership is dragging it.

This is exactly why we are so vigorous in our plea against the Address and its organizational proposals, against the removals and the expulsions of the most loyal, experienced, tried and outstanding comrades of the Party. We are for the iron Bolshevik unity of the Party and the Comintern. We are for the line of Comrade Lenin, our teacher and leader. We are for a virile, thriving American section of the World Party of Lenin, the Communist International. We are for active contribution to the making of an ever-stronger and victorious Communist International.

The 10th Plenum should overrule the Address to our Party and put an end to the paralyzing, destructive policy of terror, suspensions, removals, and expulsions and the raising of unprincipledness into a system which prevails in our Party today. Thus only will the unity and the growth of the American section of the Comintern be hastened and assured.

Yours for the Comintern!

Yours for the Communist Party of the United States of America!

With Communists Greetings,

BENJAMIN GITLOW

JAY LOVESTONE

WILLIAM MILLER

EDWARD WELSH*

W. J. WHITE

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

TOM MYERSCOUGH

P. S.: Comrade Alex Noral is still in Moscow. His viewpoint was last expressed in a statement signed by him on May 24, 1929:

“While still maintaining our disagreement with the Open Letter and its Organization instructions, and our conviction that they will not prove helpful to our Party, we, delegates to the CI, elected by the Sixth National Convention of our Party, hereby categorically repudiate all charges of resistance to the

*Comrade Welsh associates himself with this appeal to the Comintern except for certain references to facts and events previous to his entry into the Party.

Comintern decisions, and call upon the Party membership to take no steps to resist or hinder the execution of the decisions of the ECCI. We pledge ourselves to this effect."

P. S. Comrades Otto Huiswood and Ella Reeve Bloor also signed the statement of May 24, 1929 quoted above.

JULY 10, 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lovestone, you have already stated that there were three stages in your relationship to these issues which arose in the Comintern. Will you reiterate those?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The first stage was the period when the Russians were able to lead through the prestige gained for them—

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am referring to your own attitude. You spoke of first attempting to fight.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, I see what you mean. I am sorry; I misunderstood you. Well, we had for several years before the split in 1929 entertained doubts as to our relations with Moscow. We were trying to become much more independent at that time—politically, financially, every way. By 1925 we had entertained some doubts, but they were not very vigorous on my part. But they were much more vigorous on the part of Mr. Ruthenberg, who was then general secretary. I was at that time much more pro-Moscow. For example, while we were with the Communist Party inside, we went along for a while with the spirit of dual unionism, and we participated in the attempt to wreck the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. That is, to capture it. As I said, we failed at that time primarily because of the ability of the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, headed by people like Hillman, Dubinski, and others.

We went along with the spirit of dual unionism for a while, helping build the National Miners' Union, Textile Union, and so on. We tried to play the game and see how it worked. On the basis of a few months' experience with it we became convinced opponents of this new line. Then we were expelled and we still had hopes for the Communist Party and the Communist International, and we tried to reform it from the outside.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was for a period of about 7 years, as you have stated?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That was from 1929 to 1936, about 7 years; yes. In that time we criticized the Communist Party very vigorously. I might say we have not criticized it any time with rancor or filth or bitterness comparable to what was heaped upon us, but we always criticized it saying, if the Communist Party would reestablish the democratic system of leadership and if the International would establish a genuine collective leadership we would be prepared to come back and be disciplined people. But by 1936 the Communist International had become so obviously and crassly the agent of the Russian foreign policy, and the leadership had become so sterile and the puppet system had become so hopelessly universal, that we felt there was no possibility of reforming it from within or without, and we came to the natural evolution of the Communist International and Stalin, an evolution which we have emphasized in our press time and again.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was by what year?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That was 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I have read in the press there was a raid on your home, in which certain papers were taken. Will you please give an account, as you know it, of that raid, when it occurred and who was responsible for it, and who participated in it, if you know?

Mr. LOVESTONE. In July 1938, in the height of the fight against Communist Party domination of the United Automobile Workers, C. I. O., an attempt was made to get me. The attempt was made on a Sunday, because generally I would be staying home on Sundays to work, but that Sunday I happened not to be at home. I was not gotten, but my home was rifled and confidential documents of all sorts and sundry were stolen. I immediately knew that that could be performed by only one of two agencies, either the Gestapo, because of my vigorous fight against the Nazis, and because of my visiting Germany and organizing the underground revolutionary movements in Germany after Hitler took power, or by the G. P. U.

I must confess I was wrong in thinking it was more likely the Gestapo, because a couple of weeks after that the Daily Worker came out with full photostatic copies of quite a number of documents rifled from my home, documents pertaining to the struggle against Communist Party manipulation and domination in the United Automobile Workers. When I saw that I knew it was a G. P. U. job. Through our own channels we began to investigate and we learned that it was a G. P. U. job, directed by a G. P. U. agent in this country by the name of Mr. Leon Josephson. I issued a statement to the press, and notified the New York police authorities and tried to press the case, but since the G. P. U. robbers were not caught on the spot, nothing very much was done by the New York authorities, and at this time, while I am not minus my life, I am minus my papers.

Mr. VOORHIS. This took place in New York?

Mr. LOVESTONE. In New York City, in my home, which was not known to more than four or five people: absolutely confidential. And I might say I had to live in this manner because I had received, particularly in 1937 and 1938 when the Russian purges became frequent, quite a number of threats against my life: that I would be gotten, that I would be bumped off. I took care at least to live so that the Stalinists would not know where, but apparently I was more careless than careful and they got what they wanted, at least in part.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have substantial reasons for thinking Mr. Leon Josephson had something to do with this?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Our information was that it was organized by a G. P. U. group, headed by a certain Mr. Leon Josephson. I have never met him: I don't know who he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I just wondered how you—

Mr. LOVESTONE. It was just through our connection with friends and people inside the Communist Party that we got this information. In fact, my attorney had received telephonic information along the same lines.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I would like to ask you some questions about money from Moscow, which is a subject which has been testified to by numerous witnesses before this committee. I would like to ask you if you personally ever received any money

in or from Moscow for the use of the Communist Party in the United States. Can you answer that "yes" or "no"?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No; I would like to answer this not by a "yes" or "no."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I have received in my capacity as secretary of the Communist Party in this country contributions from the Communist International, money contributions. What is more, I would like the committee to know our attitude toward receiving contributions. We had a general theory at that time—and, by the way, I think it is quite sound on that issue today—that it is not wrong for the stronger organization to help the weaker one. As a matter of fact, I can refer you to authoritative, competent histories of the American Revolution, which indicate that the American revolutionists had received from France, Spain, Holland, close to 26,000,000 francs in order to help put over the revolution against King George. We said it was perfectly all right for the revolutionists to take that money, provided they didn't allow Spanish monarchists or Dutch monarchists to dominate their political line in the United States. For instance, we know that quite a lot of money goes to China through the medium of missionary organizations. We say that is perfectly all right, provided these missionary organizations do not attempt to dominate the political line of the Chinese Government or the Chinese people. The issue that we had with the Stalin regime was that they attempted, through the support they gave us, to dominate and determine and decree our political line. In other words, I am not here objecting to their donations, or denouncing the receipt of support by us as the weaker organization from the stronger. I am denouncing—and this was the point in our break—the attempt to utilize that financial support for determining or influencing our political principles in the United States. Incidentally, I might say that one of the points of suspicion against us was as to our loyalty, so that as far back as 1926 and 1927 we had already begun to not only ask for funds, not only not to ask for more funds, but to reduce the subsidy from the Comintern, and on a number of occasions Stalin very diplomatically alluded to that. It was a bit of Stalin diplomacy and I knew what it was. It was the offer of a sort of mutual-assistance pact which I was not ready to sign. By 1928 we practically were sending over in one form or another to the Comintern almost as much as they sent to us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On that point, Mr. Browder testified here that the American Communist Party did not pay dues to the Communist International. Is that what you are referring to now?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I am not referring to his testimony; I am referring to my own experience. We did pay dues to the Communist International, just as every party had to pay dues to the Communist International, and when we were not in a position to pay the dues, because we didn't have the money, it was reduced from our subsidy. So we paid dues regularly. I don't know what is the actual relationship between Mr. Browder and Mr. Stalin. Perhaps it is only a one-way traffic. I think in general we might say that the relationship wanted by the Russians with us then and now was a sort of cash and carry arrangement; they would give the cash and we would have to carry out. We had some objections to the cash and we had lots of objections to the carrying out.

Mr. STARNES. How much annual subsidy were they giving you?

Mr. LOVESTONE. There are a lot of romantic figures about that. It is not true that we received very large sums. I might say about \$25,000 a year as general; twenty to twenty-five thousand a year was the average in 1926, 1927, and 1928, and then there were occasions for special donations, special campaigns, and sometimes there would be a good sized contribution for a special campaign. But in general it was no more than about twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars a year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the regular average subsidy on the average, but then oftentimes large sums of money would come in for a particular program?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is correct.

Mr. MASON. What was your membership at that time when you were getting twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars?

Mr. LOVESTONE. About 18,000.

Mr. MASON. At a dollar a year?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; but they were dues paying discipline members, not paper figures.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In addition to the money received from the Comintern, which I think is what you are speaking about?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there funds which came in through the channels of the Profintern apart from the Comintern's money?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; but I couldn't possibly tell you what those were, because the Profintern took extraordinarily good care that I shouldn't know. They were sent directly to Foster and that money was used almost consistently for financing the factional fight, artificially and unnaturally in this country, under the direction of Lozovsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please make as clear and definite a statement as you can, Mr. Lovestone, about the way in which funds were transmitted from Moscow to the United States, according to your own personal knowledge?

Mr. LOVESTONE. To my own knowledge, I will say, first of all, the way they were not. They were not given to us by Amtorg or any Russian agency. We had absolutely nothing at all to do with them. In general, the funds were brought by delegates coming back from Moscow. I occasionally brought some funds with me, others did the same.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Mr. Gitlow ever brought funds back from Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. To the best of my recollection, he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He so testified here.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I recall that from the press accounts of the testimony. That was true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What body in the Communist International has authority for the allocation of funds to the national parties?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That was the budget commission, headed by Piatnitsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was he?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I can give you only my opinion of him. He is an old Russian comrade. He was one of the first secretaries of the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he the author of the 21 points?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No; he was one of the oldest—he was, I might say, “is” would be inaccurate, because I am in no position to say whether he is alive or dead at this moment. I think he has been liquidated. However, he was one of the leaders of the Russian movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you on the budget commission of the Communist International?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I was for awhile on the budget commission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this connection, Mr. Chairman, there is a paragraph in the Stalin interview with the American Trade Union delegation with regard to raising money that I would like to include in the record.

Mr. STARNES. Will you be able to conclude with this witness this morning, or will we have to have an afternoon session?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't think we can conclude this morning.

Mr. MASON. Coming back to this dual-union business, and that frank statement of the head of the Profintern on the objective of the dual unionism, which you considered a very frank statement. You are secretary of an independent organization or union?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No; I am secretary of a political organization, not a trade union. I am secretary of the Independent Labor League of America.

Mr. MASON. In view of the fact that the methods now in use in the labor unions of the United States, this dual set-up of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., would you say there should be the same thing, because the methods would be the same as the dual set-up by the Communists? Would you say the objective is the same, to destroy the A. F. of L.?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I don't think you could say that. I think there is an entirely different situation today. The policy of the Communist Party today is to create control in any shape, manner, or form, or through any means, of every labor organization, whether it be A. F. of L., C. I. O., or what not. The fact that there are two trade-union movements makes it easier for them to manipulate in one or the other and to play the one against the other. They thrive on the division in the American trade-union movement.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask one question on that line, if I may. Of course, the party line had changed, I believe, in 1935 to a policy which may be described as a “Trojan horse” policy; that meant, therefore, that some of the tactics that you alluded to as having been used against individual organizations such as the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and other organizations previously, are no longer being used, at least for a time?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I want to know is, whether in your opinion there ever was any fundamental change in the attitude of the Communist movement toward the American labor unions?

Mr. MASON. Toward the destruction of the American labor unions.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, there are two points that must be underscored here. First of all, the Communist Party, and this is a carry-over from Russian factional struggles, has fundamental contempt for, and looks down upon, as sort of second-class citizens, every other organization, whether it be a trade union or political organization of labor. They look upon these organizations as something to be used, something to be exploited. Consequently they are prepared,

where they cannot cooperate, where they cannot rule, to resort to methods that spell ruin. Those are the two fundamentals that persisted in the old line and were carried over to the 1935 peoples' front line, and that will persist in the new change that is being worked out.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is now taking place?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Wouldn't you say that the new line now apparently being adopted would make it much more difficult for the Communist to exert influence in American mass organizations than it has been in the past three or four years on account of the supposed line of "Trojan horse" tactics?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I can't answer that by yes or no. I think it would be wrong, only in some respects it would be easier. But I would like the committee to keep in mind two things; the new line that they will adopt may have and will have redder words, that is, words that sound more revolutionary, and to that extent they might lose some contacts on Communists. On the other hand they have been so trained to resort to any sort of deeds that I am not so sure as to how quickly they will lose because of the change in line.

The second point: I think it must be established that the type of the leadership institution that has been developed in the Communist International is such that anything is possible. It is not a political organization—revolutionary political organization of labor as most people think. It is an international police agency and anything can happen and anyone can be appointed leader. If you ask me how do the leaders do these things, I would answer, well, they have been brought up that way, and they might say that is not a specific contribution of Stalin. If you go back to the time of the Roman Empire, I might remind you of the case of Caligula. Emperor Caligula appointed a horse as one of his consuls. I might say to you, "If Caligula could appoint in 35 or 40 A. D., a horse as consul, Stalin can appoint a jackass as leader in 1939." There is nothing fantastic about it. Besides we are living in a quite fantastic age and the weird often tends to be only the normal. So don't be surprised at anything.

Mr. STARNES. We will recess until 1:15.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the committee recessed until 1:15 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reassembled in the caucus room, House Office Building, at 1:15 p. m., Hon. Joe Starnes, presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings.

TESTIMONY OF JAY LOVESTONE—Resumed

(The witness was previously duly sworn.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, before the recess you were testifying concerning money from the Communist International and the Profintern. In your own experience in administering the affairs of the Communist Party in the United States, you estimated, I believe, that receipts in cash from the Communists was around \$25,000 a year?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is for normal general party work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, based upon your experience in the cost of administering the Communist Party during the period of your secretaryship, would you be willing to make an estimate of the subsidy required since your secretaryship in order to carry on the activities of the Communist Party as you have observed them?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, first of all, I would say that the Stalinists never could lick us in this country unless they had either a rich uncle or several hundred thousand Pollocks digging gold for them, which means a very heavy subsidy from somewhere and the only place, from my experience, that it could come from was from Moscow. Generally I would say, in order to beat us, let alone an extensive diversification of their work they would have to get somehow, somewhere, money running into six or seven figures.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Annually?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, yes, sir. It cost them that to operate on the basis of their own admitted budget.

Now, they get it from dues; they get it from donations; they can get it from Hollywood—that is a nice place in more ways than one—but I still think that the Pollocks are the backbone of their support.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By that, you mean the literal Pollocks in Russia that are working, mining gold for the American Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I mean the Pollocks who were driven off of their land, whose lands were collectivized and they were sent to dig in the gold mines of Siberia, or wherever gold is found.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, by six or seven figures, you mean between \$100,000 and \$1,000,000?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; there is great latitude there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it be your estimate—at any rate, on the basis of your own experience you would be qualified to make some estimate of the cost of conducting the present operations of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, yes. You see, I understand Mr. Browder testified that the Daily Worker has a paid circulation of 50,000. I do not know whether he testified how many they printed; but assuming that his figures are correct—and I do not want to call Mr. Browder a liar—they could not possibly finance a paper without a huge deficit, if they had a paid circulation of only 50,000 for an average of a year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In your own writing you have used the expression, "The degeneration of the Communist International," and at other times you have spoken of the "running sore of the Comintern," and later on of the "Cancer of the Comintern."

Would you please be more explicit as to what you mean by those phrases?

Mr. LOVESTONE. When I became a Communist and I enlisted in the movement to establish an international socialist society, I did so in the best of faith, and the very first days of the International, the Internationals, I think were dedicated in thought and action to this objective. Later on, because of the factors that I mentioned and other factors, the Communist International degenerated into an agency of the dominant Russian faction and became a nest of intrigue, a swamp of factional maneuvers; that is what I meant by the degeneration. I used the term and wrote at one time of the "running sore," because I refer to the obligations, direction, and financing of the faction fight in the American Communist Party by Lozovsky.

When I came to Moscow they asked me whether I used the term "running sore." They did that with the hope that I would apologize for it. I confessed I was wrong and changed it to cancer instead of running sore.

Well, I think my confession was in order and my analysis was sound. It became a cancer, in the most incurable sense of the word. You could not cure it by freezing and you could not cure it by surgery, because the surgeons continually cut out the healthy flesh and left the diseased tissue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you have testified—

Mr. STARNES. Would you call it a malignant or benign cancer?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I would surely not use benign under these circumstances. I would call it an extraordinarily malignant cancer.

Mr. STARNES. Very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have testified that the factional strife inside of the Russian Communist Party has been reflected in the national parties outside of the Soviet Union.

Is it true that a period was reached in the Soviet Union when the party apparatus destroyed to all intents and purposes the trade-unions of the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVESTONE. If you examine the position of the Russian trade-unions up to the beginning of the revolution, with the position they occupy today, you will inevitably arrive, unless you are afraid of being purged, at the conclusion that the vitality, the life, of the Russian trade-union movement has been taken away.

In the beginning, I might say Lenin time and time again advocated trade-unions so as to divide the power, in order to have discussion, and to curb the bureaucrats. That policy was in the beginning, as put forward by Tomski. I was for that policy, and one of the reasons for Tomski's being "suicided," and I did not say he committed suicide. I said he was "suicided," because he was zealously trying to preserve some vestige of bona fide character and independence for the Russian trade-unions.

Today they are state agencies, dominated by the Stalinist police absolutely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, they have no character, you mean to say of the trade-unions?

Mr. LOVESTONE. They are not trade-unions in the sense of the word used by us in this country or in England, and they are no longer trade-unions in the sense of their functioning right after the revolution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was it somewhat coincidental with the destruction of the real character of the trade-unions in Russia that you received instructions from Moscow to rule or ruin trade-unions in America?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is a very interesting question. You see, in Russia the trade-unions increasingly became part of the state apparatus, the state apparatus there being a Soviet state. The Russian Communist Party, the International, was at that time transferring the mechanics, all tactics, from Russia to other countries, and the reasoning was something along this line:

Well, if in Russia we have trade-unions, they are part of the Soviet state; in the capitalist countries we have trade-unions; therefore they are part of those states. Those are capitalist states, which we must destroy. Obviously, since we must destroy the capitalist states, we

must destroy every part of that capitalist state. The union is a part of the capitalist state and we must destroy the unions, and since they were closest to the Communist Party, as labor organizations, they would be the first ones in practice under the theory of social fascism to be destroyed. It was a straight mechanical transfer of the tactics from Russia to this country.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you please, in a few words elaborate on the principal party reasons for destroying the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union between 1925 and 1928?

MR. LOVESTONE. First, let me say that I shared to quite an extent in the guilt for that campaign. I regret it, as I learned from experience in other work, though I by no means am responsible for the policy.

We began to work in the I. L. G. W. U. to capture it. In 1925 we almost did, but as I said before, we were outmaneuvered. Then we were criticized by Lozovsky for failing to capture it in 1925. By that time we were still working as a destructive force in the I. L. G. W. U., gradually shifting the line to the ultra left, preceded by an open-split movement culminating in the organization of a new needle trades workers international workers union, dominated by the Communist Party as a dual union to the I. L. G. W. U.

Well, we tried in every way to win control and then to win away the membership from Sigmund and Lazinsky.

I must say this, I had no part in this, but it was directly inspired by Lozovsky. We resorted to tactics of this sort: For example, the Communist Party would denounce the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for giving up week work and accepting piece work. While denouncing that and denouncements were made on the one hand, the employers were offered for that same so-called revolutionary union piece work in order to get the contract away from the bona fide A. F. of L. union. That was part of the practice pursued under direct orders from Lozovsky.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, if I understand what you have just said, you mean that this was at least one instance where the Communist-controlled union offered terms more satisfactory to the employers for the purpose of undermining the influence and prestige of the American Federation of Labor union.

MR. LOVESTONE. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Were there any other instances in which the Communist-controlled union underbid the American Federation of Labor Union for the purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor unions?

MR. LOVESTONE. There were quite a number. I do not remember them all. I recall just one which is a rather flagrant case. We conducted a campaign against John L. Lewis because he was surrendering the wage scale of the Jacksonville agreement. We did not get very far, some thought. I thought we did. It is a matter of opinion. But when we were at Moscow, at the World Congress of Communist Internationals, in the summer of 1928, we were advised to continue our campaign against Lewis for dropping the wage scale laid down in the Jacksonville agreement and at the same time to offer the operators, in order to get the contract away from the United Mine Workers, to offer the operators a wage scale beneath not merely the Jacksonville scale; but beneath the scale offered by Lewis. In

other words, I may say, in the spirit of self-criticism, this was rank duplicity.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that was discussed in 1928 in Moscow by the American Communists?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That was adopted as a part of the procedure of the Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a part of the proceedings of the Communists?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What kind of political parties are the Communist parties of the Comintern, Mr. Lovestone?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I would say they are neither political nor parties, in the sense that we speak of political organizations in this country or in England, or France, or that we like to speak of them in Germany, or as we used to speak of them at one time in Soviet Russia. They are not political organizations in the sense of the discussion of questions and criticism by members and the spirit of freedom of opinion and individual initiative. They are special police organizations. They know of nothing but an order. They discuss nothing but how best to carry out orders, and that in itself is a luxury and a privilege, even that type of discussion. They are not responsible for the orders themselves. That is, to say that the American Communist Party is responsible for their line would be a travesty. It is unfair to say that. They have in their ranks very many honest, courageous, clean workmen, and other people. The line is given to them. They are not responsible for the line. The line is determined outside, has nothing to do with the conditions in this country, necessarily. Of course it has to be adjusted to some extent, but the line is dictated primarily by the course pursued at the moment, at any particular moment, by the Stalin regime in the Soviet Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you describe the Comintern as an international morphia?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, in many respects, I would have to say that, and by the fact that the Revolution of Venice background is not in itself a refutation. I do not know. Perhaps the members of the committee know that the morphia in Sicily began with a general revolutionary demands and then became an international banditry. I do not think that Stalin or his agents would know morality if they ran into it down the street and it ran them over.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say that there is a certain type of mind that is peculiarly adaptable to membership and work in the Communist Party as it operates?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is the type of mind, and it is a peculiar thing that Stalinism has a greater hold on that particular type of mind than Kaiserism ever had in its most potent hours. A person can be a great scientist in his own field; he can be a great artist in his own field; he can be a great thinker in his particular field; but the moment he throws himself into that stream he is just carried along as a particle of dust would be in a powerful current. He surrenders all right to question; he has after a while succeeded in atrophying his critical existence in the political field. I can say that frankly from experience. I have seen the germs of this begin in myself, and I am happy that I broke with it, and when I say I broke with it, I mean this particular type of mind, not the ideals of socialism, to which I adhere today more strongly than ever, because I have learned to adhere more firmly than before.

Mr. MASON. Would you say Stalinism is fetish?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I would say that it is a toxin, and a fetish sometimes can amount to a toxin, in the realm of the mind.

Mr. MASON. That is what I am speaking of, the mind that is subservient to it.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I would accept your footnote with a lot of kick in it.

If I may, Mr. Matthews—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Refer you to the resolutions on the trade-union question adopted by a convention of our organization in September. In there we have the evaluation of Stalinism, in two paragraphs, and I think if I were permitted to read it, or if you want to read it—it does not make any difference to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that in the September 23 issue which you have there?

Mr. LOVESTONE. September 16, which gives our official point of view today. May I read it?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE (reading):

Every effort to advance progressive policies and bring about a healthier condition in the labor movement inevitably comes into clash with Stalinism. Or, despite the undoubted sincerity of many of its adherents and followers as workers, Stalinism is an organized force, is a thoroughly reactionary force in the American labor movement. It is an outside, hostile force, alien to the needs of the labor movement and subject not to its control but to the control exclusively of Stalin in Moscow. In plain and literal fact, it is, and functions as, a police agency, an arm of the G. P. U.

In the labor movement Stalin's control of any organization inevitably spells its eventual doom as a genuine labor organization. Wherever it succeeds in penetrating, Stalinism brings with it its characteristic features: Totalitarian bureaucracy, sacrifice of the interests of the workers for the sake of a "party line" imposed from the outside, factional intrigue, corruption, mismanagement. It is a poison absolutely fatal to everything wholesome, progressive, and decent in the labor movement.

That is our definition.

Mr. MASON. Who drew up that summary?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is drawn up by myself.

Mr. MASON. It is a good summary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, did you happen to read an article written by Professor Counts, of Columbia University, in the February 1939 issue of the Social Frontier?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; I read that and I think I quoted it in our paper, The Workers Age.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is an article on Stalin.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You recall that?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you agree, in general, at least, with the description of Stalinism as set forth in that article by Professor Counts?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think the description made by Dr. Counts is a distinct contribution of an invaluable character to the study of Stalinism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the article is very lengthy, but I think very pertinent, and this witness has read it

and says it represents his own estimate of Stalinism, I think we ought to have that incorporated in the record.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is Dr. Counts, who is president of the American Federation of Teachers?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Professor is the newly elected president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Mr. STARNES. If there is no objection from the committee it will be incorporated. There is no objection and it is so ordered.

(The article above referred to is as follows:)

[From: THE SOCIAL FRONTIER, February, 1939, Vol. 5, no. 42]

WHOSE TWILIGHT?

By Professor George Counts, page 139

"Four years ago the College was agitated by labor difficulties. In the effort to improve conditions the liberals, led by John Childs, played an active role. When the facts became known the Dean, characteristically protesting all the while, acted with courage, wisdom, and human sympathy. Eventually he established one of the most enlightened labor policies to be found in any American college or university. And all of this has been happening during Mr. Wechsler's period of "steady retreat." But the point of interest here is that in the course of the struggle we became aware for the first time of the existence of a political faction in the College that seemed far less concerned with the improvement of the conditions of labor than with exacerbating and making capital out of the passions aroused. *This faction, moreover, was irresponsible and operated under the cloak of anonymity. Again and again it made difficult the rational adjustment of differences. Since it sought in every way possible to identify liberal Faculty members with its program and methods, we realized then that sooner or later we would have to issue a declaration of complete independence from its influence.*

For years this faction has published an official organ. Prior to 1935, in revealing imitation of the Russian revolutionary movement, this organ was called the *Spark*, the name of Lenin's proscribed paper in the early years of the present century. Thereafter it went by the more bourgeois name of *Educational Vanguard*. Pursuing a melodramatic version of revolutionary tradition, this paper was always malicious, provocative, and irresponsible. On every occasion it baited and misrepresented the administration. It sought to impose on the College the "orthodox" pattern of the class struggle; the administration and board of trustees being the "exploiters," the faculty members and employees the "exploited." At the top of the first page it carried the words: *Published by the Teachers College Units of the Communist Party*. Its articles were never signed. The names of its editors were never given. With a wholly distorted view of Teachers College and America the members of this faction, as they engaged in secret caucus in their private rooms, doubtless imagined themselves to be following in the footsteps of the great Lenin. They seem even to have imagined themselves in the Russia of the Cossacks and the Black Hundreds.

Several of us who belonged to the American Federation of Teachers were peculiarly sensitive to this situation, partly because the *Vanguard* sabotaged our efforts to advance democratic values and practices at the College and partly because in the minds of many Faculty members it was regarded as an unacknowledged publication of the Federation. We finally decided to bring the matter to a head in the following resolution submitted to a meeting of the Teachers College members of the union on the evening of February 18, 1938:

"WHEREAS the maintenance of civil liberties, including the rights of freedom of speech, teaching, and publication, is of crucial importance, in this period of national reconstruction;

"And, whereas anonymous, ill-considered, and irresponsible attacks on institutions and individuals constitute an abuse of these civil rights and thus make their defense more precarious;

"And, whereas our Union has been requested by the *Educational Vanguard* to define a position with respect to certain of its proposals.

"Be it resolved:

"(1) That the Teachers College Chapter of the American Federation of Teachers condemns the Communist Party Units of Teachers College for their issue of the *Educational Vanguard* of February 17, 1938, which contains certain anonymous articles that make serious charges against members of the staff of the College.

"(2) That we record our conviction that the cause of democracy in education will be injured, and not helped, by the use of methods of this character.

"(3) That we also condemn those persons, who, in supplying the items of information on which these articles were based, failed to respect the privileged nature of official meetings of the faculty.

"(4) That the secretary be instructed to give copies of this resolution to the press and that a copy be also sent to Mr. Earl Browder, secretary-general of the Communist Party."

The resolution obviously took the elements in the union responsible for the *Vanguard* by complete surprise. One asserted that those present had no authority to pass such a resolution, another that the issue should be referred to the newly organized New York college local of the union, another that, after all, the paper was rendering a very useful service, and so on. When we insisted that the issue was one of great seriousness, the parliamentary device of blocking action by introducing a tabling motion was resorted to. This motion was made and passed. It was apparent that the faction involved sought delay because it had had no opportunity to make up its mind through a preliminary caucus on the issue. Quite possibly it also wanted time to consult a higher authority. At any rate, in a few days word came that all differences could be reconciled through a conference with Earl Browder and Clarence Hathaway! This incident was the culmination of a long series of events that produced those "important defections from the Teachers' Union" of which Mr. Wechsler speaks—defections that would not honestly be attributed to administrative pressure or even "broader world tendencies" by anyone familiar with the actual situation.

From this time on, i. e., from the moment it became clear that the liberals would not serve as a front for irresponsible and anonymous actions of any faction employing the methods of conspiracy, stories began to be circulated that they were becoming reticent and demoralized through fear of "internal autocracy." Since I remained in the union, these stories came first to me. I was informed very directly that the offended faction was "going to get Childs," meaning by this that they were going to destroy his reputation as a liberal and turn students out of his courses. Working through the New York College Teachers Local of the union this same faction, in order to "put the liberals on the spot," set busily to work to find a "good case" to investigate at Teachers College. But not being able to find a good one, it proceeded to do its best with a bad one—the dismissal of Professor McDowell. That the "Wechsler article" was coming I knew for some time; but I did not know that Mr. Wechsler was going to write it or that *The Nation* was going to publish it. Seemingly even the editors of *The Social Frontier* live and learn!

A concluding word on the broader significance and implications of the story here unfolded may not be inappropriate. It must be emphasized that those who resort to the tactics and strategy reflected in that story should know that they are playing with fire. They profess to be fighting the growth of fascism in America and the world. Yet they indulge lightheartedly in irresponsible provocation, vilification of character, and distortion of history. *They appear to operate on the principle that they will destroy by any means at hand whatever they cannot rule.* Thus, by a strange dialectical process, they serve as the midwife of fascism; they prepare the very food on which fascism feeds. With my own eyes I have seen them create fascist attitudes at Teachers College. They profess to be defending democracy against reaction and preach the united front of all popular forces. Yet they proceed to violate the most elementary democratic virtues of fairness and integrity, and by their methods bring inevitable discord into the ranks of the popular cause. They meet fundamental criticism with the cry of "red baiting," and then reserve to themselves all the other colors of the rainbow. One lesson contemporary history teaches with unmistakable clarity—ends and means cannot be separated—undemocratic means destroy democratic ends. Such means if long continued and widely practised may bring twilight both to Teachers College and to American democracy."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lovestone, I would like to have you outline very briefly, if you will, the various stages—I think there

are perhaps several of them, three or four—represented in this question of domination of the American Party by the Comintern or Stalin, or whatever it was that was dominating it at the time.

In the first period of that domination, what was the power of the domination or the effect which made it possible for Russia to control the American Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. In the first stage of the Communist International, Russia really did not control in any mechanical sense, as we speak of it today, but influenced it decisively through its prestige.

You see they had just licked the Czar and given him a one-way ticket to somewhere. They had gotten rid of the capitalists. They had organized a workers' government. They were living a dream that we had, and naturally we looked up to them. Besides, they tended to treat us as equals, with equal respect; respecting our opinions, and we appreciated that. They were big men, and because they were big men they did not act in little or small ways, but nevertheless the Russian influence was decisive.

That ended with Lenin's departure from active line in the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Around 1923?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; even before, when Zinoviev came in there was a radical change at Moscow. First there was the beginning of slavishness and mechanical transference, and what I called the Byzantine court at Moscow—kowtowing before the potentates, but it was not yet worked up into a system. With this control, a good deal of their dislike for one country or another was tied up with their factional struggles in Russia. Then that culminated in the triumph of Stalin in Russia and thereafter the triumph of Stalin in the Communist International, Stalin setting up the type of leadership that I had characterized before in the story of Caligula and the first days of Stalin domination was unquestionably the domination of the International; the policies were not merely Russian factional maneuvers, but also Russian conditions inside the line.

I illustrated before the trade-union question. I might give other illustrations. I do not know whether it is necessary.

All of this has culminated in total Stalinization or of what we say sterilization of the Communist International, or as we call it, the Stalin term today. So that at the moment the Communist International is nothing but an agency to reflect the maneuvers and interests of the Soviet foreign policy, and when Stalin was seeking to do business with Chamberlain, with England and France, then the Communist International followed in this country one line of policy. When the Russians switched and went into a profound and extensive partnership with Hitler, the line of policy here had to be changed to reflect that.

I might be a little more specific. For example, you gentlemen in Congress know, you recall the Bloom bill last June or thereabouts. It was defeated by about 65 votes. At that time the Communist Party in this country was the most vigorous campaigners for the Bloom bill. Why? Because it was trying to drive the United States into war against German imperialism, against the Nazi bandits. Well, since then Stalin has changed his policy. I do not think that politics nowadays makes strange bedfellows. No bedfellows could be strange enough in present day European politics. But, Stalin

and Hitler became bedfellows, and presto the Daily Worker was no longer the champion of any bill like the Bloom bill, but became the most ardent opponent of the revision of the old neutrality legislation and was for a maximum embargo. The change of policy was not dictated by concerns with the interests of the great masses of the population, of the workers and farmers—the middle class people in this country. The change in policy was dictated by the switch in Russian foreign policy. The same Foster, the same Browder, would write that this glass [indicating] is made of gold on Monday, and on the temperature of the International and a change in policy, it was made of tin on Tuesday. It was not that the glass changed, but circumstances changed. The organization changed. And, orders were determined solely by the Russian foreign policy.

Mr. VOORHIS. And it seems that the tough part of it, seemed to be that they did not find out on Tuesday what it was made of and had to wait until Wednesday.

Mr. LOVESTONE. You see, Mr. Voorhis, you say that it was tough, because you still expected some intelligent reaction. After a certain type of thinking for a number of years, you lose all capacity for intelligent reaction; and they were just caught in between the time. It still takes some time for a cable to get here.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you not think that the fact that these changes were made without ever having informed in any way the constituent parties in other nations of the world, is an indication of the supreme contempt on the part of the Russian hierarchy for these people doing their bidding elsewhere?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The actual contempt the Russian hierarchy has for its puppets is incalculable. In off moments in Moscow, while I was still all right, that question was discussed quite openly and I want to say I noticed at that time what you say is very true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think, Mr. Chairman, we could illustrate this from the current publications of the Communist Party. I have here an issue of the Daily Worker of London, dated September 4, 1939. That was shortly after the outbreak of the war. Mr. Lovestone, you are familiar with the Daily Worker of London, I take it, as well as the Daily Worker of the United States?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Very much. I wrote for both.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On September 4, 1939, the Daily Worker of London said editorially:

The war is here. It is a war that can and must be won and the people of Britain can win it. Fascism and its friends everywhere have brought this war upon us.

Now, that I think illustrates, does it not, Mr. Lovestone, that while Stalin did not hold to that position, he had not bothered to inform the British Communist Party of the new position with reference to the war.

Mr. LOVESTONE. He not only had not bothered, but had not even thought it was necessary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, when the Communist Party in England was eventually informed of the new line, do you know what happened to the author of this editorial?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The author of this editorial, I am quite safe in presuming, was Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party, and he was, what we call in polite language, relieved of his

post and reduced to the ranks; from major general to plain, ordinary kitchen police duty.

Mr. VOORHIS. There is no doubt about the fact that that happened to him.

Mr. LOVESTONE. No; no; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is reported.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the only presumption is that he wrote the editorial.

Mr. LOVESTONE. He wrote a pamphlet, Mr. Voorhis, entitled, "How To Win the War."

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the same title as this editorial.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean that his demotion is a matter of record?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is a matter of public record.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in the Daily Worker, United States, under date of November 30, 1939, we have an official version of the Russian war policy from none other than Stalin, and I think it appropriate at this time—

Mr. LOVESTONE (interposing). It looks like Stalin, and it looks like the Daily Worker.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a picture of Stalin, and gives Stalin's views on the war as follows, according to this article:

1. It was not Germany who attacked France and England, but France and England who attacked Germany, assuming responsibility for the present war:

2. At the outbreak of hostilities, Germany addressed France and England with peace proposals while the Soviet Union openly supported Germany's peace proposals, because it believed and continues to believe that the earliest termination of the war would fundamentally alleviate the position of all countries and nations;

3. The ruling circles of England and France rudely declined both Germany's peace proposals and the attempts of the Soviet Union to attain the earliest termination of the war.

Such are the facts. What can the cafe chantant politicians of the Havas agency oppose to these facts?

That is apparently the official view of Stalin on the war at the present time; and not only was the party in England not informed of that line, but is it also not true, Mr. Lovestone, that the American Party did not learn of that line until several weeks after the war begun?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Not in time, at any rate, because you will see there when you examine the Daily Worker's statement, for example, the first statement made by Browder was that Russia was not going to touch Poland, and then Russia made quite a touch on Poland. That a little later, Russia was not going to do one thing, and they did do it. You see, the exigencies of foreign policy dictate that you do not take your third step before you take your first, because you might not carry out your first and there would not be any third step. That is dictated by the exigencies. Now, a normal, honest, genuine political party would state its whole approach, and the American Communist Party, like others, were just caught in a maelstrom of filthy contradictions: not a very comfortable way to be caught, but they are so used to it now that they can take it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, I wonder if you would be willing to give, from your own viewpoint, some suggestions as to how you

think this kind of a movement which you have described during your testimony, should be opposed; should be fought. You have had experience in fighting on its behalf and fighting against it.

MR. LOVESTONE. I will first of all say that it should not and cannot be fought—you cannot fight Stalinism in this country, or elsewhere, by repression; by outlawing legislation; by declaring it a crime to be a member of it. When you do that, you supply them the most powerful sentiment, that is, blood of martyrdom.

Secondly, I think their ideas ought to be subjected to maximum sunlight. They represent a special type of character, and I am convinced, in the light of their own traditions and the light and the character of their labor movement, that if their ideas are subjected to the opening, scorching sunlight, and sunshine, that they cannot flourish. I think that would be far more effective than any other measure.

Thirdly, I think in many ways the problems involved here are problems of the labor movement and they should be settled within the household, in the family of labor, by labor itself.

I have had quite a bit of experience in the trade union movement and I can say that when we succeed in defeating these things in trade unions through democratic discussion processes, we inflict upon them a far more decisive blow than any arrests or persecution might deal to them, in the eyes of some people.

MR. MASON. May I interrupt there for just a moment? How can labor settle its problems if it enters into an alliance with, as the C. I. O. has done, these Communist leaders? They are taking the enemy right into their camp and the enemy then attacks them from within.

MR. LOVESTONE. I do not desire to go into any detailed discussion of personal or leadership problems of the trade-unions before the committee, and I would ask that I be excused in that respect.

MR. MASON. All right.

MR. LOVESTONE. But I will just say this: Unquestionably there have been conditions—and not naming names, and I do not want to discuss it in that light—there have been conditions where trade-union leaders made alliances with them. They thought that they could use them and then throw them out. You can take lots of things into your bosom, but sometimes you find that you have a snake in your lap, or around your bosom, and you do not get much of a chance to live. It is like riding a tiger. You do not dare stop. That has happened on occasions, and naturally it is fatal to the unions involved and fatal to the workers of those unions, and fatal to those leaders who have a chance to render real service to labor, without doubt.

MR. VOORHIS. I would like to just say, because I think it is fair, at this point, that in contacts which I have had myself, not only with American Federation of Labor leaders, but also leaders of the C. I. O. unions in my own district, that I find a very determined spirit on the part of those people to be rid of these Communists.

MR. MASON. That is the hopeful thing, though, that labor itself can clean out these destructive elements.

MR. VOORHIS. I agree thoroughly, but I just think, in the interest of fairness, I should say that because I think it is true.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I might add if and when we reestablish a united labor movement in this country, the Communist influence in unions will be reduced considerable.

Mr. VOORHIS. That will probably do as much as any one thing, too.

Mr. LOVESTONE. They are fishing in troubled waters.

I might just add one or two or three other illustrations of struggle against totalitarianism. Of course, there has to be conducted constantly a campaign against all species of totalitarianisms.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right.

Mr. LOVESTONE. There are differences between them as there are differences between Stalin and Hitler totalitarianisms, without doubt, and one point I think labor must emphasize, it must guarantee in its own ranks the right to opinions, differences of opinion and expression in a democratic manner regardless of how radical the social ideas or ideals of the proponents of the certain movements may be; but no labor organization or no self-respecting institution can permit in its ranks the operation of forces that are not controlled by themselves; that are not responsible for themselves; that at best are irresponsible or whose responsibility is outside along the line of the descriptions I have given. We have to conduct our fight in that light.

Mr. VOORHIS. And still less responsible to the labor organization itself.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Absolutely; not concerned with the labor organization itself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say that also applies to a State; that a State cannot tolerate intervention through subterfuge or any other method of a foreign government in its internal affairs.

Mr. LOVESTONE. You put me in an embarrassing position. I am not a State. If I were a State, I assure you I could take care of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I take it that that agrees with the labor principles you have set forth?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I take it that I am not going to do the legislating, and I can understand very well how any self-respecting institution, whether it be a State or any other organization, would say, "Look here. I want to know something about you, if you are going to ask something from me, particularly if you are going to ask my head." That I could see as reasonable; but I think the way to meet that is the way I suggested. Anyway, that is my opinion. I may be wrong.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am referring to such matters as intervention in internal affairs of the country through the agency of espionage.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I absolutely agree with that, without question, unqualifiedly so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The State must take measures to protect itself against espionage?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I am opposed to any faction of any labor movement being an appendage of any government. I would be opposed to the American Federation of Labor or the C. I. O. being appendages to the American Government. That would destroy their vitality; make Government unions a basis of fascism, and I would be opposed to the American Federation of Labor and the Communist Party or any other organization being an appendage of the Federal Government, or of the Nazi, or Soviet, or British, or any govern-

ment. It must be a movement growing out of the conditions in the country representing the will or opinion of the people in the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, when Mr. Browder was on the stand here he stated that the statutes of the Communist International published in a pamphlet which was introduced here in the record as an exhibit, are not in any formal sense, at least, enforced, or considered enforceable or even applicable to the conduct of the American Communist Party.

What are the facts on that as you understand them?

Mr. LOVESTONE. There are two points involved here. First the 21 points, the foundation articles of the Communist International, have been dead for quite some time. They have never been formally repudiated, but they have been replaced.

On the other hand, there are these statutes of organization. That is, statutes of the Communist International. There is something in what Browder says. They may be applied. They may not be applied when the Russians are involved; but when it comes to the others, they are quite applicable. I know they were applied very practically and Stalin wants them applied in relation to us; but woe be unto anybody who tries not to apply them when the Russians want them applied.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I believe in the case of the 21 points, the Daily Worker asserted you had been guilty of violating the 21 points, and that has been made a part of the record of the hearings, so that they were not dead in 1929.

Mr. LOVESTONE. No; they have not been officially proclaimed as dead. They can always be brought back to life when necessary. It is a form of freezing to preserve life.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, outlining the various periods through which the Communist International has passed, with particular reference to changing strategies, changing world outlook, or what not, would you say the present International has now definitely entered the phase of red imperialism?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, I would characterize it and explain it in the following way: It is not red imperialism. It is yellow imperialism. There is nothing red about the attack on Finland. There is quite a little yellow; but you have got to view it from a point of evolution. Now, as to the point of evolution, the Communist International in its first stages really stood for world revolution and in an idealistic and practical sense. We at that time felt that the British Empire was pretty much smashed up and with the British Empire smashed up the heart of world capitalism was finished. Well, we miscalculated. I say we. I take as much responsibility as anyone else could take for it, and I contributed my might toward the theory which later proved to be false.

When we saw it was false, we broke with the ultraleftists in the infantile days of communism and turned to a period say from 1921 to 1928 of what I would consider in general a sound, practical approach based on reality. By 1928 there was a change for the reasons I have given before and there was another swing to what we then called ultraleftism; venturous radicalism; irresponsible radicalism divorced from reality.

That lasted from about the end of 1928 or say 1929 to the Seventh World Congress of 1935. In that period Roosevelt was called the

Fascist, but beginning with 1935 down to the Stalin-Hitler pact, there was what we called the period of ultra-rightism, the extremest and most rancid type of opportunism. You could not distinguish a Communist Party member from a devout Catholic who took an oath against Communism every morning, because it was very common for them to take oaths against Communism, as long as it advanced Russian foreign policy, and such things were done.

With the Stalin-Hitler pact coming into full bloom, the weed in its present shape and growth, the Communist International has ceased to be in the slightest way either communist or international, or an international organization.

Today I would characterize it as an agency of the Stalin-Hitler bloc, not merely Stalin, but Stalin-Hitler bloc. That is quite a change, and quite an advance in degeneration.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lovestone, there is really not anything absolutely new in this attack of the Soviet Union on Finland or in the Stalin-Hitler alliance, or any other form of duplicity in which we find the Russian Government now engaged, is there?

MR. LOVESTONE. It is not new; was not new to us. We expected it about a year ago, but it is not at all tied up with any of the ideals that animated the other revolution.

MR. MATTHEWS. Let me give an illustration of what I have in mind in saying that there is not anything absolutely new. Is it not true that the Red Army actually invaded and conquered the State of Georgia when the overwhelming majority of the population of that country was anti-Communist or Menshevik in its political life?

MR. LOVESTONE. I do not associate myself with that opinion. I do not think so. The State of Georgia was an integral part of Russia. The State of Georgia was being used to buy British imperialists as a basis from which to assault Russia and steal its oil, and the Russians were fully justified in driving out the British from there. If somebody were to try to move into Texas, I am sure Congressman Dies would lead an army to chase them out, and I think Lenin was perfectly correct in driving the British into the sea and elsewhere, where they never could return. On the other hand I come back to the policy with regard to Finland. If the Russians wanted to continue the war at that time, they certainly could have mastered Finland at one time or another. They did not want to, because Finland never was really an integral part of Russia. Even under the Czar they had tremendous possibilities for independence; they were not merely a grand duchy—and Lenin was as much responsible and the Russians at that time were as much responsible as any power could be for Finland being given independence.

Now, what is Stalin doing today? The very opposite. The vulnerability of Leningrad or sections around Leningrad was always there, and yet the Russians for a period of time were able to be friends with Finland and were not concerned about the vulnerability of Leningrad, but what Stalin wants is to sustain and prolong his bureaucratic Stalin hold on the Russian people and that explains the establishment of the protectorates over Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It is a sort of a mutual-assistance pact such as each of us has when we have a turkey for Thanksgiving. I help the turkey and the turkey helps me, and so on down the line.

That was not the policy of the Russians in the beginning, and I would say that Stalin made a major and disastrous contribution here to the ideals of the Russian revolution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I will not enter into any debate with you on the subject of Georgia. Let us see if we can find another illustration. You know of the Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Russia I believe in 1922.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think perhaps you know by this time there was a secret clause in the Treaty of Rapallo whereby the Russian Government agreed to have operated on Russian territory munitions plants for the express purpose of providing Germany with munitions in order to enable Germany to circumvent the Treaty of Versailles.

Mr. LOVESTONE. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are acquainted with that?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is it also true that in that Treaty of Rapallo, which enabled the Reichswehr to get munitions from Soviet territory, that the Reichswehr at that time, that particular period, was using those munitions to a considerable extent in shooting down the representatives of the Communists in Germany?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I think you have simplified the picture too much. Let me express my opinion. I think in general it was quite sound for the Russians, as an independent state and whose policies we on the outside should not seek to interfere, just as they should not seek to interfere in ours, to sign a treaty of friendship with Germany so as to make it harder for France and England to invade Russia, because Germany would not let them. Now, at the same time there is a certain contradiction involved here, when they signed such a treaty with Germany, they signed with the powers that be in Germany. Those powers that be, in a certain way, are interested in suppressing their own labor movement. That cannot be helped. The test must come in this sense. In those days the Russians were compelled to sign for one reason or another treaties with capitalist countries. They did not dictate, as a result of that, the policies of the labor movement in that country with which they signed the treaty. While they signed the Treaty of Rapallo, they did not try to weaken the revolutionary character of the German labor movement.

On the other hand, Stalin came in when he signed his pact with the French Government. The first thing that was done was the issuance of an order to the Communist Party of France to give up all militancy; to give up all effective concern for the workers in France. The Communist Party in France became an agency to carry out the pact between the French Government and the Soviet Government. That is wrong. The Russians have a right to make their treaties. We do not want to interfere with them, and let them not interfere with international labor unions.

Mr. STARNES. Let us get down to the question, if we can, of Dr. Matthews, of whether there is any espionage activities on the part of the Soviet Government and Soviet Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you please give us the benefit of your information, Mr. Lovestone, on the question of the relationship of the Communist Party of the United States to the G. P. U.?

MR. LOVESTONE. Well, the relationship is of two sorts. It would be a mistake to say that every Communist Party member is a G. P. U. member, and also be a mistake to say that at all times the Communist Party as such is cooperating with agencies of the G. P. U. On the other hand, there was some limited cooperation at one time or another with the G. P. U. agents, but far more important is this, that the Communist Party of the various countries have been transformed as such into agencies that play the role of a G. P. U. for the Soviets. Their psychology is that. Their spirit and mind is that. Their attitude is that. It is not that they are G. P. U. agents on the pay roll or making daily reports. It is not that simple, mechanically, but in a psychological sense that is very true. I might emphasize here that it is not logical, but it is also psychological, and the psychology of the Communist Party leadership today is police psychology; it is in this case G. P. U. psychology.

MR. MASON. Which makes very effective agents in troublesome times to get the information necessary to do certain things.

MR. LOVESTONE. It makes it a very effective agent at all times for knowledge or influence or tarnishing or monkeying with public opinion.

MR. STARNES. That psychological factor would lead, then, any member of the Communist Party to impart any information that he had that would be of value to the Soviet Government.

MR. LOVESTONE. It is not that he sits down and takes notes.

MR. STARNES. I understand that.

MR. LOVESTONE. But the attitude.

MR. STARNES. The attitude does.

MR. LOVESTONE. The state of mind.

MR. STARNES. And the state of mind which leads him to a sense of loyalty to the Soviet Government rather than a sense of loyalty to this Government.

MR. LOVESTONE. It is not a question of loyalty; it is a question of animal habit, pure animal habit. You just start swinging your arms when you walk, and that is the way it is.

MR. STARNES. Regardless of what line of endeavor this Communist is in, so long as he had that attitude or state of mind he could be used, either wittingly or unwittingly, as an agent for espionage activities.

MR. LOVESTONE. In effect; yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. And does your experience, Mr. Lovestone, in G. P. U. psychology indicate that it even overflows the boundaries of actual party membership and includes some sympathizers who become quite enthusiastic about the party?

MR. LOVESTONE. It affects every special operation of the Communist Party, whether it would be sympathetic organization or an organization that they worked in that is really hostile to them. It is unavoidable.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you give us some of the types of activities involved in that character of the Communist Party which you describe as one of the G. P. U. mental or G. P. U. psychological?

MR. LOVESTONE. That psychology has largely developed since our expulsion and resistance on our part to it entailed our expulsion; but I would say the primary point would be the judging of the good of all problems and penalties in the country, not from the viewpoint of con-

ditions and reality of the land, but the viewpoint of the interest and actual manipulations or adorations or adulations on the other side. You have your feet in this country, but your head and your heart are outside.

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is it in reality.

Mr. STARNES. Therefore, anyone who subscribes to the tenets of the party and who had this police mentality, as you describe it, who has his feet here but his head and heart over there, if he were a worker in a munitions plant or in a navy yard, or were employed as a worker in any other plant, or if he were connected with a State or the Federal Government and by virtue of his employment, either private or public, information vital to the welfare and safety of this country came to his possession, that type of mentality, and that state of mind which he has would lead him to furnish that information to the Soviet Government.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Consciously or unconsciously, or subconsciously, he would make good material for it.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Not necessarily in every individual sense. That would be wrong to say that. But, he would make very good material for that.

Mr. STARNES. And generally speaking it would be true.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is the type as it would tend to run.

Mr. STARNES. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lovestone, the Communist Party, for example, in this country at the present time is what we might call strictly isolationist in its attitude toward European war. Could we reduce that to terms that are much more correct by calling it just a case of pro-German propaganda?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, you see, I am an isolationist myself, but for a totally different reason. I was that. I do not mean in the narrow sense of the word as used on the Hill here. I think the one hope of the world is to keep this country out of the war. I had that idea a year ago; 5 years ago; and 10 years ago. The Communist Party up until September 1, or sometime around September 4, had the very opposite idea. It had that idea as a result of its G. P. U. character; its police mind; because of the situation over there. Today the Communist Party is isolationist, not because it is concerned with the interests of the workers, or the farmers of this country, but because at the moment the interests of Soviet foreign policy dictate that it would be best for the United States not to get into the war, since if it should get in, it would get in against Germany, and Russia and Germany have a common defense, and therefore the Communist Party in this country is against war, and a great deal of the propaganda in this country against war today is not genuine antiwar propaganda, but is pro-Stalin-Hitlin propaganda.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Lovestone, you have had a good deal of experience, both while you were in the leadership of the Communist Party of this country, and subsequent thereto, with reference to the so-called nuisance clubs which the Communist Party sets up and operates.

I wonder if you would give us the benefit of your information with reference to some of these organizations, specifically, for ex-

ample, can you identify clearly and without qualifications the International Workers' Order as one of the organizations under the control of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Of course Mr. Browder is an expert and he gave you all of them in his theory of transmission belts: but I might mention when we split from the Communist Party, one of the issues we had with them was we were against the organization of the International Workers Order as a competing organization to the Workers' International. Subsequently the Communist Party went ahead and organized the International Workers Order as a strict appendage of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What could you say about the International Labor Defense in this same connection?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The International Labor Defense was organized in my time. We were the inspiring force in organizing it, but I must stress that at that time we were quite nonpartisan in administering funds, and help to those in need of legal defense. Since that time I do not think that has been the case, and it has been a strictly speaking Communist Party organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, that is an obvious institution. I think nobody will challenge that. I endorse Browder's opinion here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have had some personal experience in the American League Against War and Fascism, which has now become the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your opinion, from your experience in that organization, with reference to its character?

Mr. LOVESTONE. When it was first organized we tried to affiliate our organization to it and we needed the assistance of a lot of fellow travelers in order to enable us to step into the hall, and when we tried to win representation on its committees, we were denied that, and I came dangerously near getting my skull cracked, because I was going to ask for the floor. Otherwise, the organization was quite nonpartisan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I think we had better make that perfectly clear. You say otherwise it was nonpartisan. You mean strictly under the control of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is under the control of the Communist Party like a blot is under the control of a blotter; inseparable. If you separate the blot from the blotter there is a hole in the blotter, and no blotter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is a good deal of debate both public and private on this question, Mr. Lovestone. I would like to ask you if you have, even the slightest doubt as to the character of the American League.

Mr. LOVESTONE. You see, I am not in a position to speak from documents, and I suppose in a court of law I could not adduce exhibits. I am in a position to speak rather in the sense of a taleologist or geologist. I can tell a footprint, or I can tell fossils, or I can smell something, and the basis of my experience is in the sense of utilizing the function of the olfactory nerve or judging footprints and I would say regardless of the nobility and sincerity and genuineness of intentions and motives of many of those who sup-

ported it, it is nothing but the tool, a weapon, an instrument, a utensil of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I am only asking you for your expression, based on your information and first-hand experience. You may not recall it, but at the time you came very near getting your head cracked for asking for the floor, I was in the chair on that occasion.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. However, I had nothing to do with your almost getting your head cracked. I lost complete control of the delegated assembly, and we were in a stage of riot for an hour or more.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And, I am asking you, on the basis of your own experience how you characterize this organization.

Mr. LOVESTONE. On the basis of that experience, and a lot of other experience, I characterize it in that sense.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, if I may refer to Mr. Lovestone's explanation of a moment ago, I think there is no doubt but what he is thoroughly qualified from experience as an expert to express opinions on organizations having to do with the Communists.

Mr. STARNES. Why certainly not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course he is.

Mr. STARNES. If the man who helped form the organization, was in it from its inception does not know, I would like to know how anyone could know.

Mr. VOORHIS. What organization was it that you just mentioned?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. Chairman. I think Mr. Whitley has some organizations he would like to ask the witness about, and some individuals also.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any knowledge, Mr. Lovestone, of an organization known as the American Student Union? Either first-hand or from your observation as an expert on the subject.

Mr. LOVESTONE. No knowledge first-hand or otherwise, except I might say when it was formed we were against its formation, because we said, "Well, once it is formed, the Communist Party will grab control of it." I could not prove that the Communist Party has control of it, but somehow or other I know when these organizations get together there is something at the bottom of them, somebody gets them. They just don't run in a vacuum. And here I have only suspicions on the basis of my experience; but which suspicions I feel quite sure of; but I could not give any documentary proof. I have had no personal experience with the American Student Union. I know in a number of localities where our own people tried to work in there we ran into Communist Party domination and well, if we did not get our heads cracked, it is because students are not so vigorous. On these occasions we get our "walking papers". Our applications are lost.

Mr. VOORHIS. When you refer to "our own people," who do you mean?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Members of the Independent Labor League of America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that your members ran into considerable difficulty at the annual convention of the American Student Union which was held at Vassar?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Christmas holidays of 1937.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Could not even present a motion; could not get the floor. While others might get the floor, our people could not, and to me that would be a sign of Communist Party domination in the sense that the Communist Party would be ready to allow some preacher, pastor, to get up and pray for mercy, and have an opportunity to express an opinion, whereas our people would not be allowed to speak. If our people got up they would bludgeon them with argument, or beat them down in a discussion, because we have had experience in doing that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any knowledge, Mr. Lovestone, of an organization known as the American Youth Congress?

Mr. LOVESTONE. None at all in the form of personal experience; but if you will examine the date of its organization and you examine the trend of changes of Communist Party policy, you will find a coincidence and you will find the spirit carried over into it. I would say again that Mr. Browder was right, the Communist Party has tried to use that as a transmission belt. It does not mean that everyone must be officially a member of the Communist Party. It does not mean that one even be a fellow traveler. He might be a fellow limper, just limp along with them; but he must be usable, not necessarily useful in a social sense, but must be usable from the point of view of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I understand that you have followed in a general way the shifting line of the American Youth Congress, and it is your observation that that shifting line follows the same shifts as the Communist Party.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, take the attitude of the organization toward the Oxford pledge as a classical example. At one time the Communist Party was against the Oxford pledge. Today it is not against the Oxford pledge. It is against war. While the pledge has not changed; the pledge is the same; the pledgors are the same; something has changed somewhere. It is the same pledge; the same people take the pledge, but they have changed their attitude toward the pledge. If you tie up the situation in that way, you will be able to find some perhaps invisible, imponderable, nevertheless effective force moving the thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Lovestone, would you say from your experience and the opportunity which you have had to study and observe Communist-controlled organizations over the period of many years: would you express it as your best opinion and judgment that the American Student Union and the American Youth Congress are subject to Communist control and influence?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Both my olfactory nerve and my extensive experience in investigation would dictate that conclusion.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, when you say that, however, just so the record will be plain, that does not mean that there are not many organizations which have affiliates with the American Youth Congress which are entirely non-Communist, does it; nor that there would not be very many people in most any of those organizations who will be so?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The overwhelming majority of the members may be anti-Communist.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. LOVESTONE. The overwhelming majority of the organization's affiliates may be anti- or non-Communist, but the dominating, dictating spirit or effort to have a dominating, dictating spirit is of a particular character.

Mr. MASON. And their object in getting in these other organizations that are not Communist is to give a front and cover up and hide their activities within the larger organizations?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The outer circle of the periphery is what they call it. You make your nucleus within the periphery. The nucleus is a very small part of the periphery. The bigger, the better. The nucleus has more to feed on.

Mr. STARNES. There would be no sense, no rhyme nor reason, in setting up a front organization if everybody in it was a Communist.

Mr. LOVESTONE. You must recognize this: At one time that was the policy. They wanted to organize organizations in which only they themselves were in the organization. They had a united front with themselves, but now it is different. Today, it is just the other way around.

Mr. STARNES. Certainly. It is a strategy that was used—devised and used to lure innocent people in there and lend respectability to a movement that was communistic in its inception or parts of the Communist program. That is all that it was.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is an element of strategy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Lovestone, are you acquainted with Mr. Joseph Brodsky, an attorney in New York?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever known him to be a Communist, party member, or active in the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. He was our lawyer. He was quite sympathetic. In my days he never carried a card in the Communist Party, but we always trusted him in the sense of a confidant. Whether he has joined the Communist Party since or not, I am in no position to say.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was introduced into the record of the committee's proceedings sometime ago official documents of the British Government which had to do with the raid conducted by Scotland Yard on the Arcos, the trading organization, Russian trading organization in London, that raid being conducted in 1926, and in that document the name of Mr. Brodsky is listed several times under two addresses in New York with a notation for the transmission of party funds or notation to that effect.

Do you know whether he ever functioned in that capacity?

Mr. LOVESTONE. We generally employed or used the names and addresses of people who were not in the Communist Party to receive confidential mail from other countries and sometimes the confidential mail might include some money without the recipient even knowing what was inside. I would say, very definitely, Mr. Brodsky never received any money for the Communist Party in my days; very definitely.

His name was on these address lists that you refer to in the sense that I mentioned before. He was a trusted sympathizer and confidant and as such he could receive anything, whether it be confidential instructions or confidential cash, without his knowing what was the contents of the envelope.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Brodsky know why his name was found on the lists which were seized in that London raid?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That would be very hard for me to answer. Generally our practice was to get the permission of anyone whose name we used, but sometimes, I confess, we used names without permission. Whether it was so in this case or not, I could not say. At any rate, even if his name had been used without permission, he was a very reliable person, very honest man, and would be perfectly safe.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Lovestone, you have already in your testimony referred to a Mr. Benjamin Gitlow who has previously appeared before the committee, and Mr. Joseph Zack. Were you acquainted with them?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; Joseph Zack was a charter member of the Communist Party; at one time a member of the Central Committee. On several occasions he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his particular field of activity?

Mr. LOVESTONE. He was very active in the trade-union field and after we were expelled, he, having been one of the original defenders of dual unionism, became a department head, that is, trade-union director.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Lovestone, there has been considerable testimony before the committee previously with reference to Comintern representatives; that is, representatives from the Comintern to the United States. That testimony has been conflicting in that some witnesses have stated that it was the general practice and policy for the Comintern to have representatives here, whereas I believe Mr. Browder and Mr. Foster testified that it was the most exceptional practice, and I believe one or the other, I do not recall which, could only remember one instance in which there had been a Comintern representative here.

Can you help the committee clear that up? Do you have any different expression on that point?

Mr. LOVESTONE. No. In our days there were no permanent Comintern representatives in this country. There were occasions when the Communist International representatives came here. There was one here in 1922. I think he has been executed since. That was Mr. Walecki. He was a Pole. And then I think the sixth international convention of our organization had two representatives of the Communist International. One of them was Harry Pollitt. The other Mr. Dengel. They stayed here only for a short time. There was no permanent representative here.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was during your period?

Mr. LOVESTONE. During my time. They occasionally came. These were occasions for special things; that is, whenever there was difficulty or some fight brewing, in order to make peace, or whenever they wanted to ram something through, as they did in the case of the sixth international convention. We were the majority and they wanted to change it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the purpose of the Comintern representatives here was to see that some particular policy or some particular program was properly carried out.

Mr. LOVESTONE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was just a further method of exercising the Moscow control.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Without doubt.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through direct representation.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Without doubt.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you do not know whether that policy of having Comintern representatives in this country has been expanded or extended since the time you were in the party?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I do not know in any documentary sense, but if you are asking my opinion, I would say it has been extended to the point of stranglehold.

Mr. STARNES. Is that on account of the peculiar characteristic of this fellow Stalin and his mode of operation?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It is characteristic. It is that, and a little more. I think they work through the Roman Council system now. They want to have their people on the job and on the spot watching and they do not allow any possibility for development of initiative. So, it is best to have the initiative killer on the job all of the time. I could not prove that in any way. I am not qualified to speak of it in the sense of experience today. I can only surmise on the basis of past experience and what I see happening.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest that we stay out of the field of surmising and conjecture. If you have anything definite, let us have it, if not, let us close.

Mr. WHITLEY. This morning you mentioned George Mink, with reference to Logorsky. What was George Mink's functions in the United States, Mr. Lovestone, to your knowledge?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, at first he had no functions, because he was incompetent to have any functions. Then all of a sudden he was made an active leader of the Marine Workers and then he went to Russia and came back, as an authority on trade-union questions and afterward he cut loose from the trade-union work and began to handle some confidential work in the nature of which we did not know, and we did not ask anything about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any reason to believe that he might have been connected with the G. P. U.?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Good reasons to believe that. Again, I could not prove it in a court of law.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your knowledge and acquaintanceship with him, knowing of his activities at that time, that would have been an accurate observation or a fair observation, you would say?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; that would be an accurate conclusion.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Lovestone, do you know whether the Comintern or Profintern, or both, considered the maritime industry in the United State and in other countries as a particularly strategic industry in which they made unusual efforts to expand their influence and control?

Mr. LOVESTONE. For a while we did not, but a little later we did, and I think since I have left it has been developed very much.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the present organization of the National Maritime Union, the N. M. U., Mr. Lovestone?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I do not know any of the leaders. I know about them from what I read in the press and what I study about them, in my general studies of the trade-union movement.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not feel that you are qualified?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I do not think so.

Mr. WHITLEY. To discuss it?

Mr. LOVESTONE. I do not think I would be qualified to give any authoritative statement about it, personally, except a general evaluation that there is a very unhealthy situation in that union. But otherwise, I do not know. I do not know a single one of them personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean unhealthy with reference to the Communist influence and control?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, I would say the Communist Party influence in there is quite decisive.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, can you name for the committee, Mr. Lovestone, any G. P. U. or military intelligence agents of the Soviet Union who have, to your knowledge, operated in this country? In previous testimony of one witness, the name of Felix Wolf was mentioned as a military intelligence agent in this country during the period of approximately 1924 to 1929. Were you acquainted with him?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes. I knew Felix Wolf very well; from Hamburg. Felix Wolf was a very fine person. He was here for a while, and he has been executed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether General Klaber was here? You mentioned him this morning. Do you know whether he was ever active in this country?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Klaber visited us quite a number of times. I never met him in the United States. I know he was here. That was after my expulsion.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with the circumstances, Mr. Lovestone, surrounding the trip which Mr. Browder made to China about 1928 or 1929, I believe?

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1927, I think, perhaps.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or 1927.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes, sir; he was working at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe it was stated it was in connection with some mission for the Profintern trade-union work.

Mr. LOVESTONE. Yes; he was working for the party, the Profintern delegation in China at that time, and the Pan-Pacific Bureau.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe there is some previous testimony to the effect that that trip on the part of Mr. Browder was on instructions from either the Comintern or the Profintern and that the trip was financed by foreign sources. Do you have any knowledge of that?

Mr. LOVESTONE. The trip was solely for the Profintern and had nothing to do with the American Communist Party and activities, either politically or financially.

Mr. WHITLEY. One further question, Mr. Lovestone, that occurs to me at the moment. Do you have any reason to believe that the fundamental activities of the Communist Party have changed in recent years even though the line itself has been changed on several occasions, to meet the situations as they arose?

In other words, did the change from the an ultraleft position to at least a publicly avowedly ultraright position; did that mean that the party has actually changed fundamentally in its program or in its characteristics or strategy; or was that just merely a maneuver?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It was a very important practical change dictated by Russian domination and Russian practices, and the Russian foreign policy, but had nothing to do with the change in the fundamental rule of the Communist Party as such.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it was just a strategy to, if anything, conceal or cover up that role?

Mr. LOVESTONE. To get further.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Are there any further questions?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Mr. Lovestone, in the testimony before the committee Mr. Browder said he never sent reports or regular reports to the Comintern. Do you know anything to the contrary?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, I can only speak from my own experience and then my conclusions. In my custodianship, in the office of secretary, I sent regular reports and discussed quite in detail many of the American problems with the Comintern. I would assume that that practice continued after I left on an even more extensive scale, unless the Comintern was so sure of Browder that it did not even need any reports from him, which is entirely possible.

Mr. MASON. May I ask whether you sent those reports regularly, because you knew they were expected, or demanded?

Mr. LOVESTONE. It was a part of the requirements of my office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it also the practice to send representatives of the American party for periods of residence in Moscow?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, we were criticized many times because we would not send people across to stay there. Some of our boys were not too anxious to stay there. We had a tough time getting people to go over, but we did do that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder said that the American party always took an active part in changing the party's line, whenever it was changed in this country. Is that correct?

Mr. LOVESTONE. That, in the Mark Twain sense, is slightly exaggerated. It is totally incorrect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lovestone, you may have noticed from the current reports from abroad that Kuusenin, who has been mentioned in your testimony, and who made a speech on the American question which we introduced in the record this morning, is heading the political government which has been sent into Finland from the Soviet Union. You know Kuusenin personally?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Very well, and I admire him, and he is one of the living miracles to me that he is still alive. He is a brilliant person in many ways, but he has not a strong personality. He is a very willing person, but rather able.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he say to you, in effect at least, during your fight with Stalin that he injured your position?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, that was quite common knowledge in the Communist International that when we broke, Kuusenin's heart and mind was with us, but as he said himself, he was a refugee, a man without a country, an exile, and what could he do but just go along. That was the basis of his real position; not conviction and not feeling. He felt very badly in the whole fight.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, Mr. Lovestone, without going into any details regarding the position of your present organization, I will ask you if the resolutions of the convention of the Independent Labor League

of America as set forth in the Workers Act of September 23 is a correct statement of the program of your organization?

MR. LOVESTONE. The three fundamental resolutions of our organization as adopted at the last convention are the following:

First, a resolution on the trade-union question, a part of which I read before in the evaluation of Stalinism.

Secondly, a resolution on socialism and democracy which is in complete opposition to totalitarianism as the road for the achievement of social life.

Thirdly, a resolution on Socialist unity, which is an attempt to create a united Socialist movement in America, in this country, as totally opposed to and distinct from the Stalin movement.

Those are the three fundamental programs, and documents which reveal our position today.

MR. MATTHEWS. I will ask Mr. Chairman—I do not think that you have quite answered my question exactly—I will ask you if these resolutions of the I. L. L. A. convention set forth the program in full?

MR. LOVESTONE. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. If that is the case, I would like to have these resolutions incorporated in the record.

MR. STARNES. Without objection, it will be done.

MR. MATTHEWS. They set forth the position of Mr. Lovestone's organization.

(The resolutions referred to are as follows:)

[Workers Age (p. 2) Saturday, Sept. 23, 1939]

RESOLUTIONS OF I. L. L. A. CONVENTION—SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

(We publish below the resolution on "Socialism and Democracy" adopted by the national convention of the I. L. L. A. held in New York City over the Labor Day week end.—Editor.)

The events of recent years, the fate of the Russian Revolution under the Stalin dictatorship and the rise of fascist totalitarianism in many parts of the world, place upon the socialist movement the obligation of reviewing and reformulating as clearly as possible its basic conceptions of the significance and place of democracy in the new society to which it looks forward. As a contribution towards this discussion, we make the following declaration of our point of view:

SOCIALISM FIGHTS FOR DEMOCRACY

1. Socialism is fundamentally opposed to authoritarian or totalitarian dictatorship of every sort, whether it be fascist, military or Stalinist in character. Socialism fights to preserve every vestige of democratic rights and liberties under capitalism, always looking forward to the broader, deeper, and infinitely more adequate democracy under socialism.

FREEDOM INTEGRAL TO SOCIALISM

2. A socialist society is inconceivable without freedom and democracy, which are integral to the socialist goal. Without freedom and democracy, the great work of socialist construction, depending so much upon the initiative and collective resources of the masses, is impossible in the long run. A socialist society implies, at the very least, the collective ownership of the means of production and their operation according to a unified plan, unrestricted political democracy, and the democratic administration of the social and economic affairs of society by the producing masses themselves.

SOCIALIST STATE AND DEMOCRACY

3. In guaranteeing the broadest measure of democracy, the socialist state must provide, in reality and not merely in form:

a. Full personal, civil and political liberty, including the rights of free speech and press, of free assembly and association (economic, social and political), and the right to strike. The one-party system, whereby the ruling party arrogates to itself a monopoly of legal political existence, is inherently incompatible with political freedom.

b. Effective popular control over all government officials and institutions, thru a machinery of democratic election, responsibility and recall. Any tendency to irresponsible authoritarian rule, not subject to direct popular control and without concern for the guaranteed rights of the people, must prove fatal to all freedom and democracy.

c. Governmental institutions that permit the fullest freedom of political discussion, party controversy and democratic decision by the masses of the people of the policies to be followed. The regime of party dictatorship, emerging from the one-party system and vesting the ruling (and only legal) party with the effective power to decide all questions of any importance, makes genuine democracy utterly impossible.

d. Governmental institutions to reduce systematically the scope, functions, power and privileges of the professional officialdom (bureaucracy) by gradually replacing such professional officialdom by the direct participation of the masses of the people in the affairs of governmental administration.

e. Full freedom and encouragement of voluntary organization and activity in all spheres of social life, untrammelled by overhead governmental domination and control. Totalitarianism, which conceives of all the activity of society as a state monopoly to be pursued thru and under the control of the state, is obviously hostile to freedom in any real sense of the word.

f. Economic democracy thru institutions that will permit the direct participation of the producers in the management and administration of the (socialized) economic life. Without economic democracy—that is, under conditions of the authoritarian, bureaucratic administration of economic life—political democracy is soon reduced to a mere shadow, an empty form.

SOCIALIST STATE A WORKERS STATE

4. The socialist state, because it is democratic, is therefore no less a class state. It is a workers state, first because it is constituted, controlled and run by workers (producers of all categories) and secondly, because it operates so as to promote the interests of the producers and to build and consolidate the new social order.

DEMOCRACY GIVES STRENGTH

5. The socialist state, particularly in its early stages and before it is thoroly consolidated, is bound to meet with many grave emergencies of a political and even military character resulting from efforts at counter-revolution and capitalist restoration. In meeting these dangers, it will, of course, have to resort to extraordinary measures, the character of which will depend on circumstances. But these measures must be taken within the framework of the democratic institutions of the socialist state. Particularly fatal is the conception that democracy is a luxury suitable only to "quiet times", to be instituted in the distant future after an authoritarian dictatorship has cleared the ground. That will never be. If socialist democracy is deemed incapable of working under stress and strain, it is a mere illusion and incapable of survival. Actually, however, in a society organized on the principle of collective welfare and not private profit and aggrandizement, democracy is fully capable of so arousing the inexhaustible energies of the masses of the people and so welding them into a militant unity as to enable it to meet and overcome any dangers far more effectively than authoritarian systems.

TOWARDS A STATELESS SOCIETY

6. The socialist state is transitional. It strives to render itself ultimately superfluous and to give way to a stateless, classless society where external restraint and coercion will normally be unnecessary. The possibility of this eventual "withering away" of the state is given in the gradual diminution under socialism of the fundamental necessity for political power (thru the elimination of irreconcilable socio-economic and national conflicts) and the consequent gradual displacement, in a conscious, planned manner, of political by social and economic institutions and functions. Here, too, freedom remains a primary element of the socialist goal, inseparable and indivisible from it.

DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

7. Because democracy is so integral to its aims and goals, the socialist movement must itself, in its own structure and functioning, be thoroly democratic, rejecting the concept of "monolithic" organization. Socialism also strives to promote democracy in the general labor movement, combating all tendencies within it towards authoritarian control.

8. Within the framework of the capitalist system, the socialist movement must make full use of existing democratic traditions and institutions. As training in preparation for their part in administering the affairs of the socialist society of the future, the active participation of the workers in the democratic direction and management of their own organizations (trade-union, social, political) is of especially vital significance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does this pamphlet also contain material clarifying your present political position?

Mr. LOVESTONE. This pamphlet was written by myself. In general it is still very much an official expression of our movement. There are some promulgations here and there that we would not employ today, but it represents substantially and in essence our position today.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And whatever excerpts might serve to clarify your views we will incorporate in the record at this time.

(The excerpts referred to are as follows:)

NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR

By Jay Lovestone

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Every thoughtful person must realize that the continuance of the capitalist system is incompatible with the continuance of civilization. It is as clear as noonday that, if this system survives, the late war must be succeeded by other wars, which will be even more destructive in proportion as they are more scientific. A few more such conflicts must put an end to everything that has made European races of importance to the world. . . .

Thus capitalism has lost all the merits by which, in the past, it sought to commend itself to the average man. Through trusts and intimate union with the state, capitalism has succeeded in destroying almost all vestiges of freedom. Through control of education and the press, it has made democracy a farce. Through national rivalries, it has made peace and progress impossible except by its overthrow. . . .

Who could sum up so well the situation now gripping the world—the United States not excepted? Was it Lenin? Was it some pre-Stalin Bolshevik in the days when Bolshevism was synonymous with living Marxism? No! It was none other than Bertrand Russell who gave us this estimate only eighteen months after the armistice of the last war to make the world safe for democracy and ? months before the next war to make the world safe for democracy.

The Peace of Munich, the subsequent accelerated universal rush to arms, the headlong dash to another world war, the sweep of fascism with the aid of the so-called democracies, the continuous economic crises and everything important which has happened in the last eighteen years have confirmed this analysis, this verdict of condemnation.

This is the fundamental viewpoint of the Independent Labor League of America. All our critical examinations and all our everyday practical activities in the factories, among the unemployed, in the labor unions, in the developing labor parties, in strikes, in antiwar activities, have convinced us and made us feel strongly about the correctness of this estimate, perspective, and objective.

The enormity of the crisis at home and abroad, all are agreed upon today. That it is a crisis amidst plenty, almost all are agreed upon. Nearly all would agree that some serious changes in our ways are necessary. The question of the roads to take is, of course, quite a different problem—a hornet's nest of

differences. But today all such agreements are insufficient. The world simply cannot go on from crisis to crisis ever worse, from hunger to efficiency to worse hunger, and from war to war ever "bigger and better."

It is imperative that we look into the why and wherefore of these constantly recurring crises and wars. All sorts of remedies have been proposed to meet this critical situation. Sundry superficial social reforms embodied in the New Deal, reduction of production, unemployment, still higher tariffs, devalued currencies, planned destruction of products, lowered standards of living, fascization of government machinery, outright adoption of fascism, sky-high armaments and wars, and prayers for peace and prosperity are among the "solutions" offered to invigorate and stabilize the decaying social order. But what we need is a major surgical operation. It is the entire system which is fatally ill—with millions of men permanently disemployed and billions of dollars invested in engines of destruction during brightest prosperity days as well as in bleakest depression.

ROOTS OF WORLD CRISIS

How come this world crisis? The process of decay of the socio-economic order—capitalism—is brought into bold relief by the historical transformation of what was once its source of *greatest strength* into the source of its *greatest weakness*. Productivity, but yesterday the source of the *upbuilding* of capitalism, has become the primary source of the economic *undermining* of capitalism. The historic words of Marx now assume world-shaking significance:

"Given machinery gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labor, yet, we behold it starving and overworking human labor. The new-fangled sources of wealth, by some strange, weird spell are turned into sources of want. . . . At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men, or to its own infamy. . . . All our inventions and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life and in stultifying human life into a material force." (*Communist Manifesto*.)

The very development and growth of capitalism has meant the development and growth of its inherent contradictions. Thus, the growing mass production, *social* in character, comes into ever sharper conflict with the growing *private* appropriation evidenced in the increasing concentration of capital. There is a growing gap between the *productive capacities* and the *possibilities for consumption* afforded the exploited workers. The greater the *efficiency* of the workers, the manual and mental producers, under present-day capitalism, the greater tends to be the *deficiency* in consumption for these workers. In details, production is being ever more planned by *private* employers and giant corporations for private profit. At the same time, production is becoming more intensely competitive, planless, and chaotic in the general or *social* sense. While the conflict between the exploiters and the exploited at home—the class struggle—becomes more acute, the antagonisms among the imperialist powers in the world market lead to increasingly sharper struggles—wars of infernal dimensions.

The very integration of capitalism into a world system has intensified and extended its organic disequilibrium. Side by side with a growing *rentier* or coupon-clipping class is the growing army of no occupation—an army of workers displaced by machines, permanently disemployed, not only expropriated of some of their products, but denied even a mere place in the productive process, economically totally disinherited, socially pauperized, and politically subjected. In the biggest and richest capitalist countries the pauperized proletariat runs into many millions:

"Throughout capitalism the worker is becoming a pauper, and pauperism is increasing even more rapidly than population and wealth. This plainly shows that the bourgeoisie is no longer fitted to be the ruling class in society or to impose its own social system as supreme law for society at large. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to provide security for its slaves, even within the confines of their slavish existence. (Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*.)

Furthermore, a terrific break has been made in the international capitalist order; a gaping hole has been torn in the capitalist economic pattern by the victorious working-class revolution in Russia, by the establishment of the U. S. S. R. There has been inflicted a mortal wound on the capitalist world market through the rising tides of discontent in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination. Evidence of the growing instability of capitalism is manifested in the character of the entire international situa-

tion today: the war in the Far East, the collapse of the Versailles system, the blessed rape of Czechoslovakia, Hitler's dream of expanding his empire eastward at the expense of the Soviet Union, the vast preparations for the coming holocaust.

The growing incapacity of capitalism to satisfy even the most elementary demands of the workers tends to make the class relations more antagonistic and undermines parliamentary democracy as an effective instrument of bourgeois class rule. To ward off the menace of growing working-class consciousness, to help stabilize their system, the capitalist class is being compelled to resort increasingly to an uncamouflaged and open brutal dictatorship and terror—the regime of fascism. The growth of the fascist system, aiming to stabilize, to perpetuate the class supremacy of the bourgeoisie, is living proof of the growing shakiness and instability of certain national economic sectors of capitalism. This is the soil in which capitalist reaction in general and fascism in particular have been making such rapid headway.

Because of the gravity of these fundamental features of the present antisocial order, we propose a fundamental social change—a revolution in the social, economic, and political relations of society. We want a society free from the inherent weaknesses of capitalism and yet able to take over and utilize its great positive contributions to history, its strong sides, for the benefit of society as a whole rather than in behalf of any select individuals, special group, or privileged class. This cannot be achieved by patchwork on the present antisocial system. We have patched too long already.

WE WANT A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

What we want is socialism—a socialist society. This will be a social economic system which will be characterized by the following features:

1. The means of production and exchange that are used collectively and socially are to be controlled and owned collectively and socially. Thus there will be removed the contraction between private ownership and social use of the machinery of production and exchange. The latter will be operated collectively as today but for social use instead of private profit.

2. Production being conducted on a collective, social, and not private competitive basis can then be planned socially—can be centrally and scientifically directed for society. Thus there will be eliminated the crises of starvation amidst plenty.

3. In this fashion there will also be removed the objective basis, the economic foundations, of the conflict between owners and workers, between the capitalist class and the working class. This will mean an end of class struggles and class society.

4. With the elimination of conflict over profits at home and abroad, there will be wiped out the causes, the roots, of economic antagonisms and imperialist wars. None can deny the organic connection between the trench lines of 1914 and the broad lines of 1932, between the armies of no occupation in the richest capitalist lands in 1938 and the armies of occupation in the coming world war, in 1939 or soon after.

In many ways the economy being constructed in the U. S. S. R. is based on the above principles. That is why the U. S. S. R. has been able to achieve so much progress in so short a time in the economic, social, and cultural fields. But we vigorously stress that we do not propose to take the Russian experience as a blueprint. There will be much that is different in the building of a socialist system in our own country. We particularly underscore the fact that we do not seek a political structure patterned after the Stalin regime. The governmental machinery for constructing socialism in the United States will have to be completely free from the costly mistakes and bloody terror of the Stalin dictatorship. In many respects, which cannot now be indicated concretely, it will be much different from the Russian process even at its best, because of the historical, traditional, social, and economic differences between the two countries.

Capitalism, the bourgeois Weltanschauung, capitalist relations of a million and sundry sorts, cannot be abolished at one fell swoop. The building of a socialist society, the development toward full communism, is not a one-act performance. It is a long, difficult, often very complicated, process of gradually uprooting the old, historically useless, and replacing it with the new, historically useful. How deep and extensive are the changes required for a socialist society were well indicated some decades ago by Engels when he said:

"Just as the peasants and the manufacturing workers of the past century had to change their whole mode of living, had to become entirely different men when

they were pulled into big industry, so will the common administration of production by society as a whole and the resulting new development of production need and produce different men." (Frederick Engels, *Principles of Communism*.)

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT—THE FIRST PREREQUISITE

Before society can begin gradually to evolve new and higher forms of making a living, and living, certain prerequisites must first be met. This evolution of socialism can begin, in a social, economic, and political sense, only after there has been a revolution—that is, after there has been a transfer of economic and political power from the present ruling class to the present ruled and exploited class. The working class is the one class today whose interest it is to end all exploitation. Therefore, it is the historically progressive class capable of serving as the dynamic and decisive force for ending all class society. Such a new society cannot be legislated into life through a single sweeping measure or a whole series of reform measures. This would presuppose a partnership of classes, a community of interest between the exploited and the exploiters. What happened in Germany is the inexorable result of such class collaboration policies pursued by the Social-democratic movement there. What is now happening in France—devitalizing of the labor movement, systematic destruction of the great social gains won through the mighty extraparlimentary actions of the workers in 1934, increasing curtailment of democratic rights—flows from the class partnership policy of the People's Front pursued by the Socialist and Communist parties there.

In order to replace the present capitalist system by a socialist order, the working class must take over political power by setting up a workers' government—a government of, by, and for the working people. In fighting for political power, the workers must be ready to use any means that may prove necessary and effective and disregard the hypocritical restrictions set up for them by the ruling class. The setting up of a workers' government is, therefore, the first prerequisite for beginning systematically and gradually to build a genuine socialist society. This will be a new type of state based on the council system, on the great organizations of labor, on production. This will be a workers' state—directed by the working class in alliance with the working farmers—with rigidity of purpose but with flexibility of method.

What we have today in all capitalist countries is one or another form of rule by the biggest bourgeoisie—a class dictatorship of the small minority of the "haves" over the overwhelming majority of the manual and mental workers, the "have-nots." Let no one be fooled by the paeans of praise of parliamentary democracy now being sung by Stalin and Chamberlain, by Browder and Vandenberg, by Roosevelt and Baruch. Bertrand Russell once very accurately described this setup as follows:

"What is called the rule of the majority in a bourgeois democracy is, therefore, in reality, the rule of those who control the methods of manufacturing opinion, especially in the schools and press. . . . The Bolsheviks are right in maintaining that bourgeois democracy is a trick by which the victims are induced to pronounce their own condemnation, in order to minimize the force required for carrying it out." (*The Liberator*, May 1920, p. 11.)

What we propose is the establishment in the transition period between the capitalist and socialist societies of a workers' state—a dictatorship of, by, and for the workers, but free from the errors and terrors of Stalinism.

The winning of power by the workers will not be a cakewalk. We know what it often takes to win even a simple strike for a small wage increase, for shorter hours, or even for limited union recognition. We do not advocate violence, but we do advocate the highest organization of the working class and all its allies so as to insure the minimum amount of force—regardless of its origin—accompanying the profound social change.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND ULTIMATE AIMS

In order to win the manual and mental workers to this ideal and goal of a new social order, in order to enable the workers to become sufficiently strong to begin building a socialist system, we propose a preparatory, an immediate, program of action. Our program for organizing labor to fight for its immediate everyday needs—our tactical program, our strategical course—is organically bound up with our ultimate program, with our principles. There is not the slightest conflict between fighting for immediate interests on the one hand and

developing higher social aspirations and striving for ultimate ends on the other hand. Quite the contrary is the case. Unless labor is able to build a movement to fight effectively for the improvement of its everyday conditions, for the meeting of its elementary needs, it will not be able to raise its demands to higher levels, to learn from experience the true and hopeless character of the present economic system.

A working class that has no unions and political organizations to fight for better working conditions and social legislation today, will not be strong enough to abolish the antisocial economic system and to build a socialist society tomorrow. A working class which has not learned the need of fighting for a program of social legislation can never learn the need of fighting for replacing the present system with a new social order. A working class which is not strong enough to defend its own everyday interests—regardless of how small these may be—can never be strong enough to win the farmers and other middle-class forces to follow its lead in a fight against big capital and for a new social system.

To develop this necessary independence and strength of labor defending its positions of today and extending and enhancing its positions of tomorrow, the Independent Labor League of America proposes the following strategy of organization, tactics, and immediate program of action:

1. For Powerful Progressive Industrial Unions.—We hold that the trade unions serve as the first means, the primary school as it were, for bringing the workers to a consciousness of their class position. The labor unions through their strike struggles in defense of the workers' economic interests are the elementary schools of proletarian class-consciousness. We are for the organization of workers, especially in the mass-production industries, into industrial unions.

Experience has taught us with special force that, if the unions are to fulfill their tasks, they must never be made dependent upon, subsidiary to, or auxiliaries of any political party. To make the labor unions so dependent in any shape, manner, or form is to deal them a death blow. That is why we have fought the Communist party's making the Fur Workers' Union its virtual auxiliary and the Stalinites forcing upon the Detroit District Council of the United Automobile Workers of America a decision to indorse the *Midwest Record*, a Communist party daily paper, as the union's official organ. Here we differ violently with the entire Stalinite conception of the relations between trade unions and political organizations, and with their evaluation of the very rôle of trade unionism. In all our work in both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, the above approach has governed our policy and activities. Striking confirmation of this can be had in the ranks and leadership of such progressive unions as the United Automobile Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Everywhere, in regard to union questions, our members in these organizations have placed union discipline first. Nowhere have we sought to impose a "party line."

In all instances we have given our best to stimulate the class consciousness and militancy of the union members, the effectiveness of their organization, the responsibility of the leadership, an advanced position of the officialdom on social and political questions, the education of the membership, and the discipline of its ranks. For example, in the U. A. W. A. we have contributed considerably toward the organization's intelligently edited trade union paper, a mass militant woman's auxiliary, a position of vigorous hostility to the war-makers and rejection of their war plans under the guise of "collective security." In Local 22 of the I. L. G. W. U. we have contributed the decisive leadership toward the development of model unionism in the economic, political, and cultural fields.

In both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. we work energetically for trade union democracy in the ranks of each international union and for autonomy for each international body. We do so not merely to insure the development of self-reliance among the workers but also because we desire to avoid in this country the fatal over-centralization which afflicted the German and Austrian trade union movements and facilitated the triumph of Hitlerism. At a moment when every element of democracy is endangered by the mounting tides of totalitarian tyranny, it would be fatal for organized labor to set up an authoritarian regime or resort to supercentralization in its own edifice. Labor can never defend genuine democracy against the forces of reaction unless the fullest and freest democracy prevails in its own ranks.

Finally, with unemployment a permanent feature of so-called prosperity as well as depression times, we consider it vital for the trade unions to organize their own unemployed members strictly under their own auspices. The unions can thus obtain adequate relief for their jobless members as well as preserve their organization in times of acutest distress.

2. *For Trade Union Unity.*—We are for the speediest unification of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. into one trade union movement on the basis of industrial unionism in the mass-production industries and the preservation of autonomy for the various international component bodies of both federations. The problem of trade union unity is most immediate and urgent. Today continuous dissension in the trade union movement paralyzes labor's power politically, cripples it economically, and invites dangerous government intervention and legislation. This division is all the more costly today because the forces of big business reaction are working overtime for an assault on the rights of labor and on social legislation. Trade union disunity undermines labor's effectiveness in meeting the burning problems of the economic crisis, tends to alienate public opinion, and creates a dangerous atmosphere of hostility toward the labor movement as a whole.

As a step in the direction of complete unity of the trade union movement, we propose immediate unity of action among the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and the Railway Brotherhoods. There are many fields where such cooperation, where such agreement, is possible despite the differences on more fundamental problems of union structure and strategy.

3. *We Are for a Labor Party.*—Independent labor political action through a Labor party based on the trade unions, but including also the farm organizations and friendly middle-class forces, is the next historical step in the development of American working-class political consciousness. In the ranks of labor there is growing a realization of the need for active participation in politics as an independent force. Witness the development of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor party, the Illinois Labor party, and the labor tickets set up during elections in a number of important industrial centers. This movement is still burdened with misconceptions, born out of decades of dependence upon employing-class political parties. This explains why all too often this movement begins on false paths and commits costly errors—futile and self-defeating attempts to capture political power through old party primaries and shoddy deals with old party machines.

We give wholehearted, though often critical, support to this trend toward a labor party despite all its limitations and shortcomings. We do so because we see in it the first step toward a complete separation by labor from the old parties of capitalism, the first step toward the crystallization of labor as an independent, distinct, class force. To us the Labor party is, therefore, the very antithesis of the People's Front, which seeks to blur class lines, to vitiate labor's independence, to diffuse labor's rôle as a distinct force.

4. *For Independent Labor Action.*—The hub of all our activities and policies is independent working-class action against employing class reaction. With us it is cardinal that in the long run, the workers can depend upon nothing but their own organized strength. The more the workers learn to fight militantly and to depend upon themselves, the more will they be able to wring concessions from the government and the employers, and the more readily will they be able to secure the coöperation and the support of other sections of the population, such as the farmers and the urban middle classes, in a common struggle against big capital.

Precisely because we stand for working-class independence do we consistently and firmly oppose political alliances with parties of the capitalist class along the lines of the People's Front, the original model of which is the French Government headed by Daladier—now feverishly at work preparing the ground for fascism in France. Instead of strengthening the power of mass resistance to fascism and reaction, such alliances make the workers dependent upon the agencies of the biggest capitalists, convert the workers' organizations into auxiliaries of the employing class, cripple the organized might of labor, sow confusion, and foster disillusionment among the masses. In summary, this policy substantially strengthens reaction and paves the way for the triumph of fascism. As against the People's Front, we propose a united workers' front and a militant farmer-labor alliance, with the broadest middle-class support, on the basis of immediate issues and common interests in the common fight against a common enemy—big industrial and finance capital.

5. *For a Labor Program of Social Legislation.*—In the United States, federal social legislation is still in its early stages. Though American capitalism has been in crisis for some time, it still has far greater resources at its command than European capitalism and, therefore, can afford such remedial measures, inadequate though they are in a fundamental sense.

Hence, labor should spare no pains in correcting the grave defects of the Federal Social Security Act, should resist with all energy the multiplying efforts to put open-shop teeth into the Wagner Act and the developing movement to limit the right to organize, strike, and picket. There is very much to be done for the enactment of adequate legislation to raise the rock-bottom minimum wages and to lower the maximum hours of work. An annual wage and vacations with pay are urgent for labor's minimum welfare. In the face of the grave and permanent character of the unemployment problem, the inadequacy of the present relief system and its standards cries for immediate practical improvement. Public housing and socially useful public works can prove worthy palliatives to alleviate distress and, at the same time, replace the vast armament program offered by the militarists and jingoes as a road to recovery.

All labor must strive for full economic, social, and political equality for the Negro people, for promptest enactment of vigorous antilynching legislation, for the abolition of the color lines in the unions and all racial segregation and discrimination. Otherwise, labor as a whole will find it extremely difficult to defend the democratic rights of free speech, press, and assembly, to prohibit the use of militia as strikebreakers, and to liberate class-war prisoners like Mooney, Billings, Soderberg, and the Scottsboro victims. To facilitate the enactment of such a program of social legislation, it is vital for labor to support all efforts to make the government structure more responsive to the will and needs of the masses.

6. *Fight Fascism. Enemy Number 1 of Social Progress.*—We do not rely on partnerships with parties and agencies of "democracy" and big capital in the fight against fascism. It is the People's Front government of France that invented the so-called nonintervention—blockade pact against Loyalist Spain. While Roosevelt talks of "quarantining aggressors" his government permits and facilitates a huge sale of war supplies to Japan and maintains a rigid embargo against republican Spain. Hence, we call on labor to close its ranks, engage in militant struggle against all reaction, and to solicit the support of those middle-class people who are ready for an earnest fight against fascism, anti-Semitism, race prejudice, and superpatriotism, and to express material as well as moral solidarity with all antifascist forces in Europe and elsewhere.

7. *Against United States Imperialism, Militarism, and Imperialist War.*—The Independent Labor League of America is against any war conducted by a capitalist government in Washington because such a war can be only reactionary and for imperialist ends. Therefore, we are against the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration with its gigantic armament program and its systematic preparations for a head-on collision with the Japanese colossus in the Far East in defense of Wall Street's investments there. We view the call for "collective security" as a guarantor of peace merely as a shibboleth for mobilizing the workers for war. We are pledged against the "industrial mobilization" plan aiming to subject American labor to a military dictatorship in war time and opening the road to fascism.

We have been ready and eager to coöperate, on the basis of an acceptable common program, with all forces genuinely opposed to war. That is the basis of our participation in the "Keep America out of War" movement. We underscore the fact that, to be really effective, such a movement must be a broad, all-inclusive, people's movement rooted in the working class and its organizations, especially the trade unions.

It is our conviction that since war today is nothing but the logical expression of the sharpening international antagonisms created by imperialism, its danger can be most effectively overcome by relentless class struggle against capitalism as a system. This struggle by labor cannot stop with the outbreak of war. When war does break out, labor must continue the struggle in a new and more intense form on a new and higher plane—transformed into a revolutionary fight to the bitter end against the war-making regime. To us, the antiwar policy advanced over thirty years ago by the great International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart and so energetically applied by Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and other international socialists in the last world war, still holds good for the coming world war. Likewise, we are not fooled by loud talk about "good

neighborliness." Dollar diplomacy still dominates American foreign policy. Seeking to mobilize the broadest popular support against the financial imperialism of American big business, we work for the withdrawal of all American naval and military forces from colonial and semi-colonial regions and the unrestricted right of self-determination for all United States colonies and possessions.

8. *For the Soviet Union.*—The danger of an imperialist attack against the Soviet Union has become especially grave since the Munich pact was sealed. We emphasize that the Soviet state, despite its present very serious bureaucratic distortions, is a working-class state in the economic sense and socialistic in its foundations. In international labor solidarity and militant class struggle rather than in nonaggression pacts with imperialist powers, do we see the best and most adequate means of defending the Soviet Union, its socialist achievements, and the very spirit of the October revolution.

We maintain that the ruthless autocratic Stalin clique, which has now outlived whatever historical usefulness it once may have had, is blocking all efforts at advancing Soviet democracy. This regime is undermining the Soviet power in its economic and political foundations, lowering the prestige of the U. S. S. R. in the international arena, and weakening the Soviet republic's defense. Through its policy of transferring the tactics of Soviet diplomacy to the international labor movement, through its policy of determining the program of action of the various sections of the Communist International on the basis of the exigencies and maneuvers of Soviet foreign policy, the Stalin regime has further weakened the first line of defense of the U. S. S. R. itself—the international labor movement. For these reasons we contend that the best interests of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet masses imperatively demand the elimination of the Stalin regime and the establishment of democracy in the soviets, trade unions, and other working-class institutions in the U. S. S. R. When such working-class democracy will be established, it will be far higher and more genuine for the great masses of the people, because of its socialist roots, than are so-called democracies under capitalism.

9. *For International Labor Action.*—The Independent Labor League of America is for close coöperation with all genuine international socialist forces throughout the world in the struggle against capitalism, fascism, and imperialist war. Dramatizing such coöperation was the conference of the International Revolutionary Socialist and Opposition Communist parties in Paris last February, and the establishment at the close of last September in Geneva of the International Workers Front against War. Only through the gradual extension of such collaboration among the revolutionary political organizations of labor can sound foundations be laid for a genuine revolutionary working-class International.

10. *Toward Socialism.*—The continuous years of crisis should convince all that we in the United States are faced with a permanent breakdown of the economic system based on private property and private profit. We grant that the future may bring some brief periods of recovery. But they will be fitful and quickly succeeded by ever deeper depressions. The decaying system is breeding evils afflicting the masses, degrading culture, and vitiating all attempts at serious reforms.

In this soil are the roots of all employing-class efforts to lower labor's living standards, to seek "strong" government capable of maintaining profit and smashing popular opposition and ready to sustain the reactionary economic setup of a declining social system, even through a fascist regime. Fascism is the political receivership of a bankrupt economic system—the political logic of capitalism at the dead end of a permanent crisis. To escape fascism and the horrors of economic decay, we must sweep away the wreckage of capitalism and build in its place, gradually, it is true, a new social order based on the collective ownership and democratic management of the means of production—a new socio-economic system eliminating the life-sapping struggle to live and producing a life more abundant, more full, with brighter cultural and ethical values.

The great historical choice before our country, as well as before the people of other lands, is: Shall we be driven backwards to fascism in order to maintain a tottering system, or shall we work manfully toward socialism?

We have traced the road to new frontiers, higher social frontiers, for labor. Socialism is our only hope for the future. But to remove the decaying structure of capitalism and to replace it with this new social order, it is necessary to develop the class consciousness of labor with a view to setting up a workers' government, a genuine democracy of, by, and for the working masses. The Independent Labor League of America declares that the great historical task confronting

the workers of this country today is to organize themselves as a class striving to win political power and to secure a progressive, healthy, social transformation. This is the road that we propose for labor. We are confident that the American working class will not falter in its long uphill fight for a better life until it achieves the society without classes or class oppression, until it attains a new social order making for peace, progress, and well-being.

JOIN

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you wish to characterize your present organization any further?

Mr. LOVESTONE. Well, our organization is a militant Socialist organization working in this country, not seeking to dominate the labor movement, but working within the labor movement with a view of helping it to gain improved conditions; with a view of helping it become the decisive force in the country. We are a radical Socialist constructive force. Our difference with the Stalinists is not only along the lines that I have mentioned before, but we consider them as an antirevolutionary and anti-Socialist organization; simply an agency of the Stalin-Hitler combination. We work in the trade-unions primarily, because most of our people are trade-union people. We, of course, have connections with organizations outside of this country, like the independent labor party of England; the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France; an underground movement in Germany, where no other labor movement could exist; but we determine and decide our own policies in this country solely and strictly on the basis of our own conditions here and on our own

judgment. We make our own bitter mistakes. We learn sometimes in time, sometimes too late to overcome them; but my experience over quite a number of years in the labor movement is that this is the only sound and genuinely democratic way of working and we are dedicated to that procedure.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Mason, do you have any questions?

Mr. MASON. No.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. No.

Mr. STARNES. Is that all, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have anything, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will stand in recess subject to the call of the chairman of the full committee.

(Thereupon, at 2:58 p. m., the committee took a recess as above indicated.)

On December 3, 1939, a report was filed with the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on Communist infiltration in consumer organizations by J. B. Matthews, research director for the committee.

Since it is the plan of the committee to hear the representatives of the different consumer organizations named in this report, it will be published in a subsequent volume in connection with those hearings.

REPORT ON DR. COLIN ROSS

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1939.

In releasing the following report on the activities of Dr. Colin Ross in the United States, the Committee on Un-American Activities wishes to make the emphatic statement that neither the committee as a whole nor any of its individual members entertains the slightest doubt of the unswerving loyalty to the United States of our fellow citizens of German descent. It is as much in their interest as in that of the Nation as a whole that the committee has endeavored to bring to light some of the facts concerning the operations of Nazi agents like Colin Ross, and the leaders of the German-American Bund.

The question of the form of government of the German or any other nation is not one that concerns either this committee or the American people. But attempts by any foreign agency to influence American citizens in favor of a foreign form of government and against American democracy is quite a different matter and one concerning which the Committee on Un-American Activities has immediate and great concern.

This is a report on investigations conducted by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities concerning Dr. Colin Ross and his activities in the United States.

In order to preserve the prerogative of any and all branches of the Government of the United States, the committee makes public *only* the result of its *own investigation* of the evidence available in this case.

Summarized, we find:

1. That during the World War Ross was a German spy and secret-service agent, and that during a portion of this time he was assigned to special propaganda work in behalf of the Imperial German Government and against the Allies, at least prior to the entrance in the conflict of the United States.

2. That Ross is registered with the Department of State as a Nazi propagandist, but that he has not reported in "full" the scope of his activities and therefore is liable to prosecution under the terms of this act.

3. That he committed a number of acts while in this country which appeared to come within the category of espionage, and that officials extremely high in the Government of the United States have issued warnings and secret orders concerning these activities.

4. That many of the speaking engagements in this country featuring Ross were arranged for by the various Nazi consular officials situated throughout the Nation and that he was promoted by, and spoke for, gatherings of the German-American Bund.

5. That Fritz Kuhn, fuhrer of the German-American Bund, in recent testimony before this committee admitted his acquaintance with Ross.

6. That Ross was instrumental in having 30 American boys taken to Germany, and that the greatest part of the expense of this trip was paid for by various subdivisions of the Nazi Government and some alleged German-Americans residing in Germany.

7. That within the past 12 months Ross toured the United States with his wife, son, and uniformed chauffeur in a special Mercedes automobile, equipped with motion-picture cameras, and that he appeared to have funds far in excess of his reported earnings from Nazi agencies.

8. That he attempted to photograph several specialized industrial plants and that at least one American refused to comply with Ross' requests because they were so extremely derogatory to the best interests of the United States.

9. This committee recommends that Dr. Colin Ross be prevented from ever again setting foot on American soil.

Dr. Colin Ross was born in 1885, in Vienna, of Scottish parents. Ross lived for a number of years in Chicago, where his children went to school and his daughter, Renate, got her Ph. D. degree, from the University of Chicago.

This committee has had information that Ross became a Communist in Germany, after the World War, and made considerable headway in that movement. With the coming of the Nazi regime he took their ideology and soon became one of its most important agents.

Dr. Otto Denzer, Nazi vice consul at Chicago, under date of December 16, 1938, in a letter to Clifton M. Utley, director of the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, before whom Ross was to speak said:

He had the opportunity to be close by when the events in Munich took place and the German troops subsequently marched into the Sudeten territory.

Ross has made many trips to this country, always plentifully provided with cash, and has shown films of his native land here during which time he was directing pictures of events and places in this country.

There is indisputable proof that Ross doctored the pictures employing the artifice of montage so that the pictures when shown in Germany did not depict facts but vile distortions and, particularly, with a view of showing America in the worst possible light.

While Ross lived in Chicago he made the acquaintance of Prof. Martin Sprengling, of the University of Chicago, and the latter's son who soon provided a circle in which Ross moved.

Registration No. 310 was given to the papers filed by Ross with the Department of State, under the act requiring the registration of propagandists employed in whole or in part by foreign governments or their subdivisions. In that statement Ross, under oath, states that he resides in Munich, Koenigstrasse, 29, Germany, and that he was in this country in connection with work as a newspaper correspondent (he names some 20 Nazi publications), and for the purpose of making a film for the Tobis Filmkunst, Berlin.

He further claimed that his lectures in this country did not involve any foreign principle and that in all occasions he had been paid for his lectures by an American association. This statement is true, but the amounts, as will be shown, did not pay much more than the cost of transportation.

The registration statement filed by this Nazi propagandist also sets out that the North German Lloyd Steamship Co. (a Nazi government-owned concern) had subsidized his picture to the extent of 7,000 marks (about \$2,800).

Ross also revealed that he had been paid \$25 for a lecture in Boston, \$50 in New York, \$75 in Chicago, before various foreign-policy groups, and that his compensation for three lectures before German vocational leagues netted him \$275. He also admits that he received \$35 from the Technische Verein, Chicago; \$25 from the Columbia Damen Club, Chicago; \$35 from the Deutsche Zeitung, Baltimore; and \$25 from the Deutsche Verein, Cleveland. He further accounts for an additional \$150 for two lectures on the west coast. These earnings total only \$695.

This sum, as readily can be seen, does not account for any of the number of speeches that he made before groups of the German-American Bund or for the many articles he contributed to the Nazi *Weckruf* and *Beobachter*, published in this country under the supervision of Fritz Kuhn, "fuehrer" of the German-American Bund, who admitted under oath in recent testimony before this committee that he knew Ross.

Information in possession of this committee proves that Ross had expensive photographic equipment attached to his automobile in such manner that pictures could be taken quickly and from any angle.

The committee has further information that Ross sent many of the pictures he directed to the laboratories of the Agfa Film Co. at Los Angeles, where Federal Government agents reviewed them secretly as soon as they had been developed and before they were secured by Ross. These films portrayed such scenes as Negroes living in huts in the South, women working in cotton mills and cigarette factories in North Carolina, and Indians living in small tepees.

There were also a number of prints made showing in detail cities like Pittsburgh and Jersey City in which factory sites and bridges were indicated. Ludwig R. Krahforst, 4917 Glacier Drive, Eagle Rock, Los Angeles, was employed by Ross to make some pictures in 1939 and later refused to continue his employment because of the obvious un-American nature of the work.

This committee wishes at this time to clear Mr. Krahforst of any complicity in this matter.

Dr. A. H. Dyckerhoff, an engineer of high standing, connected with the Commonwealth Edison Co., Chicago, was asked by Ross to help him secure permission to photograph industrial and agricultural subjects in that part of the country.

Never suspecting the true purpose of Ross' requests, Dr. Dyckerhoff suggested pictures of T. V. A., hut strip mills in the steel-making area, process of preparing and quick freezing of fruits and vegetables in the fields, etc. Contact was made with officials of the International Harvester Co., Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation. *Permis-*

sion was refused. A few days later Ross was stopped by a policeman for taking pictures (motion) without a permit.

How the Nazi consuls in this country cooperate with Ross is best shown by the letter of Dr. Otto Denzer, Nazi vice consul in Chicago, to Clifton Utley, of the Foreign Policy Association of that city, under date of December 16, 1938, in which he states:

Enclosed please find a few biographical data on Colin Ross. May I assure you that if arrangements could be made for his appearance before the Council on Foreign Relations sometime during the first days of January 1939, this would be highly appreciated.

It should be noted that at his speech Ross was booed and hissed and that among those seated at the speakers' table were:

Mr. and Mrs. Colin Ross.

Mr. E. L. Baer, Nazi consul general.

Mr. and Mrs. Otto Denzer, Nazi vice consul.

Mr. and Mrs. Hans Strack, connected with Nazi consulate.

Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig Plate, head, North German Lloyd Steamship Lines.

And further, Ross in his letter to Mr. Utley, under date of December 25, 1938, requests that the following of "my friends" be invited:

Dr. D. B. Phenister, 5621 University Avenue.

Prof. Dr. Martin Sprengling, 6168 Ellis Avenue.

Prof. Dr. Nitze, 1220 East Fifty-eighth Street.

Mrs. Swift, 209 Lake Shore Drive.

Dr. A. H. Dyckerhoff, Commonwealth Edison Co., 72 West Madison Street.

Mr. Tiffeny Blake, Chicago Tribune Tower.

Mr. Gustave A. Brand, city treasurer, city hall.

Gov. George L. Schaller, Federal Reserve bank.

Walter S. Straub, 326 Ridge Avenue, Winnetka.

Mr. T. A. Buenger, 268 Ridge Avenue, Winnetka.

In that same letter Ross states:

This letter is to confirm my acceptance of your invitation to address the meeting of Chicago Council on Foreign Relations on January 3 * * * I had asked the German consul to let you know that I agree with the arrangements. * * *

Efforts of the German consul general in St. Louis, Mo., to arrange a speaking engagement for Ross in that city collapsed when it was discovered by civic interests that the Nazi Government was participating in the lecture tour. Citizens of St. Louis stopped arrangements for the contemplated lecture by Ross on securing information that the German consul general had rented an auditorium for the occasion.

In testimony before this committee on August 17, 1939, Fritz Kuhn stated as follows with regard to Dr. Colin Ross:

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Colin Ross?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What office did he have in the bund?

Mr. KUHN. He never had an office in the bund.

The CHAIRMAN. Had he no official connection?

Mr. KUHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he associated with you in any respect?

Mr. KUHN. I met him one year when he was a speaker at Turner Hall. He was a speaker there but we were not the sponsors.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. KUHN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only association you have had with Colin Ross?

Mr. KUHN. Sure.

In this connection it would be noted that in the 1937 yearbook Dr. Colin Ross wrote the frontispiece for the publication. Following is a translation of the frontispiece of the 1937 German-American Bund Yearbook.

OUR AMERICA

A man will rise and gather them, a German Thomas Paine. He will not found a new party, no association, no alliance, no union, but will comprise in a matter-of-fact fellowship all who are of German blood, as soon as they become aware of the fact that they are not Americans but "Amerikaner," people of German blood and American soil. They will drop the hyphen that others had attempted to fasten on them and no longer call themselves German-Americans, but simply "Amerikaner," a word that is untranslatable.

If these "Amerikaner" become aware that for America's sake they must not give up their nationality and mother tongue, they lay the foundation for the natural racial order, out of which the American Nation of the future will grow, or rather the American family of nations. This will make America the first "Continental State," the first continent peacefully united under a uniform idea, the great model for all others.

If the people of German blood succeed in achieving this immense task, this greatest service which they can render their new homeland, then they may—with a slight variation of the words of a German poet—say:

"America would have been nothing
If we were not Amerikaner—
We, Amerikaner, we—!"

And as a father proudly speaks of a child that has reached fame and fortune as "my son," without by these words laying claim to his wealth, so may we say to the New World beyond the Atlantic created in part also by us and in such a way that no one can take it ill of us:

Our America

The following report is taken from the original notations made by an American newspaper reporter covering the speech given by Dr. Colin Ross on June 1, 1937.

"Speech of Colin Ross, adventurer and professional speaker, on 'Unser Amerika,' at a meeting sponsored by the New York Post of the German-American Bund at the Yorkville Casino, June 1. Attendance about 500. He was introduced as a great American who understands the German people. He sailed that night at midnight for Germany.

"America," he said, "now is controlled by a few wealthy men. In Germany the people are in control. That is what Hitler has done for the German people. His principles should be applied here so that the Government could be given back to the people. German-Americans should stand united behind the ideals of Germany and educate the American people to those ideals.

"I look about and see Father Divine. He is called a 100-percent American. I meet an Englishman from Boston. He says he is 100 percent American because the English were here first. French, Hollanders, and Germans all say they are 100-percent Americans. I come to wonder just what a 100-percent American is. And I decided he is that man who stands for the best things for the people. That is why followers of Hitler are the real 100-percent Americans."

Then a group of bund members presented a play in English, using the court record of the case of *Julius Hochfelder v. Fritz Kuhn*, head of the German-American Bund. The bund is making great capital out of the fact the case was thrown out of court after six postponements. It was an attempt to prove their paper the *Deutscher Weckruf* und *Beobachter* was circulated without being formally registered. They claim Jewish intrigue was responsible for the case. The audience howled at the impersonation of Jewish lawyers by their fellow bund members.

The above notations contradict the testimony of Fritz Kuhn in which he states that there is no connection between Dr. Colin Ross and the German-American Bund; that Kuhn testified Ross spoke at a meeting in the Turner Hall, whereas actually he spoke in the York-

ville Casino; that while Kuhn contends the bund did not sponsor the meeting, actually the bund did promote the gathering and in fact presented a play ridiculing the New York court authorities at the same meeting.

In a document secured by this committee inviting American boys to Germany, under arrangements by Dr. Ross, the following paragraphs are found:

The undersigned invites 30 American boys to visit Germany this summer.

Distance and consequent cost of transportation make mass participation as yet a dream of the future. However, for the first American-German youth exchange steamship companies have offered a substantial reduction of passage fares; some German youth hotels and other accommodations have been reserved exclusively for this summer's party; railroad fares have been reduced to a minimum; free theater and opera tickets have been presented, so that the all inclusive cost for transportation from New York, back to New York, board, tips, and so forth, of the camping trip through Germany amounts to only \$100.

The first exchange vacation trip is limited to 30 American members, ranging in age from 14 to 18. Boys will be selected on the basis of good scholarship, recommendation, intelligence, high moral character, and physical fitness. A slight knowledge of German is desirable, though not mandatory. *Only boys personally known to the sponsors or especially recommended by their friends will be accepted.*

The trip is conducted by Kurt Sprengling, 714 West Indiana Avenue, Urbana, Ill. (born in Chicago, 1916), graduated from Hyde Park High School in Chicago, now graduating from Illinois University; *lieutenant in the Reserves of the United States Army.* He is the son of Prof. Martin Sprengling, of the University of Chicago. Under his guidance the boys depart on July 19 on the *Europa* from New York.

Application for membership may be made to any one of the undersigned sponsors:

Mr. Leslie Bissel, Munchen, Destouchestr 4.

Rev. and Mrs. Haynes, American Church and Library, Salvatorplatz 1.

Professor and Mrs. von Likenz, Pension Siebert, Kaulbachstr 22 a.

Dr. and Mrs. Edmund E. Miller, Kaulbachstr 12 /o.

Mr. and Mrs. Colin Ross, Koniginstr 29.

Mrs. and Mr. du Pont-Ruoff, Wilmington, Delaware-Herrsching.

Mrs. L. Stoehr, Kaulbachstr 26 b.

Dr. and Mrs. Ludwig Waagen, Koniginstr 69.

Mrs. von Johnson, Munchen-Bogenhausen, Sohalkingstr 3.

In an article dealing with "Jews in America," written by Dr. Colin Ross, which appeared in the February 11, 1939. *Deutscher Weckruf*, official organ of the German-American Bund, are found the following statements which have been translated from the German version:

Everyone is aware that the Constitution of the United States does not apply any longer to modern living conditions.

Every democracy is threatened to glide slowly but surely into communism. Russia faced that situation. France is facing it now * * * Italy and Germany would have faced it too without a Fascist revolution. And England should not think it can get away without a thorough change in its governmental ideas * * *

America isn't a Democracy any more; all wealth is in the hands of a few chiefs. America always escaped a revolution for the reason that the possibilities are in a deadlock now. * * * According to Bismarck, after exhausting all natural resources, a fight will begin among those who possess and those who lack. And that is the situation now.

Nazi circulars on the Pacific coast have frequently expressed strong interest in the book *Our America*, authored by Dr. Colin Ross. They have stated that this booklet contains much material which proves helpful in building their organization.

The January 1939 issue of the *Forum* magazine contains an article entitled "Our America," by S. K. Padover, in which the author at-

tempts to present the major theses of the Nazi propaganda agency in America, and the effect upon the population. One portion of the article is headed "What the Nazis Want," in which it is stated that—

Far more significant is the book by an eminent Nazi—Colin Ross' astounding "Unser Amerika," published in Leipzig in 1936. It must be taken as semi-official: In the first place Ross is an officer of the Propaganda Institute in Stuttgart; second, the organ of the Nazi Party, "Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte" (June 1938) urges that it be given "the most widespread distribution."

It is remarkable that this book has escaped attention in the American press. In it Ross recites the arguments we have already reviewed. Then he urges that "30,000,000 Germans in the United States" should assert the rights of their blood by every and any means. He is sure of an ultimate victory in the United States because of the collapse of the old Anglo-Saxon ideals of liberty and democracy * * * "I am convinced that German blood in the United States will come into its own only after it insists upon it energetically," he writes. "I believe in the German hour of America * * * The great historic events usually are prepared underground until they suddenly emerge in the open." "Few outsiders," Ross continues, "realize how widespread is the German movement. The German rebirth in the United States is more powerful than most people think." * * *

Ross states: "From amongst them [Germans in America] will arise a German Thomas Paine * * * He will unite all of German blood. All will come as soon as they have realized the simple truth that they are not "Americans" but "Amerikaner," men of German blood and American soil * * *

Thus—

continues Padover—

the Nazis will save America from "chaos and barbarism." Ross reiterates that the Germans have a sacred duty to perform; America is "a creation of the German spirit," hence the United States must become *Unser Amerika* * * *

In the *Deutscher Weckruf* and *Beobachter*—issue of December 1, 1939—in column headed "Behind the Curtain" there is included an item, which follows:

What a pity that our Jewish-controlled circles and nativistic institutions are not allowed to see the wonderful motion pictures which Dr. Colin Ross, the world traveler, showed a large German-speaking audience at Turner Hall in New York last week—life views of a long series of consecutive scenes depicting the distress of the Sudeten Germans in their flight from Czech terrorism and their arrival on German territory * * *. German border guards greet them, help them, and provide them with shelter and food.

Interspersed with these scenes of wild flight, Dr. Ross shows the ruined homes of the people, a deserted room with a wide breach in the wall, a shell-battered stable with a dead cow * * * these pictured incidents of devastation, flight, distress, and horror form the answer to why Hitler threatened to solve the Sudeten German question by force.

* * * Gratified looks cast at the Fuehrer by these people; looks of tragedy mingled with joy as the mounted advance guard of the German Army marches into the liberated area * * *. It is a pity, we say, that this demonstration cannot be shown to the general public because of the fear that Dr. Ross might be sowing seeds of "Hitler propaganda" against the huge pro-Jewish propaganda that is sponsored by the press, by Time, and other agencies of intellectual demoralization. * * *

Ross also wrote an article for the German-American Bund paper on October 27, 1938, entitled "Understanding Between Germany and America—Basis for World Peace." This is a two-column-length article. It should be noted here that Fritz Kuhn is the head of this publication, and that all editorial matter is subject to his approval, and that he so stated in recent testimony before this committee. It should also be noted that in the above quotation from the *Weckruf* of December 1, 1938, that the Turner Hall referred to in the article was at that time the headquarters of the German-American Bund, Man-

battan Post. These facts again refute the testimony of Fritz Kuhn referred to herein, in which he denies any affiliation with Ross.

In the Weekrnf of January 19, 1939, page 4, is an item entitled "Colin Ross in the Lion's Den * * * German Author and Traveler Single-Handed Faces the Storm Troopers of the Foreign Policy Association":

[Article]

It must be assumed that the audience last Saturday at the meeting of the Foreign Policy Association, at the Hotel Astor, New York, where the thesis of "Germany Inside and Out" was booked for discussion, was a representative body of many of our best average citizens, typifying a degree of intelligence impartial in its judgment of the subject. This theory is not wholly tenable in view of the shocked "ohs" and the noisy demonstration of dissent at such assertions as that there is *no suppression of religious freedom in Germany*.

On the speaker's rostrum sat such notable refugees, representatives of fair dealing, as Heinz Liepmann and Gerhart H. Seger, who left a delectable record of political activities behind them when they left Germany and have already begun to play a prominent role in regimenting public opinion in this country in conformity with their philosophy * * *.

In this atmosphere, thick with anti-German bias, Colin Ross had apparently been selected to act as a foil for the attacks on Hitler and Germany, by John C. deWilde, research associate of the Federal Policy Association, and Ernest Wilhelm Meyer, formerly a secretary of the German Embassy in Washington * * *.

A great "oh" of protest went up when Ross initiated his remarks with the statement: "I love Hitler" * * *. A burst of indignation greeted his categorical statement that there is no religious interference in Germany; derisive laughter, when he predicted that there will be no war in Europe in 5, 10, or 20 years * * *.

The Chicago American, January 4, 1939, printed the following article, headed "Swifts, Nitzes Entertain Ross, Nazi Propagandist," column conducted by the Chaperon.

The Charles H. Swifts, William H. Nitzes, Dallas B. Phenisters, and the E. V. L. Browns, all of whom have extended the hospitality of their tables to the visiting Nazi propagandist, Colin Ross, and to Mrs. Ross, have been choosing their dinner guests with care on the nights they entertained the Rosses. Anti-Nazi sentiment being what it is, not everyone can be trusted to stay on an even keel conversationally, even on such social occasions as a dinner party.

During their Chicago stay Mr. Ross, the speaker at yesterday's Council on Foreign Relations luncheon, and Mrs. Ross, are the house guests of Dr. Martin Sprengling, professor of Semitic languages at the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute * * *.

Mr. Ross is of Scottish descent, as his name suggests. In certain parts of Scotland Colin is the name conferred on all the eldest sons. But he was born in Vienna and lived there under Dolfuss and Schussnigg. But, because traveling and writing about his travels is his profession, he has never lived in any one place longer than 5 years. Three times previously he and his wife have been to Chicago, the last time for an extended stay while Ross was writing his book, *Unser Amerika*. During that time his son and daughter attended the University of Chicago.

* * * Laird Bell of the Council on Foreign Relations stated in part: "We have sought all year for a speaker for the Nazi regime and it has been very difficult to get one." Mr. Ross proved an effective spokesman for the Nazi regime. Because he was patently not the Germanic type, and speaks his broken English with seeming naïveté and a determined good nature which refuses to be ruffled by the "ribbing" of his audience, he probably was more effective than another type of propagandist would have been. But it is doubtful if he made any converts among the 1,200 who heard him. Those who, like Mrs. Swift and Mrs. Nitze, gathered around him later to express their ardent agreement with his sentiments, were of the same mind before they came * * *.

With reference to the activities of Ross on the Pacific coast it has been learned by this committee that all his movements were carefully watched by various Federal agencies.

While there Ross gave 2 lectures at the Continental Theater, for some months identified with activities of the German-American Bund. The gist of these lectures was to the effect that "Germany is a poor country but they have plenty to eat and are making wonderful progress under the great leader, Adolph Hitler." Immediately after his lectures, pictures were shown of the German occupants of Sudetenland in which young girls were pictured throwing roses in the path of marching soldiers and Adolph Hitler. These lectures, given in the German language, were enthusiastically received by an audience of approximately 500 people, predominately of German extraction. The gatherings were typical of those of the German-American Bund.

While in Los Angeles, the early part of March 1939, Ross was registered at the Stillwell Hotel; and on leaving there, Ross went to San Francisco where he delivered lectures similar to the ones given in Los Angeles. Indications are that here he again moved in cooperation with the German-American Bund posts of that area.

On March 17, 1939, Ross sailed for Japan on the Japanese liner *Asana Maru*, stateroom 271, second-class quarters.

In the book-review section of the New York Times, August 11, 1938, appears a review of Dr. Colin Ross' book under the title German Suggests an American Dictator. The book review sent from Berlin was authored by Gabriels Benter. It lauds Ross as Germany's best writer of travel books. The writer states that Ross—openly declares himself as favoring dictatorship as the best form of government * * *.

He concludes the article with the statement that—

with prophetic vision Colin Ross sees dictatorship dawning for the Americans; to bring to them, who have always regarded themselves as the freest in the world, a release from conditions grown intolerable.

In the New York Times, March 16, 1939, is an article by William R. Conklin, dispatched from San Francisco. In this story Dr. Colin Ross is referred to as "commentator for the official Nazi newspaper." It is further pointed out in this article that Ross told the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco that there had been "a lot of fuss in the newspapers" about him coming to this country to spread Nazi propaganda, but he declared that he held no official status in the Nazi regime. In this same story Ross predicts that Europe will become one great empire "with the central power, of course, in Germany."

Following is the text of an article concerning Ross, which appeared in the New York World-Telegram, March 17, 1939, in which particular attention is called to extracts from the work of Dr. Ross, as translated from the German.

By his words, Dr. Colin Ross, ace Nazi commentator on the Western Hemisphere, has been telling Americans on a lecture tour that Adolph Hitler and the Nazis do not even "think about conquests in your hemisphere."

But by his published works, it was charged here today, Dr. Ross has revealed an entirely different story. It was Dr. Ross' "explanation" of German-trade activities in Latin America which provoked Mayor LaGuardia's blast last night in San Francisco.

The charges here were made by J. Anthony Marcus, former trade adviser to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the president of Good Will Counsellors, Inc., of 576 Fifth Avenue.

Mr. Marcus, recalling Dr. Ross' disclaimer that he had "nothing to do either with the German Government or the Nazi Party," asserted that the journalist lectured on American affairs at the Geo-Political Association, in Munich, headed by Maj. Gen. Earl Haushofer.

German general staff officers and diplomatic officials attend this school for their foreign-affairs schooling, Mr. Marcus declared. He said that he based his statements on "120,000 documents on German penetration in Latin America," compiled by the Good Will Counsellors, a trade-promotion group.

Dr. Ross, according to Mr. Marcus, also has written three books, published by official Reich publishing houses, on German tactics to be used in the western world.

Unser Amerika—Our America—depicts the United States as the creation of German migrants, with 20,000,000 German-blooded residents as a nucleus for Nazi expansion, Mr. Marcus said.

Der Balkan Amerikas—The American Balkans—described Central America as the focal point for control of the Western Hemisphere. Der Pacifik—der Ozean der Entscheidungen—The Pacific, the Decisive Ocean—indicated the strategic importance of the Pacific.

Mr. Marcus made public several extracts from these works by Dr. Ross, as translated from the German as follows:

"America is ours. America is ours not only because German blood flows in the veins of at least twenty or thirty million Americans * * * but because in its origins America is a creature of the German spirit * * * The question is whether these millions of German people recognize their hour of destiny" (pp. 25 and 26, Unser Amerika).

"I believe that Germany's hour will strike in America * * * great historic developments usually mature underground, to rise into view suddenly, without any apparent preparation" (p. 16, Unser Amerika).

"A new Thomas Paine is needed, one who will come from abroad and who will clearly and publicly express what lies deep in the heart of every American but which he dares not say and hardly dares to think" (p. 278, Unser Amerika).

"The Panama Canal can be taken by an enemy who can bring his airplane carriers close enough. A single effective bomb on the locks can cripple canal traffic for a long time" (p. 272, Der Balken Amerikas).

"We on our part are too little aware of the uniquely favorable position of Central America from the world political point of view" (p. 253, Der Balken Amerikas).

Following is the text of an article concerning Dr. Ross which appeared in the New York American, January 15, 1939, in which particular attention is called to the fact that Fritz Kuhn with six of his German-American Bund officers attended the gathering at which Ross spoke. (This fact again refutes the testimony of Fritz Kuhn before this committee when he stated that he had seen Ross on only one occasion.)

Directly opposite views of the situation of Germany "inside and out" brought jeers and cheers yesterday at a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor, attended by approximately 1,000 persons.

Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, attended with six followers and sat silently through the 2 hours of speaking and then left without giving any expression of opinion.

Colin Ross, German author, gave it as his opinion that Germany, as a nation, is at least 90 percent behind Hitler because of "the long way Hitler has brought Germany from the despair and degradation that was hers under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in 1933, to the point in 1939 where Germany is strong enough to give the whole world the jitters."

Ross was roundly hissed, but told his audience he was present to present the German view of Hitler and Germany's situation, and felt that, under the circumstances, he was entitled to uninterrupted expression.

Ernst Wilhelm Meyer, formerly first secretary of the German Embassy in Washington, drew cheers when he declared: "There is a great undercurrent of

disapproval of Hitler in Germany but, under the one-party system, none dares express an opinion against the Nazi Party, and so the world gets the story, and a picture, of almost unanimous backing of Hitler. Never in the history of Germany has there been more enforced hypocrisy, more insincerity, than exists in Germany today. Don't judge German, as a nation, by Hitler. Much as they hate Hitlerism, Germans all over the world would hate to see an army, because of Hitlerism, sent against their country, because Hitler has that country terrorized into outward acceptance of his regime."

Dr. Ross and Fritz Gissibl, former national leader of the Friends of New Germany, shared the platform at a Nazi meeting held in the Germania Club, Chicago, on June 17, 1934. A complete report of this meeting is found in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, of January 27, 1934. Gissibl fled the United States after exposure of his un-American activities by the McCormack Committee on un-American Activities and has since become a director of the Foreign Propaganda Institute at Stuttgart, Germany.

The New York Times of April 5, 1934, reports that Dr. Colin Ross arrived on the North German Lloyd liner *Europa* from Germany. As shown above, Dr. Ross spoke in Chicago the previous January 17. This, then, indicates that Ross between January 17 and April 5 had been in Germany and back again to the United States. It is one typical instance of frequent visits between the United States and Germany made by him.

The committee wishes again to emphasize that in the preparation of this report it has made public only the result of its own investigations of the evidence available in this case. The committee further has in its possession evidence indicating that there has been considerable more activity on the part of Ross which has not yet been entirely explored by the Government of the United States, particularly as to the sundry contacts and associates of Ross in various movements about this country.

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